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THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH

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THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY

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PREFACE

THE following pages are an attempt to give within a limited compass the main outlines of the events which make up the Story of the Catholic Church. That story is one that has no equal, whether we consider the number of persons, places, and vicissitudes involved, or the real importance of the interests at stake. It is, in fact, the very width and diversity of the subject matter which help to make it difficult to weave into one connected narrative. Yet, it is not without a centre. There is a unity in the subject strong enough to give form to the multitude of details, if only it can be properly handled. The problem for a writer must therefore be the accomplishment of this. Is there any hope of rising to his great argument, at least so far as to furnish an intelligible sketch of the mighty panorama unrolled before him? Nothing less than this hope assuredly would give heart to anyone to attempt the task. In such an enterprise as this a perfect work is, of course, out of the question. An outline that shall be true as far as it goes, not indeed showing everything, but mindful of balance and proportion and connection, would recompense much toil. And this is all that the present book aims at. To present that matchless story from one point of view in a way that any reader can understand, carrying him on from age to age and from land to land without undue weariness or distraction, but not forgetting the abiding centre and living unity which govern it, this has been the author's aim.

Hence, although the plan of the book has needed some thought, and its details not inconsiderable labour, it can lay no claim to be a work of research. It has no new and startling secrets to reveal, no abstruse theories to discuss. It would not be a field adequate for such; but nothing has been put down which did not seem warranted by the facts. In the more difficult and doubtful questions all that has been attempted is a summary of conclusions, and not an

account of the arguments by which they have been arrived at. The narrow limits of the work alone would preclude this, even if the writer felt competent, as he does not, to grapple with those problems for a final struggle; and, besides this, these pages would then have wandered from their goal. The average reader has not the leisure, and often has not the previous training necessary to follow out difficult questions of historical controversy; and it is the average reader who, in the main, is here addressed. It is long since he has been thus addressed in England in an Ecclesiastical History such as the present writer has aimed at, though we have had excellent sketches of the Church in particular ages or particular lands. Reeves, perhaps, comes nearest to the same scale and the same design. Gilmartin's clear and careful volumes are evidently meant for the divine or Church student above all. Doubtless others will do better on the same lines as time goes on, but they will hardly be able to claim the indulgence that is craved here for what is a first attempt, since long years ago, in a difficult field and on a difficult scale.

Many of the books on Church History published in this country and in America in recent years bear upon them a strong family likeness. They have been conceived more on a scientific or theological, than on a strictly historical basis. This work, on the contrary, is chiefly a connected narrative, guided by that chronological succession which forms one of the main distinctions between history in the strict sense of the word and scientific analysis. Hence, the external framework of the events is filled in even more fully than might be the case in even longer works conceived on a different plan, and the connection of the main stream of the story is pointed out wherever possible; side issues being kept in their own subordinate place. So, too, such things as the discussions on dogma and heresy, a main branch of the subject for the ecclesiastic, and often the one treated at greatest length, is here but briefly stated, without argument or detail. A sort of primacy is given to the personal element, the characteristics being noted of popes and kings and public men as far as it could be done in the space available. Saints are never willingly passed over, wherever there are signs of their hidden but powerful influence coming to the surface; but on the other hand,

those who were not saints are not called so, and that motley gathering of men in high position, not living up to their rank, are noted, not in rose colour, but with their imperfections upon them, showing the perennial human element, always alive, always exerting its power, and sometimes almost frustrating, as far as human action can, the purpose of what is divine.

But on the other hand, some care has been taken not to exaggerate the disedifying and scandalous things which impartial study brings to light. The very shock such things may give to those who vainly expect to find all men in the Church perfect is apt to make them lose all due sense of proportion, and bring scandals to the foreground, as if they were the chief thing to be recorded. Of course this conveys the false impression that the abnormal is something more than it is: the inevitable accompaniment of a great institution made up of two elements—the human and the divine. The Church has had to deal with every variety of mankind, all races, all characters, all stages of development and civilisation. Hence it comes to pass that alongside of its matchless and numberless perfections lies a heterogeneous mass of sin and imperfection that could not be in any society less varied and less universal.

But there is no intention to make these pages apologetic in the sense of controversial. This outline assumes the truth of the Church's claim as far as anything dogmatic needs to be assumed in a simple narrative. It is meant to be history, but history from a Catholic point of view, unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly so. The History of the Church from any other point of view is like the History of England by a German or a Frenchman, interesting for purposes of comparison, but never quite satisfactory to the patriotic citizen. The facts may be there, the dates may be correct, but all the time an outsider labours under too great a disadvantage in grasping the spirit of the thing to become a real guide.

Neither is the book meant to be apologetic in the more popular sense of that word. There seems reason to fear that some Catholic writers have taken that tone too strongly, so as even to defeat the very end they have in view. In reality, when once we have fixed in our mind these two things, that the Church is a Divine Institution, God's organ for telling the good tidings of His Revelation

to all nations, and that other truth, that it comprises human elements, and therefore is sure to be marked with all manner of human weaknesses, we need apologise, in the popular sense, no longer. The balanced conviction of these two things will mould our thoughts, and give a tone to our words; and if there is a tone becoming the Catholic telling the story of the kingdom of God on earth, it is rather a tone of triumph than anything else. It is the tone which the national patriot takes when he tells of the victories of his ancestors and the noble deeds of his race. For the Catholic can speak of higher contests and of loftier conquests. He has a statelier gallery of heroes to point to, and a roll of achievement more varied and more widely reaching than any national history could have. It is no act of virtue to speak or write with coldness or hesitation of what he knows to be praiseworthy and exalted beyond compare. The Catholic who tells the History of the Church knows that it came from God; knows that it has an abiding Divine Presence with it in sunshine and in storm; knows that it must win in the end and on the whole, even though this individual or that nation fall from its place in its bosom. Success and failure are not to be measured for it as for human institutions, but must wait for the great reckoning which shall justify the ways of God to men.

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THE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BOOK I.

THE FOUNDING OF THE KINGDOM.

(A.D. 29-313).

INTRODUCTION.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.

(7 B.C.-A.D. 29).

THE Catholic Church is the Kingdom of God on earth, and therefore is destined to surpass in greatness the mightiest empires of this world. Nevertheless, it had its origin in the bosom of the family. For there was one family which was the model and prototype of Christendom both in Church and State, and that was the Holy Family of Nazareth. That little circle held the principle of life which was to renew the face of the earth. Jesus, Mary and Joseph: the Word of the Father made man for us, the one stainless glory of our race, and the holy man called "Just" by the inspired Evangelist himself *were* the Holy Family, and they together showed forth the first outline of what was to be the Kingdom of God. Not on Mount Sion, but hidden away in a small and despised town of Galilee that blessed household found a home. Such was the Will of Him Who uses the things

**The Holy
Family of
Nazareth.**

2 THE STORY OF THE CHURCH

that are lowly to confound the strong, that so no flesh should glory in His sight. Hence this name of Nazareth, the obscure country town where stood the Holy House, sounds sweet in the Christian ear. Here, Mary the blessed daughter of Joachim and Anne, lived in seclusion, watched over by her kinsman Joseph, to whom in her Virginitv she had been espoused. Hither came the Angel to make his great announcement, and here *He* became incarnate Who was to be Emmanuel—God with us, and with His Church to the end of time.

Joseph was from Bethlehem, the city of David, where David's descendants continued to dwell. And it was there, not at Nazareth, that the birth of **The House of David.** Our Redeemer took place. The Son of God was to come of the royal line of David and the kings of Juda. The highest and noblest of earthly genealogies was to be His. So from Abraham to Isaac and Jacob, to David and Solomon and Ezechias His descent is traced by one Evangelist, while Saint Luke goes back to Adam "who was of God." The stem is not traced to Mary, His real mother, but to Joseph His adopted father. But the descent of the one is also that of the other, for they were nearly related. Perhaps the most likely view is that Joseph's father, Jacob, and Joachim were half-brothers, and that hence Mary and Joseph were cousins. St Luke giving Eli, Eliacim or Joachim, three names equivalent in Hebrew, as the father of Joseph, must mean legal or adopted father. Therefore, it would be under the guardianship of him who was both cousin and spouse that the Blessed Virgin was living at the time of the Nativity.

As might be expected, the Christian world, knowing Jesus Christ to be the centre of history, soon began to count from His coming on earth, in their **The fulness of time.** reckoning of time. The chronological systems of the ancients were gradually abandoned for the Christian Era or Year of Our Lord. Yet, simple as it might seem, to start from the year of Our Lord's Nativity, the determination of that date in relation to other landmarks in the world's history was fraught with difficulties. The historian, the astronomer, the antiquary, the mystic, have all had their say, and it is only by the balance of conflicting arguments that we can be guided. It is a question that has exercised

the ingenuity of the keenest minds. Without then denying all value to other theories, it seems best to hold that Our Lord was born at the end of the year of Rome 748 or 747, that is to say either 6 B.C. or 7 B.C., and as there is a still higher degree of probability for the year of Rome 782 or A.D. 29 as the date of His Passion at the Paschal Solemnity, this would give rather more than thirty-three, or rather more than thirty-four years to the life of Our Saviour, according as A.V.C. 748 or A.V.C. 747 is accepted as the year of His Birth

Jesus Christ came on earth to establish His Church, but the way in which He accomplished this work was so far removed from ordinary human procedure as to seem to the natural man incomprehensible. Beginning with a child's life at Bethlehem and Nazareth, He allowed the years of His youth and early manhood to glide away, leaving Him unknown and unnoticed in His poor home. He exposed Himself to the force of circumstances, and to persecution. To escape the outburst of King Herod's jealousy He fled far away into Egypt. After some years, it is true, He returned to the land of Israel, and just once a bright ray of light seemed to shine from Him, when, at the age of twelve, He was brought into relation with the Jewish Doctors in the Temple. But with this solitary exception, as far as we know, up to the age of thirty years, He lived the artisan's life, sharing the common lot to all appearance, and shading the brightness both of His Intelligence and of His Glory. And when the time of His public life began, the change was very gradual, retaining still something of the reserve of what was only preparatory.

The hidden life.

Although the coming of the Messiah and of His Kingdom had been foretold by a succession of Prophets, who found in this their noblest theme, the way was not fully prepared before Him, till the great Precursor, John the Baptist, fulfilled his mission in giving the immediate warning of His approach, thus summing up the predictions that were from the beginning of the world. It is noteworthy that the text of his preaching is thus worded in the Gospel: "Do penance for the Kingdom of God is at hand." To preaching the Baptist joined teaching, simple indeed and preparatory, and to that in turn was added that

St John the Baptist.

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ceremonial observance of Baptism, which is inseparably connected with his name. Wondrous was the history of his birth in the mountain country of Judea, as we have it related by St Luke, with the miraculous events in which Mary and Elizabeth and Zachary and the unborn Saviour each had their share. And the life he had led in the desert in solitude, fasting and prayer from his childhood up had been austere and awe-inspiring beyond compare. Moreover, at last it had been given to him to be not only the voice that told of the Saviour to come, but even the finger-post pointing Him out to the people. "Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him that taketh away the sins of the world."

Having given his testimony in this way, and having baptised with his baptism the Messiah Whose mouthpiece he was, St John's work on earth came to an end. And just when he was delivered up to prison and death at the hands of the tyrant Herod, came the commencement of the public preaching of Jesus Christ Himself. It was now the Master Who spoke instead of the servant, but according to St Matthew the text was identical: "Do penance for the Kingdom of God is at hand." It was simple, straightforward speaking, suited to the understanding even of the ignorant, as far as their capacity allowed. One remarkable feature—Our Lord's free employment of the parable or moral tale to drive home His lessons—seems to have impressed His chosen disciples even more than it did the crowd. And these disciples themselves were, for the most part, plain, unlettered men. But, notwithstanding all this, Our Lord spoke with authority. He did not so much plead, or persuade, as teach, exhort, and judge. He told of the Kingdom that was to be his own: "And Jesus went about all the cities and towns, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom" (Matt. x. 35). And He was able to appeal to the wondrous works which He wrought in confirmation of His words. Almost wherever He went His path was marked by miracles worked indeed in mercy and compassion for the distressed, but worked also in power.

Inasmuch as it was the Divine Will to carry out the evangelisation of the world and the founding of the Kingdom quite gradually, and that chiefly through the

ministry of the Apostles and disciples, at least as important a work as direct preaching was the training of those through whom this work was to be done. Before all others came the Twelve Apostles, to whom the Lord gave the plenitude of power; these were the two brothers

**Training
of the
Apostles.**

Andrew, whose title of Protoclete reminds us that he was the first to be called, and Simon Peter who was to be first in so much greater a sense; James and John, who also were brothers (the sons of Zebedee), as were James and Jude, the cousins of Jesus. Thus, out of the twelve there were three pairs of brothers. But, while Philip and Bartholomew were friends and fellow-townsmen, Matthew, Thomas, Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot seem to stand more alone. Anyhow these were chosen to be the twelve foundations of the new City of God by the Master Builder. One of their number was chosen out by Him, given the new name of Peter, and declared to be the Rock on which in a special sense His Church was to rest. Though, left to himself, he was to prove so weak as to be led to a denial of His Master, yet later on, strengthened by Divine Power, he was enabled alone to bear it up, even if all others failed. Given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he was to open and shut its gates with full commission of authority in the name of its King. Both in his strength and in his weakness he was the exemplar of that long line of Pontiffs who have succeeded to his moments of human weakness and to his abiding divine commission to feed the whole flock of Christ.

The fact that one of the twelve, Judas Iscariot, was to become a traitor, in spite of Our Lord's choice of him, is at first sight a surprising and remarkable thing. But, no doubt it contains great lessons on the mingling of the divine

**The false
Apostle.**

and human elements in the Church, and on the nature of grace and correspondence, as great as we can gather from even the history of St Peter. What happened then has happened in all ages since, and Judas Iscariot is the prototype of that same group of unworthy successors of the Apostles, who appear in the pages of Church History. But once we realise who and what Judas was, the fall of bishop, doctor or pontiff, no matter how great, ought scarcely to scandalise us later on.

There are evidences in the Gospels of a band of

6 THE STORY OF THE CHURCH

disciples being selected by Christ besides the Twelve, and being sent out by Him on the same work of telling the good tidings of the near approach of His Kingdom. These were the seventy-two disciples, about whom we know little save this outstanding fact, that they were used by Jesus Christ to help in the active labours of the ministry, and to prepare the ground for the founding of the Church, and then to disappear. It is thought that the labours of these disciples were only meant to be of short duration. Only a few of the more momentous points of instruction given to the Apostles were repeated to them. It was chiefly by the Twelve that Our Lord meant to work, and the text of their preaching was to be that of St John the Baptist and of Himself: "The Kingdom of God is at hand."

It was surely a remarkable thing that all His life through Our Saviour lived in a most complete obedience to that Jewish Law, which was to pass away as having its end and object fulfilled by His work. The setting of His years and of His days was entirely that of the Jewish life, and the Jewish manners. This was not only the natural order of things, according to Divine Providence, but it also enforced most important teaching. There was the lesson of the most perfect obedience to lawfully constituted authority. This obedience it was that followed step by step, as far as ever the lawyers and priests could claim to speak in the name of the Divine Law and the Prophets, but stopped short at any merely worldly claim to set aside the powers of this world in their own sphere, rendering to Cæsar the coin of the tribute as readily as "to God the things that are God's." But beyond this, there is the historical lesson that it was out of the Jewish Church that Our Lord made His own to grow by a process of development and fulfilment of type and figure, rather than by a new unforeshadowed creation. He Himself kept Jewish rites, Jewish feasts, and Jewish ordinances, and when He passed to His Father He left the human elements Jewish still, all of His own race, trained to see Revelation in the Holy Books of their people, and accustomed to look on all other nations and races as outsiders in religion as in customs and history.

It is not a matter of absolute certainty what amount of time Jesus Christ gave to His public ministry. But

though some have considered this as too short and a few would restrict it still more, the far commoner view is that Our Lord employed three years in His Life of teaching and preaching, i.e. according to the chronology adopted above, from the Paschal Festival of A.D. 26 to the same

**The public
life of
Jesus.**

Feast in A.D. 29. We have in the four Evangelists four more or less independent narratives of the events of those years, but, though each one of them wrote under inspiration, it is not easy to make a harmony as it is called of the Gospels, such as will arrange all the occurrences they mention in one consecutive history. They tell of Our Lord's manner of teaching and preaching, and with transparent faithfulness record His very words. They bear witness to His miracles, and record the parables, that impressed so vividly His hearers, in a way that stamps them on the memory of successive generations of Christians. They also make it clear what Our Lord did to draw out the principles which were to be spirit and life to His Church, and to carry her on to the end of the world. From them we know how the ministry of preaching was to be the means of evangelising the world, and how to make this effective the Apostles and their successors were to be the masters, and all nations their pupils. They tell us how Our Lord repeatedly called His Church the Kingdom, and ordained for it laws and governors—pastors to guide and rule the flock. And lastly they relate how He made provision for common prayer and common worship, above all when He commanded the celebration of the Eucharistic Banquet as the solemn remembrance of Him. The Jews misunderstood the nature of this Kingdom, led astray by their carnal hearts, and by national feeling. And surely their mistakes were shared to some extent by the very Apostles themselves till the Paraclete came to enlighten them at Pentecost. But Our Lord was content to leave it so for the time, going on from pain to pain towards His Passion, annihilating Himself first in the death of the Cross; afterwards to take back the life He had laid down by rising from the dead, and not only so, but in the virtue of that glorious resurrection, raising up the new and spiritual Church which His Apostles were to be His instruments in founding.

All the events in the life of Jesus Christ moved on

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gradually towards the divine drama which was to end it as a mortal existence. The hatred and opposition of the Jewish leaders of all parties, Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians, waxed stronger and stronger with time. The unenlightened Apostles tried to keep the terrible days of the Passion out of their sight, but Our Lord warned them again and again how it was to be. And at last what He had foretold came to pass. He fell into the power of His enemies, for He Himself would have it so. Then, first gathering the Twelve around Him for the Paschal Festival at Jerusalem, in that large Upper Room, ever since known as the Coenaculum, He made the Paschal Supper the moment for instituting the Holy Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Every detail of that Paschal celebration, both as to words and rites, was doubtless perfectly kept to by Him Who fulfilled the whole Law. The Last Supper established a wonderful connection between the figurative sacrifices of the Old Law and that Memorial Sacrifice which was to be the centre of worship for the whole Christian Church.

Less than twenty-four hours passed between the Last Supper and Our Lord's Death. And into that short space were accumulated all that weight of agony and all that variety of torment which the Evangelists tell us of—the agony in the garden, the apprehension, the arraignment before Annas, and then before Caiaphas, and then before the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate. To the last named Our Lord declared that he was indeed a King, but that His Kingdom was a spiritual one, nowise interfering with temporal power. But the Jews affected again to take this otherwise, and put His Kingdom in opposition to Cæsar's Empire. No wonder then that the heathen Governor also took up this royalty all wrongly, and when, in cowardice before the Jewish threats, he had unjustly sentenced Jesus to death, he wrote the title for the Cross thus: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." Then came the long Way of the Cross, and Our Lord was suspended for three hours between earth and heaven with His enemies all around Him, and only a knot of faithful ones by His Cross: Mary and John and the faithful women. Thus did He end His mortal life, and when the soldier drew near and pierced His sacred side, then.

as St John Chrysostom remarks, from the blood and water that flowed therefrom, Christ built up His Church, even as Eve was made and taken from Adam's side.

The Holy Sepulchre held the body of Christ for part of three days, or the space of about forty hours. At the end of that time, as He had foretold, by that Divine power He possessed, being the Lord of Life, He took back the life He had laid down, and rose on the first day of the week immortal and triumphant. It was to this fact of the Resurrection, testified to by credible witnesses, that the Apostles always appealed in their preaching. And on its truth rests the veracity of the Christian Revelation. It gives its credentials to the Church for all the ages to come.

The Resurrection.

Our Lord remained on earth after the Resurrection for forty days. But His life was other than it had been. For though multiplied apparitions confirmed the truth of what had happened, and the identity of the Risen Jesus with the Master

The Risen Life.

Whom the disciples had followed, still he was no longer under those limitations of our mortal existence, which He had before taken on Himself. He was with them one moment, and in another He was gone. He could pass through the closed doors, and speed from place to place. And yet He was no phantom, but the very same Jesus Who had died. No doubt, the stay of forty days was meant to bear in the truth of this upon the minds of the appointed witnesses. And then there was speech of instruction too, and of blessing. And, even if much that Jesus said was mysterious, and not explained at the time, yet it was, as Holy Writ says, "concerning the Kingdom of God," and the Paraclete was promised to explain what the Apostles could not yet fully grasp. Instead of lighting up the dark places of His teaching at once, as He might have done, Our Lord directed His followers to make ready for the coming of that Spirit of God; and then, as He was addressing them on the Mount of Olives, He was caught up out of their sight into Heaven, amid an unexampled scene of splendour and heavenly light, and the Apostles were left on earth to do the work for which they had been trained. But, first the Holy Ghost must come down upon them.

From Mount Olivet the disciples went back to

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Jerusalem, and there set themselves to prepare for the visit of the promised Consoler. They met in the Upper Room or Coenaculum, where the Last Supper had been held, and that assembly of one hundred and twenty persons made up the infant Church. The composition of the little band is partially known to us. It comprised not only the Apostles, but also the Blessed Virgin and that small band of holy women who, following her, had been so faithful to Our Lord while He lived on earth. Very likely many, if not all, of the seventy-two disciples were also there. Guided by what Jesus Christ had told them, and closely united in heart and soul, they gave themselves to earnest and persevering prayer. One incident is also related to us. St Peter directed the selection of a suitable man to take the place of the traitor Judas, thus to complete again the number of twelve Apostles. The election took place, after prayer, by lot, and the lot fell upon St Matthias. It was not till the Pentecostal Festival of the Jews, sometimes called the Feast of Weeks, that the promise made by Our Lord was fulfilled. And then with the sound of a mighty wind, and the vision of tongues of fire, the outpouring of the Spirit of God came down upon all those who were gathered together. Strong enough it was in its intensity to give an impetus to the new creation till Jesus Christ should come again; and yet confined in its present circuit to that little band of six score who stood for world-wide Christendom.

CHAPTER I.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

(A.D. 29-67).

THE supernatural and wonderful day of Pentecost has often been called the Birthday of the Church. Then was that inspiration given which was to be her light and strength unto the end of the ages. And it carried the Apostles forth from the Coenaculum on that very day to begin the work entrusted to them. St Peter began to preach, and he did so in the name of all. His first sermon is given us in brief by St Luke in the Acts. There we read the burning words wherein he pointed out to his fellow-countrymen 'how the predictions of their own prophets had been that day fulfilled, and he called on them to recognise that fulfilment, and to take their share in the promises made by faith in Jesus Christ and the reception of Baptism. The fruits of that sermon were a striking proof that a new and mighty influence had begun to work upon the minds of men. Out of that throng of believers in the Jewish religion, gathered for the Feast of Weeks out of every land where the Jews had found a home, three thousand responded to St Peter's call, and made the first fruits of the work of evangelisation. It was a portent, and for the rulers at Jerusalem a disturbing one too. They intervened with prohibition and menace against the Apostles, and at first added thereto imprisonment, but in vain. And at last, yielding to the prudent counsel of Gamaliel, they decided to abstain from further present action. In this way a certain period of breathing time was granted to the infant Church. It grew rapidly in numbers, meanwhile presenting a bright example of the ideally perfect Christian life. "All," say the Acts, "were of one mind

**Descent of
the Holy
Ghost.**

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and heart and soul." As to earthly goods, they voluntarily practised that community of possessions dreamed of by the Socialists, but only realised where the Gospel counsels become the general rule of conduct.

As labours multiplied on the Apostles, there had to be a clearer division between the temporal and spiritual government of the Church. Hence came **St Stephen and the first Deacons.** the appointment of the Seven Deacons. On them was to fall the care of material things, even the external charity of the faithful, so that the Twelve might give all their time to preaching, teaching, and giving the Sacraments. The names of these seven were Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicholas. Chosen men as they all were, the splendour of the zeal and virtues of Stephen eclipsed the rest. It was this zeal and those virtues that roused a quite special hostility to him on the part of those who opposed the teaching of Christianity. They argued with him, and were beaten; they accused him before the high priest, and this very accusation gave him the opportunity of that splendid plea for the Gospel which is contained in his speech before the Sanhedrim, as preserved for us in the Acts. His words were so soul-piercing that his adversaries were roused to fury. They would have his life, and so under the false pretext of exacting the legal penalty for blasphemy, they stoned him to death outside the wall of Jerusalem. Stephen was the first to give his life for the religion of Jesus Christ, and so he is known by the honourable name of the Protomartyr. His place among the Saints is hence quite unique, and scarce any honour is thought too much for him. His last words: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," and that other pleading cry: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," enshrined in the Book of the Acts, remain the model expression of every martyr's triumph, and of his perfect forgiveness of his enemies.

Among those who stood round St Stephen at his death when he was praying for his enemies, there was one who was not to remain an enemy much longer. **Saul's conversion.** Not that any change came at once. In fact (A.D. 34). the death of the holy deacon, far from appeasing the storm, seems to have led to a more general outbreak of persecution. The autho-

rities laid hands upon the new Christians wherever they could find them, and foremost in the work was the fiery young Pharisee, Saul of Tarsus, a disciple of Gamaliel. It was a question of how to flee quickest, to the right or to the left, out into the country and away to the deserts. None but the Apostles, say the Acts, were left in Jerusalem. But this very scattering was the providential means of the spread of the Faith elsewhere, and first of all to Samaria which was looked on as the heretical rival of the orthodox Jerusalem. And here again it was one of the Seven Deacons who took the lead. Philip went there, and preached, and wrought wonders even as Stephen had done in Jerusalem. He also had remarkable success, and converted and baptised many. Among his conquests, at least outwardly, was Simon Magus, afterwards so notorious, whom he found leading the people to follow him by conjuring and magical arts. The report of these things reached the Holy City, and drew Peter and John to Samaria, where they firmly established the good work done by Philip, confirming his converts, and unmasking the trickery of Simon Magus.

Saul was still aflame with persecuting zeal and had been given a commission from the high priest to go further afield, even to Damascus, the capital of Syria, if so be he might seize some Christians there. And it was on this journey of destruction that the mighty hunter was himself caught by a mightier, and the God of Jesus Christ at Stephen's prayer struck down the would-be captor. Flung from his horse, he heard the interior voice: "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" And as soon as he recognised Who called him, that ardent but straightforward soul replied: "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" He obeyed the command he then received, to go on his way to Damascus, where Ananias, a fervent disciple, warned in vision, came to him, cured the miraculous blindness that had fallen on him when struck to the ground, and then baptised him. An interposition so marvellous had changed Saul utterly. Henceforward, he was as eager to give his testimony to the truth of Jesus the Messiah, as before he had been to oppose Him, and in that same city of Damascus none could now contradict his preaching without meeting defeat and confusion, which was all the more striking as coming from one so lately the hostile tool of Judaism.

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Their fury against Saul knew no bounds; they would kill him in Damascus itself. It was only by stealth that he escaped, and fled to Jerusalem. And there it was some time before the disciples could believe that their late bitter enemy was now changed into another man. But at length the witness of brethren from Damascus and the bold championship of the Faith by Saul himself convinced the Apostles, and Saul became as prominent and zealous at Jerusalem as at Damascus. Yet here again, as might be expected, he was the mark of hostile rage. His life would again have been in danger, so again he was got away, and sent home to his native city of Tarsus.

After this there came a lull in the storm, and the Apostles were able to go on in peace with their evangelical work all through Palestine, passing from place to place, and St Peter went everywhere in turn, confirming, preaching, and working miracles too, in the Name and to glorify the Church of his Master. And in this way was summed up this first period of the Apostles' preaching. It was a period all spent in Palestine, all among the Jews, marvellously successful, and yet so far confined to narrow limits and one race; but a great change was at hand.

Cæsarea was the capital of the Roman province of Syria, and on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. It was while St Peter was at Joppa, also on the seacoast, that a message came to invite him there. He who sent was a Roman officer named Cornelius, friendly to the Jews but an Italian by race, who was on duty in Cæsarea as Centurion in the garrison there. And St Peter, who had been warned in a vision not to despise this Gentile, as otherwise he would have done, went with the messengers to Cæsarea, and there coming into Cornelius' house, at his earnest prayer, preached the whole Christian Gospel to him and his large household. The preaching was confirmed by a miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost, recalling the wonders of Pentecost, and in the light of that heavenly grace, he took the momentous decision to baptise the whole gathering. When some days later Peter went back to Jerusalem, what he had done provoked not only astonishment but contention also. And it was only after a detailed narrative of these events, that

Preaching to the Gentiles.

(A.D. 39.)

the truth that St Peter saw so clearly when preaching to Cornelius burst upon them almost like a new revelation, and they exclaimed: "God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life."

These things gave a wider range in practice to the evangelisation of the world, which had been committed without limit in principle to the Apostles by Our Lord. It is true that Antioch already contained disciples. Members of the Church at Jerusalem had fled thither from the first persecution, and they had made considerable way among their fellow-countrymen already residing there. To them alone at first they confined their preaching, but as time went on, some who had lived in Greek and Roman cities like Cyrene and the cities of Cyprus, began to speak to Gentiles also, and with considerable result—so that here again, as with St Peter and Cornelius, arose doubt and dissension as to the status of these outsiders who were willing to embrace the Faith. But anyhow a great multitude came into the fold, and Barnabas was sent to them from Jerusalem to exhort and strengthen them, and he in turn passed on to Tarsus, whence he brought back Saul to Antioch. There they joined their zeal and Apostolic gifts, spending a year in founding that important Church, and then returned to Jerusalem, where they were not able to make a very prolonged stay. (A.D. 40.)

**Christianity
in the
capital of
the East.**

As persecution had scattered once before the members of the Jerusalem Church, though leaving the Apostles to spend a period of some twelve years in and around the city, so now greater persecution led the Apostles themselves to spread their wings far and wide over the world. King Herod Agrippa was the prime mover in this new attack on the Church. The Apostles themselves were the first object of his attempts. St James the Greater, the brother of John, and St Peter also fell into his hands. St James was slain, thus being the first of the Twelve to give his blood for the Faith. But St Peter was freed from prison miraculously by the coming of an Angel of the Lord to deliver him—an answer to the earnest prayers that were offered up for his deliverance. Herod revenged himself on the warders, putting them to death, and soon after this fixed his

**Dispersion
of the
Apostles.**
(A.D. 41-42).

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abode at Cæsarea. It is not known whether other victims suffered death in this outburst, but it is thought probable that it was the disturbance caused by it at Jerusalem that made the Dispersion of the Apostles an immediate necessity, and that they then passed into the different regions which they had accepted as their sphere of labour in preaching the Gospel to the whole world. St Peter is supposed then to

St Peter's career.

(42-67.)

have gone first to Rome, the capital of the world, and though he did not spend all the remainder of his life there, the accepted period of twenty-five years for his episcopate in the city is dated from this time. But, be that as it may, we know from the Acts that it was to Antioch that Paul and Barnabas made their way, as it was there that the most flourishing body of Christians was to be found. In fact it was at Antioch that the name of Christian was first adopted. We now lose sight of St Peter in the Acts, and are left to conjecture the details of his further career from the allusions in his Epistles, and from certain monumental facts. Probably he evangelised Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia on his way to Rome; so we may gather from his Epistles. And he may have remained in Rome until the Edict of Claudius (A.D. 51), which banished all Jews from the capital. At all events, he returned to Palestine for the Council of Jerusalem, which is considered to have been held in that year. There is a tradition that he spent seven years in the See of Antioch. If this is founded on fact, very likely these years followed on the Council of Jerusalem.

The Acts now deal almost entirely with the doings of St Paul. They first record how he and Barnabas got their supernatural mission by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost at Antioch, and were started on their first journey amid fasting, prayer and benediction. From Seleucia they passed into the isle of Cyprus. This populous

First journey of St Paul.

(45-49.)

and important island was thus the first to experience the missionary zeal of him who, though he had preached to Jews at Antioch, was to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Having begun in the Jewish synagogues, he soon made an illustrious convert in the person of Sergius Paulus, the Roman Proconsul. And the conversion of this man is thought to have been the occasion of his exchanging

his Jewish name of Saul for the Roman cognomen Paulus. The miracle of striking the sorcerer Elymas blind had confirmed his preaching to the Roman Governor. And all over the island Paul and his companion Barnabas passed from city to city, until, having been all over Cyprus, they took ship and landed at Perga in Pamphylia. There, and successively at that other Antioch called of Pisidia, at Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, the two Apostles preached, beginning always with the Jewish synagogue, but in most cases driven forth from it by the hostility of their people, and then turning to speak, as far as occasion served, to the Gentiles around. From Derbe they passed in inverse order again through the above-named places and then took ship for Antioch to render an account of the wonderful mission they had gone forth to from that city. Perhaps they had been absent some four years.

The Church at Jerusalem was of course entirely Jewish, and being composed mainly of those who had been most zealous for the Law, its members in great part still clung to its observance, and some went so far as to think that any Gentiles who embraced Christianity would by the very fact bind themselves to the Mosaic Law which all the first disciples of Our Lord had been trained to keep. And, coming from Judea to Antioch, they would put pressure on the Christians there to make them do likewise, at least in the observance of Circumcision. But Paul and Barnabas came forward as the spokesman of the opposite view. It was a burning question, so finally it was decided that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem, explain to the Church their whole position in the matter, with the story of the great developments to which their mission pointed, and take the decision of the Apostles on the disputed points. For, once raised, the question of the binding force of the whole Law, and not only of Circumcision, had to be gone into. St Peter presided and spoke first, and then St James the Less spoke, outlining a settlement which embodied the true doctrine, and at the same time laid certain positive prescriptions on the Gentile Christians. This ruling was drawn out in a public letter from the Church of Jerusalem to the Gentile Christians at Antioch and other places, and sent to Antioch by two

**Council
of
Jerusalem.**
(A.D. 51).

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special messengers, Barsabas and Silas, who accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their return thither. "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication, from which things keeping yourselves, you shall do well. Fare ye well."

This decree, which was a victory over the Judaizing tendencies of some of the early Christians, must have helped and secured St Paul in his Apostolate. And for some time he made use of the additional weight it gave him to propagate the Faith at Antioch. But after some time he proposed to his companion Apostle another extended missionary journey. The first proposal was to pay a second visit to the cities they had already evangelised together. A difference of view as to whether the disciple John Mark should accompany them, led to their parting company. So while Barnabas took John Mark with him to Cyprus, Paul took Silas and visited in order the cities on the mainland, where he had already preached, and then taking a wider flight, though under detailed guidance from on high, he passed through Mysia to the Trojan country, and there took to the sea for Macedonia, where he began his preaching at Philippi, one of its chief cities. There was persecution, imprisonment and the supernatural interposition that cast a light on their path wherever they went. The Apostles again won, baptised their converts, and then passed on to Thessalonica, the capital of Thessaly, where at the time they had small success. It was otherwise at Berea, where many converts were made. But, eventually, St Paul went on to Athens, and there some few accepted the Gospel, notably Dionysius, a member of the Council of the Areopagus. Corinth next received him for a year and a half, and thence he made his way to Jerusalem, but paid a passing visit to Ephesus on his way. And from Jerusalem, having paid the vow that he came to fulfil, he betook himself again to Antioch—thus completing what is known as his Second Journey.

**Second
journey of
St Paul.**
(51-53).

**St Paul at
Athens.**
(A.D. 52).

His Third Journey took a still more extended range. Beginning from Antioch he went through Galatia and

Phrygia to Ephesus. This was the capital of the Province of Asia Minor, and St Paul now made a lengthy stay there, putting the Church he founded on a firm footing. A tour through Macedonia and Greece and many of the islands of the Greek Archipelago was ended by another visit to Ephesus. And then bidding an affectionate farewell to the Church there, he went up to Jerusalem. This meant chains and danger again. His enemies were lying in wait for him, and seized him at the first chance. There was a tumult, and his life was in danger; so the Roman Tribune rescued him from the hands of the Jews, and allowed him to address the crowd. After the barbarous custom of those days, he was indeed minded to try and extract the truth from him by torture, but, when he found he was a Roman citizen from Tarsus, he freed him, and let him go to plead his cause before the Jewish Council. But the power of his enemies, the Sadducees, was greater than that of the Pharisees, who defended him, so to save him from death at the hands of sworn conspirators, the tribune sent him under guard to Cæsarea to the Governor Felix. St Paul had to stand his trial before Felix, as soon as the Jews who had followed him had laid their accusations before the governor. And he succeeded not only in proving his innocence, but in convincing Felix of the truth of Christianity. But human motives came in to hold back the time-serving Roman, and the result was that, when Felix's time of office expired two years later, he departed leaving Paul still in bonds. Once more the Apostle had to give an account of himself, this time before King Agrippa, as well as the new governor, Festus. And the king was well-nigh won over, but St Paul had appealed to Rome to the judgment of Cæsar, and so to Rome he was sent under the guard of a Centurion named Julius. Storm-tossed, and shipwrecked at Malta, at last the Apostle reached the great city, and being left comparatively free, had an opportunity of evangelising first his fellow-countrymen, and when they refused to listen, then of preaching to many Gentiles who came to him in his lodgings, of whom doubtless many embraced the truth. With this the Acts end abruptly. St Paul no doubt had leisure to write from Rome those Epistles which gave his last exhortations

Third journey of St Paul.

(A.D. 53-57).

A.D. 60-62.

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to the communities of the faithful in the cities he had evangelised. Whether he ever left Rome again is not certain. There are traditions that he preached in Spain, and even went further on than that, but these traditions are not of a strength to confer historical certainty.

In most cities of the Roman Empire the Jews had made numerous colonies even before the Christian Era, and what was true of other places applied
St Peter and St Paul at Rome. (42-67). with still greater force to Rome itself, so that when St Peter came there in 42, he must have found many thousands of his fellow-countrymen already settled down,

plying their usual avocations, organised into synagogues, and enjoying recognition and various exemptions and privileges from the Roman law. And it is probable that some of the Jews, "strangers from Rome," who were in Jerusalem at the miracle of Pentecost, had gone back bearing with them the Christian faith. It was an outward sign of his Apostolate of the whole Church that he fixed his See in the capital of the world-wide dominion of the empire. Claudius banished the Jews from Rome in 50 or 51, and most likely this led to a lengthened absence of St Peter from the city. He was almost certainly not there at St Paul's arrival. Meanwhile, the imperial authorities, though confusing Jews and Christians together in many respects, began to see that at the very least these Christians were quite a special sect of Jews, and they seemed hated and despised even by leading men of their own nation. Hence, when the cruel tyrant Nero, having looked on the great calamity of the burning of Rome with such callous indifference as to lead to the suspicion that he had caused it, wished to affix the blame elsewhere, it was on the suspected and little known sect of Jewish Christians that his unprincipled cruelty laid the charge. Many were apprehended and put to death with frightful cruelty. Tortured in public by day to furnish a spectacle to divert the crowd, and by night smeared with pitch, and planted along the road to burn like torches, they gave their lives for the Faith.

After the first outburst of persecution there may have been a lull, but it is not likely the persecution ceased suddenly. Definite charges of crime and treason to Rome and her gods followed the vague suspicions of incen-

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES 21

diarism, and it appears that the persecution never died out until the end of Nero's reign in A.D. 68. It would be then towards the end of this four years of persecution, known as the

FIRST GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF NERO (64-68),

that the martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul took place, namely in 67. Meeting in the capital of the world after many wanderings, they gave their testimony to the Faith of Jesus Christ with their lives, though each in his own way. Tradition has it that St Peter was crucified with his head downwards at his own request, as accounting himself all unworthy to suffer so exactly in the manner of his Saviour. St Paul was beheaded as a Roman citizen of Tarsus, as the law directed. And there quite near that Vatican Hill, where to-day St Peter's Church crowns the city of Rome, lie the bodies of the two Apostles, who have always been accounted by the Church the twin founders of the Apostolic See: the only See founded by an Apostle, which subsists to this day. The Petrine tomb, witnessed to by an unbroken chain of tradition, is the fit symbol of that invincible rock on which Our Lord promised He would, and on which He actually did, build His Church. The body of St Paul was first supposed to be buried on the Via Ostiensis, where his basilica now stands, but was afterwards translated to the vicinity of St Peter's remains in St Sebastiano. It was later on brought back to the church on the Via Ostiensis.

“O happy Rome! made holy now
By these two martyrs' glorious blood;
Earth's best and fairest cities bow,
By thy superior claims subdued.”

With regard to the career of the other Apostles after their dispersion, we are left to traditions of various value and to conjecture. St Andrew is called the Apostle of Scythia, and possibly penetrated to the people of that far-off land. Then he seems to have turned southward into Epirus and Greece, and to have suffered martyrdom on an X-shaped cross at Patras in Achaea. St Bartholomew went to the nearer parts of India, and St Thomas probably to the further regions of the same country, where his memory and shrine still are in honour at Meliapore. St

**The labours
of the other
Apostles.**

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Matthew, after writing his Gospel, is supposed to have preached in Arabia Felix, and there to have met his death for the Faith. St Simon evangelised Idumea and Mesopotamia, and St Jude found his sphere of labour in Syria, while both are thought then to have made their way to Persia. St Philip went into Upper Asia Minor and Phrygia, and St Matthias is considered to have preached in Chaldaea. St Barnabas, after parting from St Paul, found a sufficient field of labour in the isle of Cyprus. There remain the two Saints James for Palestine. St James the Great was the first of the Apostles to suffer death, and this was at Jerusalem in Herod's persecution. St James the Less remained at the head of the Church in Jerusalem and is often called its Bishop. There he is thought to have given his blood for his Master. None of the Apostles, except St Peter, left any permanent See, for Jerusalem was near to its fall; and though by a false analogy its Patriarchs are sometimes called the successors of St James, the real Jerusalem was gone, it was only a name and a site that survived.

There had been another rebellion of the Jews, always impatient of the yoke of Rome, and the able general
Destruction of Jerusalem. (A.D. 70).
Vespasian was sent to quell it with a powerful army. He invested Jerusalem, but the city offered a desperate resistance. The details of the siege, quite apart from its significance in the History of the Church,

one of the greatest recorded, have been preserved in the faithful and never-to-be-forgotten work of Josephus, who was an eye-witness from the Roman Camp of the horrors he relates. After the death of Nero, and the passage of a few ephemeral emperors, Vespasian was chosen emperor by the Roman Army, and the chief command against the Jews was given to his son Titus. At last the city fell, and a dreadful massacre of the inhabitants took place. The Temple also was destroyed, and nearly the whole city razed to the ground by the victorious Romans.

The fall of Jerusalem was an event of the highest importance to Christianity, as it gave a rude shock to the views of those who still clung to Judaism as a system on to which the Christian religion was to be grafted as on to a living thing, instead of a system whose work was done. As long as Jerusalem was there with its Temple and rites,

The Judaizers.

the Jewish Christians still held to the observance of the Law of Moses. We have already seen how at first they wished to make it obligatory on all. And, even after the decision of the Apostles that this was not to be, many kept it themselves without forcing it on others, and this was at least tacitly approved. Sometimes it is put in this way: that until the destruction of Jerusalem the Jewish Law was dead, but not deadly. And even after the fall of the city, there was a body of Christians called Nazarenes who kept it still. They were scarcely heretics, though their separation in point of fact from the main body of the faithful gave them a schismatical if not an heretical complexion. The last effort of the Judaizers to hold to their traditional views is to be recognised in that struggle over the time for celebrating the Christian festival of the Resurrection, which we shall meet again as the Easter Controversy.

CHAPTER II.

LATER APOSTOLIC TIMES.

(A.D. 67-98).

THERE remained on earth, long after the other Apostles had passed away, the beloved disciple St John. Just as one of the sons of Zebedee was the first, Old age of St John. so was the other the last to change the militant for the triumphant life. It is thought that his days were prolonged for a whole generation after St Peter gave his testimony (67), and after Jerusalem had fallen (70). There is a tradition of the Roman Church that St John came to Rome in Domitian's time (94) and was there plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil at the tyrant's command, but being preserved from injury by divine interposition, was then banished by Domitian to the island of Patmos in the Egean Sea. While there he beheld those marvellous visions of the heavenly Jerusalem which are written in his Apocalypse. St John was the only Apostle who did not actually shed his blood for his Master. Apostle, evangelist, prophet, virgin and foster-son of the Virgin Mother, his place is unique and glorious in that high company. Very likely the greater part of St John's old age was spent in the city of Ephesus, where he lived until about the year A.D. 100—infallible oracle of that and the neighbouring churches of the Province of Asia, and gracious teacher of charity, breathing in his daily life that exquisite spirit of fraternal love which we read in his Epistles. And with St John there remained many of those first disciples of the Apostles, converted by them in years long past, personally known to them, and living their life, such as St Luke, St Mark, St Denys,

St Timothy, St Titus and others. It is the presence of such as these, in their youth contemporary with the Apostles, and yet in many cases surviving them as long as St John did, that gives that period the name of Later Apostolic Times (67-98.)

The martyrdom of St Peter may well have been as late as A.D. 67, if we accept the view that the persecution of Nero went on from its outbreak in 64 until the tyrant's death in 68. And this is the more likely opinion. We do not know what was the proceeding that indicated who was to succeed him in that Universal Apostolate which he held, and which he gave an external and striking image of by fixing his seat of rule in the capital of the Roman world. The oldest catalogues are fairly at one in giving three disciples of the Apostle as being in turn his successors in the Roman See. Linus, Cletus, Clement were all no doubt consecrated by St Peter himself, and residing in Rome, contemporary with the holy Apostles. In some sense they may have been coadjutors of St Peter. But it is the constant tradition of the Roman Church that these three in turn filled the Apostolic See after St Peter. There is not absolute agreement as to the order, for one list puts St Clement first, and others mention an Anacletus as well as Cletus, and both of these have feasts in the Calendar; but it is almost certain historically that Cletus and Anacletus are two forms of the same name, and that the right order is *Linus, Cletus, Clement*. And there is considerable accord in attributing to them reigns of eleven, twelve, and eight years respectively, making their date of death: Linus 78, Cletus 90, Clement 98. All are called martyrs, but there is no authentic document to support the tradition, which is antecedently improbable in the case of St Linus, though as St Clement died according to the dates above in 98, it is more likely that his end was that of a martyr. St Clement's Acts are evidently not genuine, but the Epistle he wrote to the Corinthians, with another fragment, is solidly held to be so, and is remarkable for the teaching it contains, and for the authority which he therein claims as Head of the Church, giving directions to the faithful of Corinth, even though St John the Apostle may still have been alive.

The successors of St Peter.

The next name of a pontiff in the various catalogues is

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that of Aristus or Evaristus who is called a Greek of Antioch, the son of a Jew from Bethlehem, and eight years of reign are attributed to him. This **St Ignatius.** would bring his death, which tradition (107). hands down as martyrdom, to about the year 107. But there is nothing whatever authentic known about his life or death. There is a remarkable series of likenesses between what has been recorded about him above, and what tradition asserts of St Ignatius of Antioch. Both were Jews, both from Antioch, both said to be martyred in Rome, both died in 107. St Ignatius, not Evaristus, stands in the Canon of the Mass, the one was Aristus and the other Ariston or Frumentum Xti as he calls himself. Even if they cannot be identified, the Coryphæus of the Christian faith in those years was the venerable father who followed Evodius as Bishop of Antioch. Ignatius had been Bishop of Antioch for many years, possibly even for fifty, when he was accused and brought to Rome from his distant diocese, at a time when Trajan himself was at Antioch, and determined to make the Roman paganism as victorious as the Roman arms had been. There, when questioned by the magistrate, he made a glorious confession, and receiving his sentence with joy, went in triumph to his martyrdom. The noble words ascribed to him are preserved in the Roman Breviary: "I am the wheat of Christ; may I be ground by the wild beasts' teeth, and thus become pure bread." There in the Flavian Amphitheatre before myriads of spectators he was exposed to the beasts, and when he was slain, two lions devoured his flesh. His bones were collected by the faithful, and after two translations finally rest in the Church of San Clemente quite near to where he suffered. And other precious remains of the martyrs have also found a resting place in that ancient basilica, where we still seem to catch some sweet aroma of those primitive Christian times.

The Acts of St Ignatius, long considered above suspicion, are now thought to be at least interpolated. Still it is most likely that they are fundamentally founded on fact. And, with regard to his **His epistles.** epistles, the result of a most searching controversy has been the recognition by the majority of scholars of seven epistles as authentic. And these writings are surpassed by none in their importance as

testimonies to the faith of the later Apostolic age. In fact Cardinal Newman has asserted that "the whole system of Catholic doctrine may be discovered, at least in outline, not to say in parts filled up, in the course of his seven epistles." The threefold hierarchy of the Church instituted by Christ, the catholicity, infallibility and holiness of the Church, the doctrine of the Eucharist, the dignity of the See of Rome, and much else of moment, is drawn out in these grand letters.

We have already mentioned the Epistle of St Clement, which was probably written some ten years earlier, but before passing on to other matters it were best here to speak of the rest of that ancient literature, so small in amount but so significant in its allusions, which we call

**The
Apostolic
Fathers.**

the Works of the Apostolic Fathers. The keen knife of the critic has cut away much that once held an honoured place in this list; either quite modern forgeries, or at least of much later date, quite a number of works have dropped off, and consequently ceased to be prized as before. Thus many a false gospel has gone and so, too, the Acts of Pilate, and the supposed correspondence of Our Lord with Abgar, Prince of Edessa. So, too, the Apostolic Constitutions have been relegated to the fourth century, and with them the Areopagitic books, formerly attributed to St Dionysius, but now considered to have their place among the neoplatonic speculations of the fourth, or even the fifth century. But, notwithstanding all deductions, there still remain precious and genuine works, which bear on them the impress of that early age. Besides the *Epistles of St Clement of Rome* and of *St Ignatius*, we have the *Acts* of the martyrdom of *St Polycarp*, with at least one *Epistle* from his hand. And then there remain several well-known but anonymous works, the chief place among which should perhaps be given to the "*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*," only recently discovered, but generally admitted to be primitive. Then we have a *Letter to Diognete*, a *Letter of Barnabas*, who may possibly have been the Apostle, a romance called the *Pastor* by *Hermas*, and some fragments of *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis. These, with such portions of the early Liturgies as have come down from Apostolic times, about exhaust the list of this antique Catholic literature.

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An interval of peace followed the death of Nero in A.D. 68, and after the ephemeral reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, a more stable state of things in the empire was reached, when the veteran general Vespasian was chosen as emperor.

The Flavian Caesars. (68-96.) He was followed in turn by his two sons, **Titus and Domitian** (81-96) and these three princes are known in history as the Flavian Caesars. It is likely that this interval without any kind of general persecution lasted for twenty years. The times were not without martyrs, but personal or local feeling seems to have been the cause of their being led to death. The former may have been the reason why Domitian's cousin Titus Flavius Clemens was put to death, and it is conjectured that the latter cause is responsible for the death of St Apollinaris, the first Bishop of Ravenna. The Flavians were not descended from patrician fathers, and their time was one of democratic progress. Vespasian, who came from the siege of Jerusalem to escape the purple proffered by the army, reigned till 79, but his son Titus was made Caesar and co-Regent as soon as he returned in triumph from the Jewish War. The Arch of Titus was built to commemorate his triumph, near the Coliseum, which was also built by these princes, and hence is sometimes called the Flavian Amphitheatre. Vespasian ruled with moderation and justice till 79, and during the two years that Titus reigned as sole emperor, the same policy prevailed. In 81 Domitian succeeded his brother, and for the greater part of his reign made the integrity of his public government a sharp contrast to his private life. But in 93 there was a conspiracy against him, and Domitian, who had taken the title of Lord and God, being the first emperor to assume divine honours in his lifetime, let go all the fierceness of his proud nature in trying to force men to this idolatrous creature worship. Jews and Christians resisted, and thus the two last years of Domitian's reign (94-96) were taken up with the

SECOND GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF DOMITIAN (94-96).

It was in the midst of the bloody scenes of this new attack that St John was brought to Rome, and the then recent events of it are alluded to in the Apocalypse, which

must have been written about this time. The Consul Acilius Glabrio was another illustrious victim.

In the teeth of persecution, passing from one city to carry the good tidings of the Gospel to another, the great work of the diffusion of Christianity had all this time been going on, and whatever breathing space there was under the Flavian Cæsars must have given an opportunity of

**Progress
in many
lands.**

solidifying and building up the Christian communities in many parts of the empire. There are cities in almost every country of Europe which claim an Apostolic origin for the Church within their bounds, but most of these claims rest on a very insecure, or at best, unverifiable foundation. After noticing that Jerusalem had already been destroyed, and that Antioch, the capital of the East, was for years the usual residence of more than one Apostle, we come to Rome, the capital of the world, justly claiming as its two founders the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and this in quite a special sense. Alexandria owes its origin to St Mark, the Evangelist, sent thither it is said by Peter himself. There is, of course, positive evidence for the cities mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and argumentation founded on what we find there would make St Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus, St Titus of Crete, and St Barnabas of Cyprus. The Seven Churches of Asia were already founded and organised by Apostolic men in the days when St John wrote his Apocalypse, but the names of those presiding in them have not come down to us. There is little doubt that Ravenna has for its founder St Apollinaris, and Capua St Rufus, both disciples of the Apostles. And there are seven so-called Apostolic founders in Gaul, and as many in Spain. Without trying to separate legend from fact, it is quite certain that in the first century there were Christians in Spain and Gaul, in Germany and in many of the Italian cities, but there is little definite information as to names and dates that will bear criticism. The spread of the Faith was a gradual and chequered progress.

And as it went on its way its footsteps were dogged by a distorted shadow or caricature of itself, which took now one form, now another, according as Our Lord's religion struck now upon one and now on another of the obstacles in the natural man to the empire of grace;

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these are what we mean by heresies. There is a history of heresies just as there is a history of true religion.

Early

heresies.

The forerunner of all heresiarchs was that Simon Magus whose first meeting with Christianity at Samaria has been noted above. He began his career, being not yet a Christian, with the Simoniacal attempt to buy spiritual favours with money, and was rebuked by the Apostles. But he soon fell away, and developed an antichristian system which he probably borrowed in great part from the already existing Gnostics. There is a Supreme Being, he said, Who revealed Himself to the Samaritans as the Father, to the Jews as the Son, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost. From His intelligence came the angels or *eons*, who created man and the world, and hindered God's intelligence from returning to the Father. Simon came to deliver intelligence, and to free man from the hostile angels or *eons*, who were nevertheless to be appeased by a suitable worship. The soul, and the soul alone, is saved; the body has no resurrection. Simon's immediate disciples were Dositheus and Menander, and it is thought that the Docetae, who taught that the body of Christ was only an appearance, had also a deep connection with the same heretical school; of the later developments of Gnosticism more has to be said below. For, though it is now considered that it was developed even before the time of Christianity, its great struggle with the pure Gospel doctrine was reserved to the second and third centuries.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH IN THE PAGAN EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH.

(98-138).

DOMITIAN, that "half-Nero," as Tertullian calls him, perhaps in allusion to the last two tyrannical years of his reign, was murdered by a band of conspirators in 96, and the aged Nerva was only able to hold the reins of empire for two years. In fact to aid him, even for that brief period, he had adopted Trajan, who then succeeded him in 98, and was emperor for nearly twenty years, till at his death (117) he was followed by his adopted son Hadrian. The character of these two emperors in history stands so high that they are sometimes called the Good Emperors. Hadrian also reigned for twenty years (117-138) and it is in the reign of these two princes that the pagan empire is thought to have reached its zenith of prosperity and glory. Victories over the enemies of Rome, the extension of her bounds to their furthest limits, and works of peace on an equally large scale, are put to the credit of Trajan. But at least at first he seems to have looked on Christianity as a hostile power to be beaten down like the Dacians or Parthians, and hence he is considered responsible for the

**The Good
Emperors.**
(98-138).

THIRD GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF TRAJAN (106-107),

in which suffered St Ignatius and St Simeon of Jerusalem. And there are acts of martyrdom of other saints who suffered about this time. But the persecution was far from being general, and soon died down. Trajan, whom the Christian poet Dante fancied he saw in Paradise, on account of his virtues, was, at all events for a pagan, a humane and intelligent ruler, and there were cultured

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Romans around him who would not have been for pushing things too far. For example, Pliny had been sent by Trajan as Legate over the two provinces of Bithynia and Pontus, and in that far-reaching office must have often met with Christians charged before his tribunal; and unwilling to persecute, or tired of bloodshed, he wrote to the emperor for instructions. The answer is preserved to us, inconsistent indeed, but very likely leading to the dying down of the attack. "They are not to be sought out, but if accused and convicted they must be punished." A humane governor might easily take this as a signal to let the persecution die out.

Hadrian was a less severe and firm character than Trajan, but he would be even more likely to abstain from active pursuit of the Christians. And

Hadrian. so we find that there was little bloodshed in his reign among the children of the Church. While Trajan admired the old Roman ways and the virtues of the ancestors of his race, Hadrian was the friend of Greek philosophers and artists and of the modern culture which they brought with them. It was to him that the first Christian Apology in writing was addressed. He was a great traveller, and, wherever he could, left solid memorials of his passing: Britain had the Wall of Hadrian, the East had Hadrian's City or Adrianople, Rome had the Mole of Hadrian.

After the death of Evaristus in 107 the Pontifical See was held by St Alexander, a native Roman priest for about ten years (107-117), so that this Pope, **Contemporary popes.** who seems to hold the next place to Ignatius in the Canon of the Mass, was contemporary with the last half of Trajan's reign. Then came St Xystus or Sixtus, who is also called a Roman, and the dates in the ancient catalogues give him a reign of about another ten years (117-127). After him Pope St Telesphorus, whom the *Liber Pontificalis* calls a Greek, is given eleven years of reign by the Catalogues (127-138), so that these two popes are almost exactly contemporary with Hadrian. Both are credited in the List of Popes with having won the martyr's crown, but we have no further details to rely on. The absence of any general persecution must have given an opportunity for a considerable increase in the number of Christians, not only at Rome, but also in the Provinces. The letter of Pliny

mentioned above would seem to show that even in so distant a region Christianity was spreading and attracting notice. The epoch of tranquillity also gave an opportunity to those among the Christians whose education and abilities gave them the power to speak out, and the occasion being seized by them gave rise to quite a distinct class of early Christian writings.

Following on the venerable writings known as those of the Apostolic Fathers, come those interesting first efforts of polemical discussion which are called the works of the Christian Apologists. A letter written to the emperor by Servius Grani-
The Apologists.
 anus, Proconsul of Africa, explaining the position of the Christians and dissuading him from persecuting them, probably produced at least as much effect as any of the Christian writings, but for obvious reasons it is not counted among the Apologies, strictly so called. The first Apology of which we have any knowledge was the one presented by Quadratus, a disciple of the Apostles, to the Emperor Hadrian, but of this work only one fragment preserved by Eusebius remains. And for a long time the Apology of Aristides of Athens was also lost. This work, however, has been recently recovered in Syrian and Armenian translations, and is now held not to have been presented to Hadrian, but to his successor.

It will not be anticipating many years to deal here with the life of another Apologist, who may be regarded as the typical champion in this class of writing. This is St Justin the Philosopher
St Justin-
 and Martyr. He was born at Neapolis in (100-165).
 Syria, possibly in the first years of the second century. A heathen, he studied the system of one philosopher after another, and passed from sect to sect, without however finding satisfactory answers to the problems in his mind, until he met, as he tells us, an aged stranger, who preached to him Christ, and so wrought upon him by the help of grace that he embraced Christianity, and made his way from Palestine to Rome. There he founded what is thought to have been the first Christian school in the capital, using every power he possessed to preach the Faith, and to refute both the obstinacy of the Jewish leaders and the vain dreams of the pagan philosophers. This was done not merely by word of mouth.

but by written discourses which survive to this day. It is in the *Dialogue with Trypho* that St Justin defends the Christian religion against the objections and calumnies with which the Jews assailed it. This is the longest of St Justin's extant works, both the *Apologies*, one of them addressed to the emperor, being shorter far, but not less important. St Justin wrote several other works which have perished, especially a *Refutation of Heresies* and a work against Marcion. He is a most valuable witness to the Faith of the second century, and a philosophic, if not logical, defender of Christianity, who writes with greater moderation than Tatian or Tertullian. The acts of his martyrdom are in great part authentic. He is said to have met his death through the jealousy of Crescentius, a Cynic lecturer at Rome, who, hurt by his superior success, denounced him to the authorities. The Christian philosopher was able to add to that proud title the still nobler one of martyr in A.D. 165.

The Christians who had taken refuge at Pella from Jerusalem during the siege with their bishop, St Simeon, son of Cleophas, afterwards returned, and **The last** the Christian community, which was all **Jewish War.** Jewish by race, went on upon the old site. And when Simeon was martyred under Trajan, he was succeeded in turn by several bishops of Jewish race, until A.D. 132. In that year the Jews in Palestine, who were harshly treated by the Roman garrison and the Roman colonists, broke out into rebellion under the leadership of Bar Cochba, who gave himself out as the Messiah who was to restore their kingdom. But the patriotic zeal which could not resist Titus was equally powerless now, and in 135 Hadrian captured whatever was left of Jerusalem, and levelled whatever had been spared at the former siege. All the Jews were sent away, and a new Roman colony, called *Elia Capitolina*, was established on the site of Jerusalem. A Christian congregation was soon formed in the new city, but this time it was a Gentile one with a succession of Gentile bishops. It had only the identity of site to connect it with the old See. Not only was it not a patriarchate, but as *Elia* was a place of small moment, it was made suffragan to the metropolitan of Cæsarea. It was only the memories of the past that gradually

gained for it patriarchal honours in the fourth and fifth centuries.

But with Jerusalem levelled to the ground and Gentile Christians colonising the Holy City's site, the Judaizing spirit was able to find one battleground more within the Church, and that was over the question of the right time to keep the Easter Festival. The custom in the East was to keep Good Friday on the 14th of the Jewish month of Nisan, and Easter on the third day after, while in the West the custom was to keep the Friday after the 14th Nisan as Good Friday and the following Sunday as Easter Day. There was a double question at stake, and this complicated the matter: the question of difference of reckoning, and the question of keeping the 14th Nisan as Good Friday, when that date came on a Friday. According as the latter question was settled in the affirmative or negative would the Christian Easter always avoid the Jewish Passover or not. Consequently, there were three parties: that of the Ebionites or Nazarenes, which still retained the Jewish Passover, and thus became heretical or at least schismatic; that of the Quarto-decimans, which adhered to the 14th Nisan for Good Friday even if the Jews were keeping the same day; that of the West, which was also followed by part of the East, to keep the Friday after the 14th Nisan as Good Friday and the following Sunday as Easter. We shall see St Polycarp discussing the question at Rome on behalf of the Eastern custom with Pope St Anicetus, and later on St Irenæus begging indulgence for the same custom from St Victor. The matter came up again in 325 at the Council of Nicaea, and a long decree was there formulated in favour of the Western custom being followed even in the East. And this was not the end of the matter, for when the Roman missionaries in Britain met the Celtic monks who were evangelising the Angles from Iona, they found that they were not in agreement with the Roman custom. Party feeling rose high, supported as it was on both sides by venerable traditions, and it was more than a century before uniformity was established.

**The Easter
contro-
versy.**

CHAPTER IV.

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES.

(138-192).

The Antonines. (138-192). FOLLOWING an example already time-honoured and successful, Hadrian had adopted a member of another family as his successor, and when he died in 138 it was this adopted son Antoninus Pius who grasped the sceptre. And he with his still more celebrated son, Marcus Aurelius, gave the Roman State another lifetime of vigour and splendour. Antoninus had also a grandson, Commodus, by no means equal to either his father or his grandfather, but he held the supreme power for twelve years after the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 so that altogether the age of the Antonines may be taken to extend over full fifty years, and thus fills up the second half of the second century. The rescript of Hadrian, which went beyond that of Trajan in not only requiring legal proof of delinquency but decreeing the punishment of false accusers of the Christians, did not, it is true, give any legal sanction to Christianity in theory; but Antoninus Pius (138-161) in practice followed the same line of conduct as his predecessor had done. There are extant several letters of his, warning governors not to take mere popular clamour as proof of criminality on their part. Marcus Aurelius (161-180), on the contrary, who aspired to be the model of old Roman virtue, and who affected the life and sentiments of a Stoic philosopher, was more consistent, though less practical and less merciful. He proceeded to enforce the laws, rewards being given to informers and death inflicted on conviction. This gives a sufficient explanation of what is known as the

FOURTH GENERAL PERSECUTION (M. AURELIUS), A.D. 166.

a period of stress and probation, which is illustrated

by the authentic acts of many noble martyrs. The martyrs of Lyons, St Lucius, St Blandina are all to be referred to this period, and in a more general way St Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, whose Acts are among the most celebrated of all, and St Justin the philosopher. It is true in neither of these latter cases was there seemingly much connection with the general persecution.

While the Antonines, Pius and his two sons, ruled the world, no fewer than six pontiffs followed each other in the Chair of Peter. St Hyginus (138-142) is called a Greek from Athens, and de-

The Roman See.

scribed in the Book of Popes, we know not on what authority, as having been a philosopher. After his short reign came St Pius (142-154), whose brother, Hermas, is supposed to have been the author of the religious romance called the Pastor, or Shepherd, which is very celebrated in the annals of the literature of the time. While St Pius was Pope, the Gnostic heretics showed great activity at Rome, trying to influence and mould the Christian teaching to fit in with their views. It was only when they were cast out by St Pius that Valentine formally organised a distinct and, as he foolishly thought, more spiritual religious body. It is not possible to be too sure about the dates of the reigns of these early Popes, but it appears that St Polycarp came to Rome in 154, and then St Anicetus was already Pontiff, so St Pius must have been already dead before the end of that year. The Holy Bishop of Smyrna had conferences with St Anicetus on the Easter question, and according to St Irenæus and Eusebius, though they did not see the matter exactly in the same light, charity was not broken, but the aged Eastern bishop was allowed to go on keeping Good Friday on the 14th Nisan. St Polycarp was then in extreme old age. He had been made Bishop at Smyrna by St John himself, and was to suffer martyrdom in the following year. It has been pointed out, that by his length of days St Polycarp, one of the Apostolic Fathers, forms the link between the age of the Apostolic Fathers and the succeeding generation, somewhat in the same way as the Evangelist St John forms the link between the times of the Apostles themselves and those of the Apostolic Fathers. But in St Anicetus' days there were busy heretics in Rome, such as Marcion, and St Polycarp gave his testimony against them as strongly as in favour

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of St John and the churches of Asia. St Polycarp was martyred about 155. If the year 154 is accepted for Anicetus' accession, and he lived eleven years as the Book of the Popes records, his death would fall about 165. The next Pope on the list is St Soter, a native of Campania, who is credited with eight years of Pontificate (165-173). St Eleutherius (173-188) is related to have received an embassy from one of the British princes, Lucius by name, and to have sent at his request two missionaries, Faganus and Duvan, to preach the Gospel there. But we know nothing of the details of this tradition, nor whether Lucius was within the borders of Roman Britain, or outside of it. The name seems to suggest that he had been already under Roman influence, and by this time it is extremely probable that soldiers in the army and other officials of Roman Britain would have been Christians. The Easter Controversy came to the front again in the time of St Victor (188-198), and this brings us to the venerable name of St **Irenaeus**. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. This holy and learned man was born in Asia, and saw St Polycarp, the martyr Bishop of Smyrna, in his old age. Then he was either sent or travelled of his own accord to the city of Lyons in Gaul, which held a place in the Roman provinces there much greater than its place in modern France. In fact Lyons was a centre-point to them all, and easily had the primacy in secular affairs, which it has claimed more than once in the hierarchy of the Gallic Church. It was while here that St Irenæus was sent on behalf of the Lyons Christians to Rome on the errand of combating the errors of the Montanists. Having succeeded St Pothinus as Bishop of Lyons, he is known to have interceded with the Pope St Victor for those Eastern Christians who were still keeping to the Oriental custom of keeping Easter on the 14th Nisan, and hence were classed with the so-called Quarto-decimans. They had been admonished by the Pontiff to give up this custom as being at variance with that of the rest of the Church. With regard to the death of St Irenæus the evidence is conflicting and uncertain. Probably his career ended in the last years of the second century, but it cannot be determined whether by a martyr's death or in the ordinary course of nature. It is held to be more probable that he died a peaceful and natural death. St

Irenæus was the author of many works, most of which have perished, but the two which remain are of the highest importance, seeing the position of the writer, and the facts of his career. The Lyonese father, who had known St Polycarp in those Eastern provinces from which he sprang, and who was a witness for a prominent Western community like that of Lyons, besides being familiar with the Roman Church and its traditions, could speak out if he chose on primitive Christianity as few could. And he has done so. St Irenæus wrote in Greek, although only Latin translations have come down to us. Of his chief work, usually called "Against the Heresies," whose real title is: "*Of the Detection and Overthrow of the False Knowledge*" (i.e. Gnosticism), there is a well-known Latin translation. In this book valuable testimonies are to be found of the faith of the writer in the Holy Eucharist, and in the primacy of the See of Rome, not to speak of other points of Catholic doctrines. Of St Irenæus' other extant work, called the "*Proof of the Apostolic Preaching*," there exist translations both in Latin and Armenian. Somewhat the same ground is here covered from a different point of view, and it is written rather to confirm the faith of Catholics than to confute Gnostics and other heretics. We know the names of several other works of St Irenæus, but only possess fragments of them as quoted by Eusebius and others.

And as the championship of Christian dogma in the case of St Irenæus was chiefly against the Gnostics, and as the controversy against them was the one that was uppermost in the Rome of his day, this may well be the place to speak, as far as an outline like this can do so, of that far-reaching and formidable system of errors. The best scholars of our days have given up the opinion that Gnosticism was an erroneous and rationalist development of Christianity, and the researches of Oriental scholars have laid bare its roots in the dualism of Persia, and the pantheistic speculations of the Syrian and other Eastern philosophies. And thus they would trace it back beyond the Christian Era, and show it to us as already existing and influencing men's minds before the preaching of the Gospel. This would explain also whatever Gnosticism there was in the teaching attributed to Simon

The
Gnostic
heresies.

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Magus and his disciples, as well as the references to it in the Epistles of the New Testament. It is very difficult to give any intelligible account of its doctrines and developments. It was ultra-rationalistic, it was pessimistic, it was esoteric, it was spiritualistic, and it blended these elements in an ever-changing maze of speculations, and versification, according to the genius or genesis of the individual teacher who expounded them. It claimed to be the highest form of Christianity, though only adapted for the highest and best Christians. And the efforts of the Christian writers were directed towards rebutting this claim before they proceeded to carry the war into the enemy's country by showing up its positive errors, impieties and absurdities. Finally, the advance of Christian thought was cleared of all infection from this poisonous growth. But Irenæus and Tertullian and others had to struggle and write for a lifetime before this was done. As the Gnostic doctrine was fully elaborated it took two forms: the Syrian form, which was dualistic, and led on to manicheism, or the doctrine of two supreme principles, and the Alexandrian form, which was pantheistic. It is admitted that the Gnostic speculations form a tangle of web-like dreams and thin-spun theories, full of confusion and unintelligible language. As a specimen of this an attempt is made here to summarise the chief points in the doctrine of Valentine, considered by some to be the most rational development of the system: Bythos dwelt with Syze for ages of ages, and then produced Nous, and Aletheia. These in turn produce Logos and Zoe, and these Anthropos and Ecclesia. These together form the Ogdoad, from which comes the decad of ten, and from this the dodecad of twelve, so that the plenitude of the Divinity consists of thirty *eons*. The material world is the work of a Demiurgus, not of the Divinity itself. There are three kinds of men, the spiritual, the intellectual, and the material. The first kind, or Gnostics, are impeccable; the intellectual, or Catholic, are redeemed by Jesus Christ, but liable to sin; the material are doomed to corruption and not redeemed. The Demiurgus is the God of all that is outside the plenitude of the Divinity.

From the Valentinians came the Adamites, Sethianites, and a host of similar sects. Among the Alexandrian school, which can be traced back to Menander, a disciple of Simon Magus, are prominent, Saturninus, and

later Basilides and Carpocrates. At Rome we hear of Marcion and Cerdon, and then a whole series of groups of heretics such as these: Marcosians, Secundians, Ptolemaites, Archontics, Bardesanites (or semi-Gnostics), and last of all the Encratites and Montanists, who belong to a later period of history. The special austerity and strictness of life affected by these two last sects have their roots in Gnostic teaching. Until about the year 250, the efforts of the Gnostics produced an amount of literature which far exceeds what we possess from orthodox writers during the same period. But with Montanism as its last and weakest form, Gnosticism fades away, after having troubled the Church for nearly two centuries, and having bewitched the mightiest intellects and the most aspiring spirits.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST WANING OF IMPERIAL POWER.

(192-235).

The Syrian princes. (192-235). THERE was a notable break in the succession to the Empire at the death of Commodus. Pertinax, a veteran soldier, was raised to power for a few months, and then fell before Didius, whose tenure of the supremacy was as short as his own. Then the sceptre fell to the Syrian, Septimius Severus, who was followed by his sons Geta and Caracalla, and then by his cousin, Heliogabalus. In spite of the ability of Septimius Severus there is no doubt that the reign of these Orientals meant a step down for the Roman Empire. This was not so much felt in the immediate surroundings of the imperial Court as in the lesser firmness of that stately imperial power which was the bond of union between the farthest provinces. The orientalism of this notable family of rulers was most clearly seen in the case of Heliogabalus, who, leading a life of the greatest profligacy at Rome, introduced there the worship of the Sun God, of which he proclaimed himself high priest. This seems to have brought in dire confusion among the worshippers of the old pagan deities. The Christians stood firm in contrast to the dissolving paganism around them. And their firmness cost them dear, for again the persecutor's arm was raised against them, and martyrs suffered in plenty. This persecution is known as

THE FIFTH PERSECUTION, OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (192).

Heliogabalus adopted his cousin, Alexander Severus, who was educated in Syria, and partly under the control of the Christian philosopher, Origen. It is sure, however, that Alexander did not become a Christian, but favoured the Christians, and practising himself an eclecticism, which strove to unite all religions, kept images of Christ and

Abraham in his private collection of household gods with Orpheus, Apollonius and others. He succeeded Helio-gabalus in 222, and reigned till 235, and the verdict of history is that in his own life he strove to be a model of virtue, and at the same time he tried to legislate against the moral corruptions of society: gaining thus the name of Severus. His chief legal adviser, Ulpian, codified the laws for him, and incidently stereotyped the opposition between Christianity and the Roman legal system. But a new storm did not break until Severus was gathered to his fathers, and the military usurper Maximin was trying to rule the Empire.

The ten years during which the best chronology at our disposal says that St Victor ruled the Roman Church did not come to an end until 198, and then we come to the relatively long reign of St Zephyrinus (198-218): evidently a time of comparative freedom from persecution.

**Popes
of this
period.**

But the scant and vague notices in the old Book of the Popes do not contain any historical details of these years, and we have to wait for the succeeding reign, that of St Callistus (218-222) before we are able to identify anything of interest with the occupant of the Pontifical chair. A very strong tradition connects this Pope with the original foundation of St Maria in Trastevere, though the existing church, old as it is, seems to have no connection with anything earlier than the times of St Julius. But we meet his name most commonly in connection with the so-called cemetery of St Callistus on the Via Appia, where he is said to have been buried. He was succeeded by St Urban (222-230), who was Pope when St Cecilia and her fellow-martyrs came under the violence of the persecuting tyrant. The memory of St Cecilia with her companions, Valerian and Tiburtius, is enshrined in one of the most pious and touching of the old Roman basilicas, and the stirring history of her martyrdom, which in its main features seems to have stood the test of the most severe criticism, leaves the Virgin Saint as a typical Roman martyr, still able to command the enthusiastic devotion of her clients, from the simplest Christian maiden up to the eminent Roman cardinal Rampolla who has spent his care and his fortune in beautifying her shrine.

Round the name of Hippolytus there has been waged

a war of controversy to be explained by the interest excited by his writings, and the contradictory views advanced by scholars. A work known as the "*Philosophoumena*," ascribed to Hippolytus, which was discovered in 1851, enabled something like a consistent

Hippolytus.

(236).

theory to be formed of who Hippolytus was, and served at the same time to correct and check the former shadowy statements about him. Doubtless, he was a priest of the Roman Church soon after the year 200. He may have been, as some assert, a disciple of St Irenæus, who was at Rome early in the century. He was in collision with the Roman Pontiff, Zephyrinus, before the end of that Pope's long reign, and censured him for refusing to give judgment against the theological opinions which Hippolytus was combating. Hippolytus, in fact, in opposing Modalism, which saw in the different concepts of Father and Son only modes of existence of the Divine Nature, went too far in the opposite direction, and asserted that the Son is a Divine Person entirely separate from the Father and subordinate to Him. The Modalist error is the same rationalistic heresy afterwards known as Sabellianism or Monarchism. When, at the death of Zephyrinus, the deacon Callistus was chosen Pope, and not Hippolytus, the latter seems to have gone into schism for the time, and was even considered by his small band of followers as a rival Pope to Callistus. Both he and Pontian were banished to Sardinia at the same time (235), and both died amid the hardships of their banishment. But Hippolytus was already reconciled with the Church and the lawful Pontiff, St Pontian. Besides being revered as a martyr, he is considered the most considerable author of the Roman Church in the persecution times, though he wrote in the Greek language.

Somewhat later than those Greek writers who in the second century devoted their best skill to the defence of the

The

Latin

Apologists.

Church in Apologies, comes another group, not less important, who undertook the same task in Latin. It is rather a remarkable fact that we have to seek the origin of this band of early fathers not in Rome itself but in that African Church which, in the restored city of Carthage and around it, made use of the Latin language as its literary idiom earlier than the Roman Church itself. For

while Tertullian and others were writing at Carthage in Latin, St Hippolytus and his contemporaries in Rome were still writing in Greek. And the Latin of this Roman province of Africa, though not a dialect, had peculiarities of its own which marked it from the Latin of the pagan writers of the empire of the same period. And at the head of these Latin Apologists, holding a place of importance in early Christian literature, surpassed by very few, stands the name of

Tertullian. Quintus Septimius Florens (160-223).

Tertullianus the son of a Roman Centurion, was born at Carthage about the year 160, and seems to have been an advocate in the law courts of that city in his youth. He was acquainted with Greek as well as Latin, and wrote also in the former language, though these works have not come down to us. He did not become a Christian until the middle years of his life, but apparently his conversion was not later than A.D. 197. He became a priest, and at once engaged in a vigorous polemic for Christianity with all the fire of his ardent nature, and all the zeal of a convert. He began with a short "*Address to the Martyrs*," and followed this up with two of his chief Apologetic works. The former of these is called "*To the Nations*," in which while defending the Christians from the absurd charges levelled against them, he turns the tables upon their opponents and holds up to ridicule and execration the more real and more brutal sins of the pagans themselves. In the *Apologeticus*, he addresses his appeal to the rulers and magistrates of the empire, and claims a cessation in the persecution, and an alteration in the law affecting Christians. A few years later came the still more remarkable

treatise, "*On Prescriptions*," in which **His Catholic works.**

Tertullian turns his pen to the refutation of heretics, employing the argument which still holds with the same force it had in his hands: "the Catholic Church is in possession in the full legal sense of that word. Catholic doctrine existed from the beginning and is therefore the only true one; every heresy is an innovation, and therefore, of necessity, false. Heretics cannot rightly appeal to the Scriptures, for they belong to the Church and it is from the Church that heretics themselves have received them. Let them," he says, "publish the origins of their churches, and unroll the catalogues

of their bishops till now from the Apostles, as the Smyrnaeans count from Polycarp and John, and the Romans from Clement and Peter." There are also some short works, addressed to Catechumens, which belong to the same period of Tertullian's life. And then came a period in which he became affected by the over-strict and at the same time unorthodox opinions of the Montanists, without as yet openly breaking with the Catholic Church (206-212). And to this time belong his work on the soul, his work against Marcion the Gnostic, his work in favour of virgins being veiled, and his work in praise of a Christian soldier who would not take a garland from his officer at a State festivity. Tertullian's final secession from the Church took place about A.D. 212. He then embraced the sect of Montanists, and was formally excommunicated by the authorities at Carthage for his opinions.

The Montanists had become not merely schismatics by their over-strictness, but real heretics on account of their false doctrines. Montanus was a Phrygian **Montanism.** who held the Catholic doctrines intact, but began his error by misunderstanding the office of the Holy Ghost in the work of redemption. The Montanists held that special manifestations or revelations were made to them by the Holy Spirit to complete the work of Moses and of Christ. Thus, too, their morals were to be, under this supposed guidance, even more strict than those of the early Christians. It was really like a weakened form of Gnosticism. Sinners were to be strictly treated, as we see advocated by Tertullian in his book on penance; martyrdom was not to be avoided, second marriages were forbidden, worldly amusements were to be rejected, and a life of austere fasting and abstinence was to be practised. They were thus led to rank heresy. Montanus himself is said to have died by hanging himself, but the sect had rather a long-drawn-out existence, especially in Phrygia; and the Constantinopolitan emperors issued edicts against them. As for Tertullian, after some time spent in their ranks, he founded a new sect called the Tertullianists. He appears to have survived into old age, but there is no record that he ever came back to the Church. Strange fate that the earliest champion of the Faith in Latin literature should, after so many campaigns against pagans and

heretics, himself die outside the Communion of the Faithful.

Though the chief place among the Latin Apologists must certainly be given to Tertullian, there are those who give the first place in point of time to Minucius Felix. It is not certain whether he wrote after seeing Tertullian's *Apologeticus* or before that work was written. This latter view would place his work earlier than A.D. 197. The title he gives to it is the *Octavius*, and it is cast in dialogue form, in which three speakers appear: Octavius, a Christian; Cecilius, a pagan; and Minucius Felix himself, a Roman lawyer, who is called in as arbiter. In this book the Christian mysteries are not spoken of, but the common calumnies are refuted, and the superiority of Christianity over paganism is triumphantly shown on philosophical grounds in a style resembling Cicero's work on the Nature of the Gods.

**Minucius
Felix.**

It was Proconsular Africa that also gave the Church the two most celebrated Latin Apologists, who belong to a later age. These were Arnobius (305), and Lactantius, his pupil (311). Arnobius was a convert to Christianity at Sicca, and it was to convince the local bishop of his sincerity that he wrote the Apologetic work of his which has come down to us. Lactantius also had been a pagan, and was a professor of rhetoric until the persecution of Diocletian forced him to resign his appointments. However, after the Edict of Constantine, he was favoured with the friendship of that Prince, and even became tutor to his son Crispus, but the date and circumstances of his death are unknown. His works, notably the *Divine Institutions*, the *Deaths of Persecutors*, and the *Work of God*, are written in such an elegant Latin style that their author is sometimes called the Christian Cicero. Thus we have a chain of Latin Apologists, starting with Tertullian, and then going on to Cyprian, who always called Tertullian the Master, and passing on to Arnobius and his pupil, Lactantius. But though the rough, unkempt sentences of Tertullian had changed into the polished periods of Lactantius, the home of all of them was not Rome, but that African province, then so flourishing and populous, and now, as far as Christianity goes, little more than a desert.

**Other
Apologists.**

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DECLINE OF THE PAGAN EMPIRE.

(235-284).

THE process of waning, which we have noticed at work in the last chapter, began to advance more rapidly after the death of Alexander Severus (235). The ruin of the Roman aristocracy, and the increased dependence of the emperors upon the army, put the supreme power more and more at the mercy of successful generals.

**The
Praetorian
Caesars.**
(235-284).

In the space of forty-nine years, from 235 to 284, no fewer than twenty-two Cæsars had their day, brief as it was. Maximin (235-238), a Thracian officer, is the first of a series of military usurpers known as the Praetorian Emperors, who snatched at supreme power by the aid of the legions who favoured them, and then were as swiftly hurled from it again. But, even if the interior stability of the empire was impaired, and the borders could with difficulty be held against the barbarians, these military tyrants had still strength to persecute the Christians, and that Christianity was against the law was by this time held to be an established fact. Hence little was needed to put in motion the machinery of delation, trial and capital sentence. There was a persecution under Maximin which is known as the

SIXTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF MAXIMIN (235):

and the Pope, St Pontian (230-235), was exiled by him to the Island of Sardinia, where he suffered either as a martyr or as a confessor of the Faith. St Anterus (235) was chosen in his place, but only survived till the following year (236), and then began the longer reign of St Fabian (236-250). Maximin only held power for about three years, and under Philip, the Arabian, there was

an interval of peace. The wife of the emperor is said to have been a Christian, and her influence with her husband made for peace, and even for a certain amount of favour from the emperor. The number of Christians increased, and many of them held office in the army and in the imperial household. But the next holder of the imperial sceptre was to cause a persecution to break out which was in many ways a more terrible trial to the Church than any of those which she had hitherto passed through. This was the Emperor Decius (249-251), and the severe persecution that lasted for a great part of his reign is known as

THE SEVENTH PERSECUTION, OF DECIUS (250),

and its victims were very numerous not only in Rome but also in the Provinces. St Fabian the Pope would seem to have been among the early martyrs of this epoch, for though we have not the authentic acts of his martyrdom, the fact that he was a martyr seems to have been notorious among his contemporaries. And after this the persecution raged with such violence that there was an interregnum of a year and a half before another pontiff was chosen. Among the other martyrs whose acts are referred to this period are to be counted St Abdon and St Sennen, and the virgin martyr, St Agatha. But it was not the number of the martyrs that made this persecution such a severe trial for the Church—as Tertullian said: “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christianity,” but it was rather the seriousness of the defections from the Faith, which brought the rulers of the household of faith face to face with a new problem. By this time there was very far from being that primitive fervour in the faithful which had graced the first and second centuries, while not a few fell away altogether. When the scorching breath of persecution breathed upon them, those who were half-hearted or worldly did not stand the test. Even if they did not apostatise in the fullest sense of the word, they strove to compromise with their enemies, and by various expedients of a questionable character to secure for themselves immunity from pursuit. It was not that none had ever given way before in any other persecution, but under Decius it happened on a larger scale, and with varied degrees of guilt. All these were called *Lapsi* or *Fallen*, but they were by no

means on a level with regard to the seriousness of the transgression. Among them were to be counted the *Sacrificati*, who had offered sacrifice to the pagan idols; the *Thurificati*, who had merely thrown a few grains of incense on the fire in the heathen temple, albeit as a sign of worship; the *Libellatici*, who had accepted a tablet or certificate testifying to their paganism; and the *Traditores*, whose guilt consisted in giving up the emblems or signs of their Christianity to the civil authorities. Since many of these culprits afterwards repented, and longed to be received back into Christian communion, it became a great question how they were to be dealt with. After much discussion, it became the custom to receive them all back after they had done a proportionate amount of penance, though the lapsed clergy were only received to lay communion. Of course this only indicates the general line taken in dealing with the Lapsi; cases are not wanting of both easier and more severe discipline. Lapsi remained among the penitents, in fact, after the earlier persecutions, for the rest of their lives.

The rigour of Novatian, a Roman priest, in condemning the practice of readmitting the Lapsi to Communion, led him into schism at Rome, and even drew Novatus and Novatian. him on further to the view, which was nothing short of heretical, that there were certain grave sins, such as apostasy, which the Church had no power to forgive. On the other hand, the caution used by St Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage, in not hastily readmitting the Lapsi to Communion gave offence to a certain Novatus in that city, who was supported by Felicissimus and by the Bishop Fortunatus and others. St Cyprian, however, defended the line he had taken, and wrote to the Pope on the subject, and then, wonderful to relate, the extremes met, and the partisans both of Novatus and Novatian united in adopting the strict views of the latter, and hardened themselves in opposition to Pope St Cornelius. In fact, Novatian is considered by some writers to have been the first anti-Pope. But the affairs of the Church at Rome were in such trouble during these years that it is hard to assert that this was really the case. St Cornelius, who was chosen in 251, after the eighteen months' interval, was banished or fled to Centumcellae during the heat of the

persecution. He was opposed by Novatian, but St Cyprian secured his acknowledgment as Pope on the part of the one hundred bishops of Africa. Two letters of Cornelius to Cyprian have come down to us. During the second outbreak of the Decius persecution, Cornelius in his exile at Centumcellae either succumbed to the rigours of his treatment, or gave his blood for the Faith in 253. As to the Novatians, they persisted in their rigoristic opinions, forming the sect of the Cathari.

We must pass from St Cornelius to his zealous supporter and correspondent, Thascius Caecilius Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. His writings take quite a front rank among those of the Latin Fathers. Like Tertullian, whom he called **St Cyprian.** (258).

“the Master,” he was a convert from paganism, and had pleaded as advocate and orator in the law courts at Carthage. He was converted to Christianity about A.D. 246 by an aged priest named Caecilian, with whom he apparently lived, and who had commended to him in dying the care of his wife and family. Ardent in the pursuit of perfection, Cyprian resolved to observe chastity, and sold his possessions to bestow the price in alms, though his villa was afterwards bought back for him by his friends. Soon after his conversion, in 248 or 249, he was chosen by clergy and people Bishop of Carthage, and accepted the charge, though dreading the responsibility.

In the following year the terrible persecution of 250 broke out and the Church of Africa was ill-prepared to face the storm. There were cowardly Christians, and there were unworthy pastors, and the falls were many and lamentable. Cyprian retired into a safe hiding-place, and continued thence to guide and encourage the confessors of the Faith as well as he could. His support it was more than anything else that enabled St Cornelius to gain the upper hand over Novatian at Rome, and his doctrine on the Unity of the Church and the Primacy of the Roman See comes out clearly in his letters and treatises on that subject. After the death of Cornelius, his successor, St Lucius, was banished, as he had been, to Centumcellae, but was soon free to return to Rome (253-254), though within the year he was carried off by death. Decius had no longer any part in the persecution; the ill-starred emperor had been killed in battle by

the Goths, and the barbarian hordes were still pressing on. St Stephen (254-257) was the next Pontiff, and (251.) with him St Cyprian's relations were not the most friendly. A dispute arose out

of the question about the rebaptising of heretics. The custom had been to admit the Judaizers to Communion without further baptism by the imposition of hands, and on the other hand to rebaptise Gnostics and other heretics who were not orthodox on the doctrine of the Holy Trin-

**Rebaptism
of
heretics.**

ity. As, however, the Montanists and others were orthodox on the Trinity, a doubt arose. In the West, the sentiment prevailed that admitted the validity of their baptism; in the East, the contrary opinion was current. The question having been put to St Cyprian, he called a council at Carthage, which, going partly on the precedent set by St Cyprian's predecessor, decided in favour of rebaptising. St Cyprian sent his decision to Rome for the Pope's approval, but Stephen wrote condemning it, and ordering that no such innovation should be introduced: "*Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est.*" Thereupon St Cyprian called a second council, larger than the former one, and it was determined to persist in following the decision they had come to before, in spite of Stephen's letter. St Cyprian resisted the Pope's decision, arguing that the matter of rebaptism was of free choice, and pertained to local authority to settle, not being a matter of faith, and that therefore the Roman Pontiff was unduly interfering with the local ordinary. Further envoys from Carthage were refused an audience with the Pope. The touching close of the incident, personally considered, is given by the martyrdom of both champions. St Stephen died in 257, and St Cyprian in the following year, without the misunderstanding having been cleared up, as far as we know. The dogmatic point was settled against rebaptising at the Council of Arles in 314.

After the death of Decius, the barbarian inroads became more threatening, and it was a commonplace to put down the misfortunes of the empire to the Christians. In 258 another persecution broke out, which is known as the

EIGHTH PERSECUTION, OF VALERIAN (258),

and this time St Cyprian did not escape. He was apprehended and beheaded in his episcopal city, in the presence

of the leading members of his flock. His life was written by his deacon Pontius, and this is still extant, while besides his *Letters*, we possess works from his pen on the *Unity of the Church*, on the *Lord's Prayer*, and on *The Martyrs*, which contain invaluable testimonies to his belief, and to that of the Church of Africa in his day.

About the same time, the same persecution had marked out other illustrious victims in Rome, in the Pope St Sixtus and his celebrated deacon, St Lawrence. Sixtus had been Pope less than a year, when he was hurried off to death, and after three days St Lawrence and several others of the Roman clergy also fell into the executioner's hands and were martyred. The history of St Lawrence and his heroic death over a slow fire forms one of the best-known acts of the martyrs, and his memory, enshrined in the noble basilica of St Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome, stands next to that of St Stephen, the Protomartyr, among those who were faithful unto death over the few things of the temporalities of the Church.

**SS. Sixtus
and
Lawrence.**
(258).

After the martyrdom of St Sixtus, it was not till the following year, when the persecution of Valerian had probably spent its force, that St Dionysius (259-268) succeeded to the Chair of St Peter. In the last year of his reign took place what is sometimes called

THE NINTH PERSECUTION, OF AURELIAN (268),

but there does not seem to have been any far-reaching attempt to bring the Christians before the tribunals. So much so that this passing storm is hardly considered to have effectively broken the forty years of comparative peace up to 303, when the greatest persecution of all, that of Diocletian, broke out. St Dionysius was followed by St Felix for six years (269-274), and he by St Eutychian, whose longer reign of nine years (275-283) brings us up to the beginning of the Dioclesian era.

Farther east than Carthage, in what we consider as Africa, though the Romans did not, lay the large and cultured city of Alexandria. This had long been a centre of Hellenistic letters and science, and while Cyprian was defending the Faith in Latin, at Alexandria a school of Christian learning had sprung up,

**Catechetical
School of
Alexandria.**

thoroughly Greek in language and mode of thought, which aimed at using philosophy, especially the speculations of Plato, to serve the cause of the Church, and to answer the objections of the pagan philosophers on their own ground, demonstrating that true philosophy led the way to Christianity and not to paganism.

The founder of this school was Pantaenus, who flourished towards the end of the second century and is supposed to have left his teaching and gone as a missionary to the Indies about the year 191.

Clement of Alexandria succeeded Pantaenus in the direction of this sect of learning. Clement was versed apparently far more deeply in the philosophical theories of Plato and other pagan writers than in the positive doctrines of Christian revelation, and though his three works, called respectively *Protrepticus*, *Paedagogus* and *Stromata*, were all meant as parts of a graduated introduction to Christianity, the author is credited with many strange and unfounded speculations, along with much positive truth, and many correct explanations of doctrine. Clement of Alexandria does not seem to have presided in the Catechetical School for very many years, for as early as 203 he was replaced by a pupil who was destined to surpass him in world-wide reputation. This was the lofty genius Origen.

Origen was the son of Leonides, a martyr, who trained his son carefully in the Faith, and then suffered at Alexandria in the persecution of Septimius Severus. He attended the lectures of

Origen.
(185-254).

Clement, and showed such signs of extraordinary talent that he was called on to succeed that celebrated teacher at the age of eighteen. In order, while teaching, to perfect his own education, he attended lessons in Hebrew, and also followed the lectures of Ammonius Sacca, founder of the philosophy called Neoplatonism. Origen persevered in his teaching and writing at Alexandria for a long course of years, only interrupted by occasional journeys, notably one to Rome, and another into Arabia. He was still a layman, but in 230, having undertaken a journey to Athens and Palestine, he was ordained priest by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem at Cæsarea. This was resented by Demetrius, patriarch of Alexandria, who on his return was no longer friendly to him, and agreed to his banishment

from the city decreed by a council which met in 232. Origen then fixed his abode at Cæsarea, where he was soon again surrounded by pupils, the most celebrated of whom was St Gregory Thaumaturgus. He did not, however, die at Cæsarea, but at Tyre, though it is not known why he retired thither, and in the cathedral of that city he was buried behind the high altar. He was almost seventy years of age.

Origen was by far the greatest Christian writer of his time, as well as by far the most voluminous, although only portions of his various works have come down to us. He was aided in his literary labours by a body of amanuenses, who enabled him to compose at a much more rapid rate than would otherwise have been possible. His *Polyglot Bible*, which is known as the *Hexapla*, no longer exists, except some detached fragments. It contained, as its name implies, six versions of the Holy Scripture. But besides the *Hexapla*, Origen was also the author of extensive *Commentaries on the Bible*, as well as such an immense number of homilies on the same that he is sometimes called the Father of the Homily. He was especially concerned to bring out the mystical and allegorical meaning of Holy Writ, and carried this so far as to fall sometimes under suspicion as tinged with error. Portions at least of his controversial works against paganism survive. The original Greek of his extensive *Work against Celsus* has escaped destruction, and a Latin translation of his work on the principles of the Christian religion, known as the *Periarchon*, also exists. But a greater proportion of his writings, which have been estimated by some at two thousand in number, and by St Epiphanius at six thousand, has perished.

Round his name a storm of controversy has raged in the Church more than once. His influence as an author was so commanding that a host of distinguished men were proud to reckon themselves as his disciples. His successors at Alexandria were in turn Heraclas and Dionysius, who in turn also became patriarchs of Alexandria. But far and wide the great lights of patristic learning acknowledged him as their master. St Gregory Nazianzen and St Basil in conjunction brought out a selection from his works. St Gregory of Nyssa calls him the Prince of Christian learning. St Eusebius of

Writings of
Origen.

Vercelli, St Hilary and St Jerome all drew largely from his stores. But there were those who did not trust him, and even declared that he was a heretic. As against Origen himself very likely many of the charges were based on misunderstanding, but no doubt **Origenism**, the system which is called Origenism, and which was supposed to be founded on his writings, contained positive dogmatic error.

The three chief questions in which errors are found in the development of Origenism are (1) the allegorical interpretation of Holy Scripture, which seems to be carried so far as to unduly explain away the literal and commonly accepted meaning; (2) the explanation of the relations between the Three Divine Persons so as to imply a subordination of the Son and the Holy Ghost; and (3) a philosophical explanation of the origin and destiny of man and the world, which would make creation eternal and would bring about a universal restoration of all things and all men, even the wicked, at the last. The two chief discussions on Origen's opinions were that in which Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and Epiphanius of Salamis attacked these opinions and, by implication, St John Chrysostom as holding them, when in spite of the defence made by Rufinus and others, the Pope St Anastasius condemned certain propositions said to be taken from his writings. The second occasion was the discussion on the Three Chapters, to be narrated below.

A disease that spread over a still larger part of the world during these periods, and which we find still powerful, and attractive to many minds in the time of St Augustine, was the Manichean heresy. Heresy is scarcely a word far-reaching enough to apply to a system which went to the root of the whole Christian dispensation, and destroyed it there, if admitted. Manes was a Persian slave whom a rich widow adopted as her son. Through her, he inherited the Alexandrian books of Scythian, an Arab writer, and devoted himself to the study of them. He put forth his system, after a period of study, but not before he had come in contact with Christianity, as well as with the books of the oriental religions. In fact, he seems to have striven to incorporate both in his own system. He gave out that he had a mission to bring

back Christianity to its primitive purity, and to expound the true meaning of the Christian revelation. There are, he said, two First Principles—the one good and the other bad. The Good Principle, or God, is the Creator of Spirits, and is typified by light. The Evil Principle is the Creator of matter, and is typified by darkness. The Son of God—the Good Principle—came down and took human form in order to free man from the prison of the body. In the same way the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit, had descended upon and inspired Manes. The human body could be purified gradually from the evil of matters by abstinence from whatever has life. The moral consequences of this Dualism, or doctrine of two principles, were a kind of Fatalism and the rejection of the institution of marriage. The Elect were considered impeccable, and were to be waited on by the lower grades of humanity. As in the Christian Church, the Manicheans had their Twelve Apostles of the Elect, and a thirteenth leader who was over them all. Also there were seventy-two disciples, with priests, deacons and lower ranks of the hierarchy. And there was a strict law of secrecy binding the Elect.

Manes himself came to a violent end in 277, being it is said flayed alive, but his opinions survived. Not only did they fascinate such a bright intellect as Augustine of Hippo, but they may be traced even into the Middle Ages. There are those who see in this Manichean mimicry of Catholic rites and Catholic government a kind of devil's church, coming up to the light of day in future ages, and then disappearing again in underground darkness. And they profess to trace some continuity from Manicheism in the Paulicians, Albigenses, Rosicrucians and even Freemasons, and to trace the same spirit at work in the developments they have given rise to.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DIOCLESIAN ERA.

(284-313).

The half-century from 235 to 284, with its succession of more than twenty emperors, mostly creatures of the

**An effort
to save the
empire.**

(284).

army, and holding power for but a brief period, had been disastrous to the strength of the empire. And the barbarians were pressing on from the North. Decius even lost his life in battle against them. But

when Diocletian assumed the supreme power in 284, he determined to try and stop the progress of decay by a drastic remedy. Though retaining some superior authority in a general way over the whole empire, he associated with himself under the same title of Augustus, Maximian Hercules, who was to reside at Rome, while Diocletian fixed his abode at Nicomedia. The dignity of Cæsar, which was made lower than that of Augustus, was given to Constantius Chlorus for Gaul, and to Galerius in the East. Diocletian, who was an able administrator, hoped in this way to control better the unwieldy bulk of the empire, and to make head more readily against external foes. And there is no denying that for at least twenty

(284-305.) years this arrangement gave prosperity and comparative peace to the Roman world.

And in this peace the Christian Church was able to go on increasing in numbers and influence. A more splendid church than had been hitherto attempted was built at Nicomedia, which was Diocletian's ordinary capital, and for that period was unmolested. Very likely similar ventures to come out into the light of day elsewhere gave prominence to the doctrines of Christianity, and gained adherents. And no doubt publicity, which was not possible at any of the centres of government, was quite feasible and safe in more distant places.

St Caius began his reign in the year preceding the Dioclesian era, and as it was a time of comparative tranquillity he was able to live out the natural term of his life without being cut short by the death of martyrdom, as most of his predecessors had been. He died in 296, and was succeeded by St Marcellinus, who held the Papacy for eight years (296-304). He was not a martyr, though his death happened during the first year of the Dioclesian persecution. At least whatever evidence there is seems to point in the contrary direction. In fact at this period there were few at Rome who suffered martyrdom whose names have come down to us. There is a charge against St Marcellinus of having handed over the sacred books to the pagans at the beginning of the persecution, and thus having become one of those Lapsi who were called Traditors. But it is based on a forgery, manufactured in the time of Pope Symmachus, and on an accusation made by the Donatist bishop, Petilian, and met by St Augustine. Anyhow, it seems that Marcellinus was able to escape death in the persecution, either by hiding or by securing his own personal immunity. He was buried in the Catacomb of Priscilla, and his tomb was honoured by the Christian community. The persecution now threw everything into disorder, so that one of the longest vacancies in the Roman See occurred. From 304 to 308 when St Marcellus was made Pope, no election had been feasible.

**Popes
of this
generation.**

St Marcellinus.
(296-304).

It was only after about twenty years of reign that the Emperor Diocletian determined to declare war on Christianity. As to what impelled him to do so, we know little. Perhaps he was persuaded to this course by one of his associates in the empire; but at any rate the persecution was due to some sort of concerted action on the part of the rulers of the Roman world. And this persecution, which is either the ninth or tenth, according as we count the Aurelian persecution as a separate one or not, certainly far exceeded any of the others in extent and in the number of its victims. It is known as the

**Persecution
of Diocletian.**
(303-313).

THE TENTH GENERAL PERSECUTION, OF DIOCLETIAN,

but it was really commenced by Galerius in 303, and

Diocletian only followed later on in the same year. It seems to be agreed that this was the most sanguinary of all the ten persecutions, and the severest trial the Church had been exposed to. The numbers of the Christians had now grown very greatly, and it is to be feared that their fervour had not grown in the same proportion. Still, at no time had there been more heroic champions of the Cross than now. The most distinguished victim would perhaps be the imperial officer, St Sebastian, whose painful tortures and marvellous recovery form one of the most striking histories in the acts of the martyrs. St Maurice and the Theban Legion furnished a whole cloud of witnesses for Christ in the mountains of Rhaetia. St Agnes, St Lucy, and others joined together the virgin's crown and the martyr's palm. It is not likely that any of the popes suffered in this persecution.

St Marcellus. St Marcellus, who was elected in 308, came into a period of comparative quiet after (308-309).

Diocletian had resigned. There is a legend that he was apprehended, sent out of Rome, and employed in the menial work of tendering the horses at a station on one of the great public highways. But he died in the following year 309, and was buried in a church he had built, now called after him, S. Marcello. St Eusebius

St Eusebius. held the Pontificate for some months of the year 310, and was banished into Sicily by (310). Maxentius, who was now Augustus at Rome.

But there were vacancies of many months, both before and after his short reign. Then came the reign of St

St Melchiades. Melchiades, who was Pope when the final struggle between Maxentius and Constantine took place. He survived to see the peace of (311-314). the Church after the two centuries of persecution,

but died in the year 314. He is also called Meltiades, and as soon as Constantine was in power, received the faculty to take back the churches and other ecclesiastical property confiscated in the persecution period. After the Edict of Toleration the Lateran Palace was made over to him by the emperor, and henceforth became the official residence of the Roman Pontiff. He held a synod in Rome in 313, to deal with the case of Caecilian, the metropolitan of Carthage. This had occasioned so serious a schism that it must be traced to its origin.

Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage during the Dioclesian

persecution, had acted with prudence and firmness, but was accused as Traditor by Donatus, Bishop of Casae Nigrae in Numidia. But before this could be cleared up, Mensurius died and the clergy chose Caecilian to succeed him. He was consecrated by Felix, Bishop of Aptongus, who was himself accused of being a Traditor. Thereupon the Numidian bishops, headed by Donatus, elected Majorinus to the See of Carthage, and two parties were formed. The controversy spread to other places in Africa, and in more than one city there were two bishops—a Caecilian, and a Majorinian or Donatist. We must remember that the See of Carthage had more than a metropolitan, nay almost a patriarchal position in Africa. Hence the claim of the Numidian bishops to concern themselves in the case at all. But outside of Africa Caecilian alone seems to have been recognised. So, when the Donatist party felt they were losing ground, they appealed to Constantine; thus furnishing the first instance of an ecclesiastical body in the Church calling for the intervention of the civil power in a case concerning the internal affairs of its government. But the emperor referred the case to the decision of St Miltiades the Pope, and at the emperor's instance, this synod at Rome mentioned above was held in 313. The decision of the Council was a moderate one, namely that the case had broken down against Caecilian, and he was confirmed in his see, while with regard to the cities where the schism had led to two bishops being elected, the first ordained should retain the see, the other being transferred, as opportunity served, to some other see. Still, the Donatists were not satisfied, and asked for a larger synod. They obtained their request, and the emperor did all in his power to facilitate the assembly of a larger synod, for which he appointed Arles in Gaul (314) —at least thirty-three bishops, as well as two priests and two deacons to represent the Pope, and many other official persons. Marinus of Arles seems to have been appointed by the emperor to preside with two other bishops as assessors. The decisions of the Roman Synod were ratified, and the result communicated to the Pope. Once again the Donatists appealed to the secular power, and though Constantine disclaimed any need for them to do this, he later on heard the appeal, but

**Donatist
schism.**

**Council of
Arles.
(314).**

ended by condemning and banishing those who were obstinate in their schism. The schism, however, dragged on until the times of St Augustine, whom we still find writing against them. And to their schismatical attitude they later on added heretical opinions on the validity of baptism by heretics.

It may be useful to pause here, and try to give some estimate of the causes which aided the advance of Christianity in its conquest of the civilised world.

Causes

of the

spread of

the Faith.

For a Catholic, of course, it wears a different aspect from that which it wears for one outside the Church. He knows that the primary cause was God's Will to save the world through the Church, and to have the Gospel of the Kingdom preached to all nations; and that the unconquerable power and superhuman impetus really came from Him. Still there were human causes, made use of by His Divine Providence, and it is quite reasonable to inquire what these were. The history of the Church has to trace constantly the interaction of the human and the divine elements in the work; he who loses sight of either is sure to be landed in error.

And in the first place as God wished His Church to grow out of that Jewish dispensation which had been its

Dispersion

of the Jews.

type and forerunner, the fact of the dispersion of the Jewish race into almost all the countries of the known world, gave a starting-point, and so to say a fulcrum, to rest on in trying to move pagan society outside. And the Apostles took advantage of this; they always began with the synagogue or organised community of their countrymen. The dispersion or Diaspora was such a great outstanding fact, that, to take Rome itself as an example, the Jews are said to have had as many as fifteen places of worship or synagogues there at that time. And very likely it may have been easier to get a hearing from the Jews far from home, than from those who still lived in the neighbourhood of the national holy places.

And, alongside of this phenomenon of the dispersion, there was another in the still wider diffusion of the Greek

Greek

language.

language. This was the means of spreading abroad the knowledge of the Old Law; while the Scriptures of the New Law were almost all composed in it. It was the language of

the Eastern provinces of the empire, and to some extent, and for a lengthy period, ruled even in the capital itself. The Greek literature furnished the Roman scholars with their classics, and the Greek vernacular was at the same time the language of those Greek slaves who were the most intelligent and useful servants they possessed. We find nearly all the Roman Pontiffs of those ages with Greek names, even when tradition assigns them some other place as a birthplace. And not only Ignatius and Polycarp, but Clement and Justin at Rome, Irenæus of Lyons, and Hippolytus of Porto wrote in Greek. It would be hard to exaggerate the influence of this great means of communication in publishing all through the empire the knowledge of the Christian faith.

But the world-wide Roman empire itself with its stern yet measured sway, reaching over practically the whole of civilisation, as it then was, became a potent instrument, almost in spite of itself, in the propagation of the Gospel. This became so in a still higher degree and in a more direct manner later on, when the empire became officially Christian and became knitted to the Church in closest bonds of union. But even in this first period the Roman empire, all pagan as it was, indirectly served the cause of Christianity even while it was persecuting it. The very idea of one great world power enfolding in itself so many diverse races, and while allowing for diversity, imposing on them all the *Pax Romana*, prepared men's minds for a grander conception still, the one Catholic or Universal Church in which all nations would find a home. It would allow for patriotic feeling more considerably than Cæsar, and yet would bind them in a unity more real than imperialism. It was by the Roman roads that the missionaries could journey to carry the good tidings afar; it was in the Roman armies not seldom that the first Christian believers were to be found worshipping their Saviour in the distant outposts of the frontier. And then to take a higher tone than any of these things, doubtless there was in many hearts a longing desire, fostered by the remains of ancient traditions, and fanned into flame by the religious void in the world of paganism, that God would visit His people and lead them into the ways of peace. So that when the more definite prophecies were held up before men's eyes, and the early

**Roman
Empire.**

64 THE STORY OF THE CHURCH

Apostolic Preachers could appeal to miracles granted to confirm their words, a far-resounding call was heard in the hearts of many. It impelled them to cast away both old superstitions and old scepticism, and give themselves in full obedience to the Empire of Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, so great were the enemies pledged for the sake of their very existence to **Foes of the Faith.** oppose the spread of Christianity, that had the Faith not been divine it surely could not have vanquished them.

(1) There was the Jewish opposition. This was inevitable. The chosen people had rejected the Messiah, but clung with obstinacy to the religion which had been given them to prepare for His Coming. The tradition of the Rabbis went on under its schools of doctors, such as Hillel and the rest, and any attempt to prove the truth of Christianity was perforce an attempt to prove them mistaken. So it was a matter of life and death for the accepted Jewish tradition.

(2) And then to go outside Jewish circles into the educated world outside, the philosophical theories current at the time did not admit of an exclusive, supernatural, all-embracing supreme system of religion, the judge and master of all their ideas, and so the more they saw what Christianity meant for them, the more determinedly did philosophers, rhetors, sophists, and all their followers gird themselves for war against it. If it would have been content to stand on the same level, whether in the Areopagus of Athens or in the Oratory of Alexander Severus, it might have been different, but the Faith being what it was, it meant war to the knife.

(3) There was also a state opposition on the part of the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire, from its own point of view, had to be supreme, and the State religion was a department of government to be co-ordinated and controlled with the rest. But here was a power which claimed to be as far above it as heaven is above earth—and the Roman Cæsars could not brook this. They made decrees, they persecuted, they tortured, they slew, they struggled, until at last they and their power were cast out, and the despised Galilean had conquered.

(4) But beyond all these things there was an opposition not confined to the heads of the State and their officials, and this was the popular widespread shrinking

of poor unregenerate humanity from what was so far above its own level, and so superior to the standard of the times. It was to be possible only by the help of grace, and grace was an unknown factor in the pagan world. Calumnies were spread abroad, and easily caught on among the crowd: ignorance can easily believe the worst when interests and passions are stirred to opposition. And here it was the revolt of all that was sensual and all that was arrogant in the old paganism. Evil habits ingrained for centuries rose up against it. The downward tendency of fallen humanity turned from it. The pride of reason, unwilling to bow before mysteries beyond its ken, flung itself against it. Surely if the Catholic Church had not been what she is—the spiritual, supernatural, invincible creation of the Son of God, she would not have won, but would have gone down, crushed in the war waged against her by such a host of foes.

But above and beyond all natural causes making respectively for and against the spread of Christianity, there comes in the supernatural element, and that it was which, in forming the weak human elements, made the contest no longer a doubtful one, but assured the victory of the Church. There were martyrs who gave their testimony from all ranks and in all lands where the Gospel had been preached; there were miracles accompanying the preaching not only of the Twelve, but of those sent by them to carry on the same work; there was the overpowering witness of a life higher than nature—the life of Christian virtue—led by the converts to Christianity amid a corrupt world, and all these things told of a power more than human working with the Church, so that in the last resort it was this power which enabled it to win, and changed the persecution of three centuries into the triumph of the Christian Empire.

**Victory of
the super-
natural.**

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.

WE must pause for a moment before passing on to narrate a quite different state of things, to look at the manner of life of Christians in the Ages of Persecution. Those primitive disciples of Our Lord often carried their lives in their hands, and had to be ready to give them up at short notice for the sake of the Faith that was in them. It is calculated by Allard that out of two hundred and forty-nine years, from A.D. 64 to 313, one hundred and twenty-nine were years of active persecution. We must try and get a glimpse at their way of living, their organisation, their public worship, and the character of their piety. Their growth in numbers, at any rate after the first wonderful outpouring of grace at Pentecost, was but very gradual. At first they were but a little flock, and even after two centuries seem to have been only a small minority out of the teeming millions of the Roman Empire. It has been calculated that in the second century they did not exceed 500,000 in all the world. Beyond the empire they were so few as to be, from a natural point of view, non-existent. To take Rome itself as a striking example, the most prudent conjecture is that in the third century there may have been about fifty thousand Christians out of a million and a half inhabitants.

By its very constitution from the beginning the Catholic Church was an ordered and organised body, distinguished into teachers and taught, clergy and laity. The whole plenitude of authority and teaching was in the Apostolic College. Sharply differentiated from this was the body of the faithful, bidden to take their doctrine from the Apostles, as these last had taken theirs from Our Lord, or as pupils take a lesson from their masters. As to further subdivision of rank among the teachers and

rulers, it is only little by little that the signs of this emerge, as the Church grew and the Apostles died out.

The Apostolate was not to be a permanent institution in the Church, but what is called a "*charismatic*," or quite exceptional office, confined to the Twelve whom Our Lord Himself chose. It is true that neither St Paul nor St Matthias, and still less St Barnabas, were chosen in the same direct fashion as the Twelve, but none the less their office was of the strictly transient and charismatic character that belonged to the Apostolic Age only. And, alongside of the office of such as St Barnabas or St Paul, we find traces also of other ranks in the Church, dependent on the outpouring of special miraculous favours on the First Age of the Church, and with them destined to pass away. Such were the prophets, evangelists, doctors, interpreters whom the New Testament writings and the earliest patristic writings speak of. And possibly the Seven Deacons fall also under this category. Still the Apostles did provide themselves with successors in all the powers that were to be of permanent institution, and they did so by ordination or the laying on of hands, the men thus consecrated to the office of rulers and teachers of the Church being called bishops and priests, almost indifferently at first. And then after a while one of those thus ordained becomes the monarchical ruler and high priest of each Christian community, whether it is a city or a district, or less. But, at first, this would be a distinction of jurisdiction, rather than of order, and the plurality of presbyters gathered round the Episcopus of any Christian community would probably at first be his equals in order, though not appointed by authority to rule any distinct body of Christians. It is in the writings of St Ignatius that we first find the three distinct orders of bishops, priests and deacons spoken of as existent and normal for the Church's organisation. No doubt we can believe in their direct institution by Our Lord Himself, but we must rest our belief on the tradition of the Church, and not on the words of the New Testament, for in these we shall not find them.

That as time went on monarchical bishops were set up in every normal Christian centre cannot be denied, and is witnessed to by the lists of succession preserved in many cities, and implied in many more, but even then

they often had near them rural bishops or "chorepiscopi," to attend to the outlying places that had scarcely a separate organised existence. Perhaps these chorepiscopi were an intermediate stage between a body of consecrated presbyters, living in the same city, without territorial jurisdiction, and the system of one bishop for one diocese with which we are familiar.

As the Church grew up out of the Jewish communities that were already in existence almost wherever the Gospel was preached in the Roman Empire, so did the Christian worship grow up out of the worship of the Jewish synagogues. There were the same elements of reading of the Scriptures, chanting of the Psalms, preaching and common prayer. Only that these four acts were crowned by two others: the solemn sacrifice, which was the remembrance of the Last Supper and of the sacrifice of Christ, and the spiritual exercises, which are sometimes called the Liturgy of the Holy Ghost—with its accompaniments of miraculous manifestation of supernatural gifts which at first was the ordinary state of many Christian assemblies. It is understood, however, that the last, like the classes of supernaturally gifted persons mentioned above, was to pass away, leaving the Eucharistic Sacrifice supreme. In St Justin and the *Didache* we have the order of these assemblies sufficiently clearly described to us. All is there: the Lessons, the Bishop's Sermon, the Common Prayer, the Kiss of Peace, the Offertory, the Thanksgiving Prayer by the Bishop, the Consecration by the Words of Institution, the Intercession for the People, the Amen, the Communion, the Thanksgiving made by the Prophets, extempore "as long as they would." Then there was a Love Feast or Agape. But the two last, that is to say the Love Feast and the Exercises of extempore and ecstatic prayer, gradually disappeared with the extraordinary graces of the First Ages, and partly no doubt on account of the abuses which sometimes accompanied them. Apparently there was only one celebration in the day, and this presided over by the bishop; the saying of Mass by a priest, not a bishop, except in conjunction with the bishop, seems to have been exceptional.

Initiation into the body of the Church was of course by means of baptism, which was most carefully prepared for, and conferred, not as now almost indifferently at

any time of the year, but with solemn rites, and chiefly at the Easter and Pentecost festivals. There was always a considerable number of believers in Christianity not yet baptised, and these were called Catechumens. So far did this go

**Catechu-
menate.**

that it was a common custom and even an abuse to delay the reception of baptism until the approach of death, so as to pass out of this world in the white robes of recovered sinlessness. A Catechumen, though summoned to the public worship, was excluded before the more solemn part of the Liturgy began. It has been held that there were several grades of Catechumens: the Audientes, who only remained for the sermon; the Genuflectentes, who stayed for the prayer and blessing; and the Competentes, who were to be baptised at the next solemnity. But the conclusions of more recent research are in favour of denying the existence of such formal distinctions, or of any others than those between the main body of the Catechumens and those who were being prepared by a chain of repeated exorcisms and examinations for baptism at the next feast. All this Catechumenate preparation was, however, as far as it existed, in strict accord with that agreement of silence which, known as the Discipline of the Secret, played such a large part in the Christian way of acting with their pagan neighbours.

There is little doubt that to many pagans in these early times the Christian Church presented something of the outward lineaments of a secret society. Taught by the stress of hostile action and persecution, the early Christians shunned public notice, and were accordingly considered *gens lucifuga*, a people that shunned the light. But very much of this view of them may have been due to the so-called Discipline of the Secret, which was apparently the rule of their conduct from the earliest time till long after persecution had ceased. It was looked on as a grave fault to break through it, and may be compared to the oath of secret societies, though with the all-important difference, that Catechumens were already assured with the highest certitude that can be, of the infallibility of their guide. The effect of it was that though the Unity of God, the Redemption by Jesus Christ, and the Apostles' Creed were taught to all

**Discipline
of the
Secret.**

publicly, the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Eucharist, together with the ritual observed at its celebration, were veiled or hidden from all but those already initiated by the Sacrament of Baptism. This reserve was thought due to the holiness of these mysteries, as well as calculated to inspire the Catechumens with a greater desire for baptism. Besides, there was the danger of profanation to be guarded against, as well as of scandal to the weak-minded, brought face to face with these supernatural wonders. How far these objects were really attained may easily be matter for long disputation, but for us afar off, in time at least, this truth shines out—that these Eucharistic mysteries so jealously shielded from the outside world meant for them what they mean for us—the Banquet on the Flesh and Blood of the Son of God. Otherwise, why this reserve?

There was an elaborate system of penance for those who after being baptised had fallen back into some crime, and if the fault had been a public one, the **Penance.** “*exomologesis*,” or public confession of them, was a condition of forgiveness. No doubt if it had been private, private confession would suffice. There was a penitentiary appointed by the bishop to regulate the canonical punishment to be inflicted. Indulgences could be obtained in certain cases, and it was held that the martyrs had special rights or privileges in granting these. The varying severity or laxness in inflicting penances or granting indulgences gave rise to repeated controversy, and even occasional schism. The most celebrated case of this was that of Novatian at Rome, and Felicissimus at Carthage, who protested against the Pope St Cornelius, and St Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, respectively, as being too easy in readmitting to Communion with the Church the lapsed Christians who had fallen away in the persecution of Decius. The schism was so obstinate that Novatian is even held to have been the first antipope.

But though there were doubtless deplorable falls both in the Decian and Diocletian persecutions, with scandals of various kinds quite apart from what arose **Manners.** out of the pressure of their pagan enemies, the standard of practice was surely high on the whole. Customs were primitive, but fervour was primitive also,



and with all their wish to escape publicity the body of the faithful must have been marked off from the mass of pagans around them by characteristics which were clearly enough defined. It was not the shunning of idols, the absence of the pagan customs which they in many cases scrupulously avoided, the almost transparent detachment from the world around them, it was rather the consciousness that a higher standard of life and conduct was demanded and in great part obtained within the fold. And there were many, it is clear, who, not content with the ordinary measure of service, embraced the Evangelic Counsels, and whether under vow or without it, renounced the goods and pleasures of the world as thoroughly as any religious of later ages. The community of goods of the Church at Jerusalem was no longer attained, but many voluntarily renounced all use of them. Religious enclosure did not exist, but ascetics and virgins willingly renounced marriage and lived in chastity. Those who devoted themselves to a life of complete renouncement and severity of self-discipline were called *ascetics*, and many of their ways of sacrificing themselves have come down to us. One that was much practised was fasting. There was complete abstinence from flesh meat, there was a further abstinence from eggs and fish and such things, there was a restriction of diet to mere dried fruits and herbs. And it is known that the ordinary fast meant taking no food till sunset, the half-fast being to break one's fast only at three o'clock in the afternoon. And though there were no nuns in the modern sense of the word, there were consecrated virgins, and accepted rites and formalities for their consecration. And as for the clergy, the tendency towards celibacy goes back to the very beginning. Though at first it seems to have been left to private initiative and devotion, there are positive enactments before the period we are leaving had ended, enforcing it on the clergy as far as any local councils had the right to do so. There was a very general feeling against second marriages among any Christians at all, and St Paul expresses this very strongly with regard to bishops, even when they had been, not like himself, once married. "Let a bishop be the husband of one wife." On the other hand, they were living in the midst of a corrupt pagan society where easy divorce was the order of the day.

Though the Christians were not in the midst of one steady onslaught of persecution which lasted from Nero to Diocletian, but rather subject to intermittent outbreaks of the pagan world, they were always sufficiently insecure. Arrest and trial and violent death easily became proximate dangers. For the city of Rome and the district around it the perils were pre-eminently great. Cremation of the dead was the custom of the pagans, so that it was only when the Jewish community at Rome succeeded in burying their dead in the way of their nation that the catacombs began. Now it must be always remembered that the beginning of the Christian colony was Jewish. Hence the burying-places secured to the Jews by their clinging to their own rites, and by the privileges they won from the State, were the nucleus of the Christian catacombs. But the nucleus, as the work extended and took on a character of its own, was marked off from the Jewish tombs by many special signs, when the number of the Christians increased. Passage after passage was excavated by the patient *fossores*, or miners, in the hard stratum of tufa rock which exists in subterranean Rome, cross passages ramified in all directions, till a labyrinth of almost incredible dimensions was made. It is thought that the total length of the passages in the Roman catacombs would be about the length of Italy, and that the number of graves or loculi would come to about ten millions. Here was a sure shelter for the Christians fleeing from their persecutors, for no hostile step would dare to thread the mazes of this underground city of the dead. Still, of course, the Christians did not spend their time habitually in the catacombs, but, except in times of special stress, even public worship would take place in the houses of notable Christians. There is little to show there were any churches of size or beauty in the persecution age. "Breaking bread from house to house" went on as the normal procedure long after the Apostles. The oldest sanctuaries in Rome were all domestic oratories where the Christians could meet in comparative privacy, and sheltered by the respect which some high-placed patrician household enjoyed. We know there was a large public church in Nicomedia, and probably the same example may have been imitated elsewhere during the long intervals before the Diocletian persecution, but we

are forced to the conclusion that in the first age of the Church public churches of large size were the exception rather than the rule. Sometimes all this period of history is described as the Church of the Catacombs.

But though the early Christians had the catacombs for hiding-places, they had the arena and the Roman law courts for stage. The Church of the Catacombs was also the Church of the **The Martyrs.**

Martyrs. It is impossible rightly to estimate the number of that cloud of witnesses drawn from all classes of society, and giving their testimony under all varieties of circumstance, who gave their blood for the Faith. In this sketch the story has been carried on from persecution to persecution, according to the time-honoured enumeration of these ten scourges, but who shall tell the number of those who suffered in only the remotest connection with any one of these events? Some have estimated the total number of Christian martyrs at eleven or twelve millions. Others have tried to diminish the proportions of this great fact of the propagation of the Faith, amid martyrdom and through martyrdom, to the narrowest limits. And not without an ulterior aim. But it matters not. The full tale will not be counted by man till the final account, but it will suffice the Catholic Christian till then to know, that the outstanding characteristic of the ages between the preaching of the Apostles and the Edict of Constantine was that it was the Era of the Martyrs.

BOOK II.

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE.

(A.D. 313-590.)

CHAPTER I.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

(313-337).

By the common consent of all history there stands at the head of a new epoch in the Church's story the renowned name of Constantine the Great. There is no need to belittle the achievements of Diocletian, which, in the civil order, were considerable, for Constantine, wherever possible, did but follow the path that his predecessor had marked out. But the man whose bold and at the same time cautious action reversed the position of Christianity and paganism in both East and West, and in this way prepared the Christian Roman Empire, deserves better than many rivals the name of Great. It was the death of his father, Constantius Chlorus, in Britain in 306 that made Constantine one of the two supreme Augusti; Galerius still surviving as the other. Born probably in Servia some thirty years before, Constantine was the son of Constantius by a morganatic marriage with Helena, a Christian of lower rank than his own. St Helena, for her virtues merited this title of saint, must have had great influence on the life and

The
standard
of Christ.

fortunes of her son. Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was proclaimed at Rome in the same year, but his claim to the empire was disputed by Galerius and Severus, and there were several years of indecisive fighting between their armies in the East. Meanwhile Constantine was occupied on the German frontier, defending his empire and strengthening his power. It was only when, after the death of Galerius in 311, Maxentius denounced him as a usurper, that he rapidly marched into Italy and joined issue with the forces of this tyrant. After two victories in the north of the peninsula, he swiftly advanced on Rome; and a pitched battle at the Milvian Bridge outside the city resulted in the death of Maxentius and the rout of his army, and the triumphal entry of the victor into the city (28th October, 312). Constantine had been nerved to the conflict against superior forces by a bright vision in the sky, showing him the Cross or Monogram of Christ surrounded with light with the inscription: "In this sign shalt thou conquer." And this sign was carried on the Roman standards, and on the shields of the soldiers, though a majority of them were pagans. So, in gratitude for the victory, which he firmly believed had been won by the protection of Christ, Constantine immediately granted toleration and favour to the Christians.

Constantine used his victory with moderation, and after a brief stay in Rome, proceeded to Milan, where he met Licinius, who had been proclaimed Augustus in the East. He married his sister to the Eastern emperor, and promised him his help against Maximin Daia, son of his rival Galerius in the East, and then in conjunction with him published the Edict of Toleration of Milan (313), which really was the turning-point between the ages of persecution and the ages of the Christian Empire. Maximin Daia continued to persecute the Christians, but before the year 313 was out, he was defeated by Licinius, whose army had invoked the God of the Christians, as that of Constantine had done, and soon after this the tyrant died a painful death. So there was now peace for the Christians throughout the empire. The only break in the new order of things was caused by the conduct of the Eastern Augustus, Licinius. Persuaded by Constantine, he fell in with his policy, so that

**Edict of
Toleration
of Milan.
(313).**

the Milan Edict was agreed to by both, but later on dissension broke out between the two rulers, and for some years Licinius was able to have his own way in the East. It was during this period that he authorised a persecution of the Christians, in which there suffered amongst others, the celebrated martyr, St Blaise, and the forty martyrs of Sebaste. At last Constantine made war upon Licinius, and after several bloody battles, defeated him, and henceforth reigned as sole emperor over the whole empire.

Constantine had up to now acted with great moderation and reserve, both towards his enemies and towards the old order of things, on which he was innovating. Yet it can hardly be held as consistent with this that he executed the beaten Licinius, and also, on what seems insufficient proof, exacted the death penalty for conspiracy from his son Crispus and his second wife, Fausta. These things leave a stain on his memory. They were not the outbursts of savage cruelty, but somewhat unaccountable crimes, unless perhaps ambition, so easily disquieted, and so readily blinded, drew him into these falls that do not accord with his other public acts. For all his rule bore the stamp of gradual advance and prudent development. Some believe that for a time he hoped to effect a synthesis between Christianity and that Eastern sun worship which had almost displaced the older idol worship among the more cultured pagans. At any rate he did not become a Christian till near the end of his life, and both words and deeds often wore that ambiguous dress which, though cautious and worldly wise, was hardly that of a devoted child of the Church. The proclamations seem studiously capable of being read pagan wise or Christian wise; the emperor retained the title of Pontifex Maximus, and allowed terms such as "the Divine Emperor," "his Divinity," to be used to him even by Christians, thus recalling, at least in language, the Apotheosis doctrine. Still, it is equally certain that he did much for the Christian Church by his legislation and by the marks of favour that he showed the bishops. For instance, Christians were given the right to be tried before their own bishops instead of before the secular judges, and slaves could be freed legally in the presence of bishops as authorities. Slavery was not abolished,

Policy and
laws of
Constantine.

but the power of life and death taken away. Divorce was retained, but the conditions made more stringent. Sunday was to be observed, but it might be kept either for the God of the Christians or for the sun god. Pagan temples could still be used, but new ones could not be built. And in the laws which forbade crucifixion, gladiatorial shows, exposure of infants, torture for debt and similar cruelties, Constantine was but treading in the footsteps of the best of his pagan predecessors.

The new state of things, would seem of themselves to prompt the wish for some assembly or council of the bishops for purposes of deliberation. But what furnished the occasion for the First General Council of the whole world was an outbreak of heretical opinion destined to lead to troubles far beyond what could have been expected. This was Arianism, which was to play a great part in history for many years to come. Arius was a deacon in the church of Alexandria, who was involved in the schism of Meletius against the martyr-patriarch, St Peter. He then aspired to the patriarchal dignity, and was much disappointed when St Alexander was chosen instead. He was a man of learning and of austere appearance, and soon got a following for his teaching. Drawn from the philosophy of Plato, especially as elaborated in the theological writings of Origen, it possessed an attraction for the speculative, rationalistic thinkers of the East which made it a terrible foe to the genuine teaching of the Catholic doctors. It was several centuries before it died out as a living and dominant heresy. God, said the heresiarch, was not the Creator of the world, but of an intermediate being—the Word—and the Word, who was not born of the Father before all ages, but made by Him, created the world. So the Word was not consubstantial with the Father, but His noblest creature, though by His merits He gained some participation in the Divine Nature. Thus the heresy in effect denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and that He was of the same substance with the Father. And it was thus that it came to pass that the term *Homousios*, or *Consubstantial*, became the touchstone of true belief against the Arian heresy.

Instead of calming down, the dispute between Arius and his partisans on the one side, and the Patriarch of Alexandria, Alexander, with his deacon, Athanasius, on the other, waxed hotter and hotter. It was therefore with the definite object of settling this controversy that the Emperor Constantine, with the consent of the Pope, who sent his legates to preside, summoned a General Council to meet at Nicaea in Bithynia in 325. But though called for this specific purpose, it could hardly fail to discuss other matters of dispute, and draw up laws for the future government of the Church. And so indeed it happened. This council which is known as the

FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF NICAEA (325)

was a gathering that fitly represented the Catholic Church as it was at that moment of transition. There were three hundred and eighteen fathers in all, and many of them have honoured places in history. There was Osius, Bishop of Cordova, who, with the two priests, Vitus and Vincent, presided as Legate from the Pope. There were the three patriarchs, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Alexander of Alexandria. There were Caecilian, the metropolitan of Carthage, and Alexander, Bishop of Byzantium, for there was as yet no New Rome. There were Eusebius of Nicomedia, and his namesake of Cæsarea. There were the heretic spokesman, Arius, and the orthodox champion, Athanasius, now face to face. There were saintly confessors of the Faith such as St Spiridion of Cyprus, St Nicholas of Myra, St Paphnutius of Egypt, still bearing the scars of the wounds they had borne for Christ. There was also the mighty Emperor Constantine, who came to the council in almost oriental splendour, but would not take his seat out of respect, until the bishops had given him a sign. And besides all these, what we should scarcely have expected, there were pagan philosophers present, amongst whom is noted the name of Asterius. These last had some discussion with the Christian fathers, and very likely some of them were convinced and converted.

The sessions of the council seem to have lasted from May to August in the year 325, and though the emperor was not at the preparatory sessions, he afterwards

attended as a kind of honorary president, but did not interfere with the theological discussions. He contented himself with exhorting the fathers to harmony and union. In fact he could hardly have understood the importance of the controversy with Arius. A creed (1) was drawn up which was the foundation of that solemn profession of faith which we now call the "Nicene Creed," and brought into prominence especially those doctrines which Arius denied. It included the word "Homousios," or Consubstantial, but not of course the words referring to the Holy Ghost, which were added later. This creed was signed by the fathers of the council, and though at first some twenty-two bishops more or less favoured Arius, only five declined to subscribe to the creed. Even out of these, three did at last sign under pressure, but it is to be feared without sincerity. Then (2) Arius and all these five Arians were excommunicated, deposed and banished: council and emperor thus co-operating in their punishment; and the council passed on to other matters of debate. A decree (3) was promulgated with a view to settling the divergence which still remained in some places as to the time for keeping Easter. It was ordained that the Christian Paschal Feast should always be kept on a Sunday, and never on the same day as the Jewish Passover. The question was, however, raised again at a later point in history. Then a decree was passed to (4) put an end to the above-mentioned schism of Meletius at Alexandria. Finally (5) twenty Canons of Discipline were enacted, which settled several points of importance. The order of precedence among the patriarchal sees was declared to be fixed by old rights, and the same was to be observed as regards metropolitans. Rules were given as to the consecration of bishops, as to the exclusion of the unfit from the Sacred Ministry, and with reference to the receiving back to Communion with the faithful of the Lapsi, and of the schismatical Novatians. The proposal for a strict law on clerical celibacy seems to have been toned down in deference to the opinions of some of the bishops who were married men, and instead, a decree was passed that no bishop, priest or cleric should have in his house any woman to live with him, unless it were a mother, sister, or aunt, or such other person as should be free from all suspicion. The council found

its closing scene in a state banquet given to the bishops by Constantine in his palace with more than regal pomp, each bishop receiving moreover rich presents from the sovereign. The occasion was the State celebration of the twentieth anniversary of Constantine's reign. After a respectful exhortation from the prince to peace and concord the bishops went home to their respective sees.

We must now turn to relate how it fared with the Roman See, while these events of surpassing importance were happening in the East. We have already seen that after the victory of the Milvian Bridge the victor found, when he entered Rome, St Melchiades, or Miltiades, in possession of the Apostolic See (311-314). However, Miltiades died in the course of the year, and was succeeded by St Sylvester, whose long reign of twenty-one years (314-335) more or less coincided with the reign of Constantine over the whole empire. There is very little that is authentic known about St Sylvester, which is all the more to be regretted that his Pontificate embraced such a momentous time. Constantine had handed over to the Holy See in Miltiades' time the Lateran Palace, which had been the residence of the Empress Fausta. By it he built the Church of St John the Baptist, which is sometimes called the Lateran, and sometimes the Constantinian basilica, and is the diocesan cathedral of the Bishop of Rome. The tradition is very constant that over the tomb of St Peter, at the foot of the Vatican Mount, the emperor built another noble church in honour of the Prince of the Apostles, which was the predecessor of the St Peter's of to-day. The churches of St Agnes, St Lawrence, and St Marcellinus and Peter go back to his time, and though he by no means wished to abdicate his sovereignty over Rome, he enriched the Papal See and Roman Church with many gifts and favours. The Edict which allowed the Church as a corporation to possess property in the empire was the legal basis of the patrimony of St Peter, and the gifts he made, such as the Lateran and other buildings and possessions, are the basis in history of the fabulous donation of Constantine: so long believed in and used in disputes and controversy, but now generally admitted to be a forgery of perhaps the eighth or ninth century. Other wealthy citizens followed the example of their

**Patrimony
of St Peter.**

sovereign, giving possessions in their lifetime, or making the Roman Church their heir in death. Such was for example the manner of the foundation of the Liberian Basilica of St Mary Major. And as these things increased, the patrimony of St Peter grew and extended far beyond Rome, till the Roman Church in the course of the next centuries became the chief landowner in the whole of Italy.

That Rome had become an inconvenient capital did not escape the eye of a level-headed administrator like Diocletian. In fact the difficulty of one man governing the empire from it as a centre was no doubt one of the reasons that led to the four-fold division which he made.

Foundation of New Rome. As for himself, his chief residence was Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he built a palace and other public buildings; where, too, the Christians built the finest church they had so far attempted. And similar considerations must have been before Constantine's mind when he came to the summit of power. Byzantium had been an important place, and already boasted a history of nearly a thousand years. Five times taken, and several times destroyed, it had always risen from its ashes, ready for a new lease of life. And truly the site was an unrivalled one—it was at the meeting of the two continents of Asia and Europe—at the meeting also of the two seas: the Euxine and the Mediterranean, for the Propontis was but a gateway to the latter. And its fortifications could be strengthened to the point of becoming impregnable. So whether a fortress was wanted, or a commercial mart, or a centre of traffic and human life, it gave a silent challenge to any city East or West. Licinius had made it his residence, and it was at Byzantium that his final defeat by Constantine took place. No doubt it was when his camp was pitched under the walls of the old city that the victor realised its matchless advantages, and in fact the year 324 had not ended before he had rechristened it by his own name, Constantinople. However, it was not till 330 that the vast plans made for the new city were advanced enough for the solemn festival of the dedication of the place as the capital of the empire. As the work advanced, and the emperor felt his way, he designed something to surpass all the cities of the earth. And

he would call it New Rome, as far beyond Old Rome in riches and splendour as his realm surpassed that of the ancient Romans. He drew his walls wide enough in extent to take in seven hills, even as Old Rome had, and he divided in like manner the space within into fourteen regions. Then there was a vast imperial palace, and a Senate House, magnificent baths, and a hippodrome, and gardens, and many churches, the most notable of which was that of Sta Sophia or the Holy Wisdom, while the Church of the Holy Apostles was meant to be the imperial burying-place. Then there were statues and works of art, brought from every city whose art treasures seemed worth plundering; the images of all the pagan gods were there, Artemis and Athene, Jupiter and Apollo, albeit not now for worship, but for decoration. Then there were great statues of the Divine Emperor himself and his mother, St Helena. They brought an obelisk from Egypt, and the three-headed brazen serpent, which supported the golden tripod, from Delphi. The great patricians of the empire, and merchants from every port that the Romans went to, were invited to fix their abode in the New Rome. At the Dedication Festival (11th May, 330) the Christian bishops were called upon to bless the work, and to take possession of the churches. As time went on the empty spaces within the ample limits of the city walls were filled up, and as the population still grew, the spacious suburb of Blachernae, outside the walls, had to be incorporated. For eleven centuries the New Rome went on by the side of the Old, more than its rival in civilisation and luxury, oftener graced with an imperial Court, and moreover thoroughly Christian from the beginning in spite of all weaknesses. At one time it contained no fewer than four hundred and sixty-three churches, besides monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions in abundance. But at last it fell, for its presiding genius, always in the State and too often in the Church, was a merely earthly despot, whereas the Old Rome, though repeatedly sacked and spoiled by the passing stranger, held that rock on which St Peter's See was built, to weather the storm by a strength that was not of this world.

CHAPTER II.

CATHOLIC DOCTORS AND ARIAN TROUBLES.

(337-366).

THE Emperor Constantine lived for about seven years after he had founded his New Rome, but he did not succeed in keeping clear of the machinations of the Arian party, foremost among whom was Eusebius of Nicomedia. And **The inheritance of Constantine.** Arian bishops were for some time intruded into Constantinople, Antioch, and other places. The chief mark for their hostile shafts was naturally enough Athanasius, who, when Alexander died, became Patriarch of Alexandria. Several false charges against him were made and refuted at the Council of Tyre (336) but at last he was accused of stopping the corn supplies from Egypt for New Rome. This was, of course, a delicate point with the founder of that city; the charges were believed, and Athanasius was banished to Treves. Arius upon this seemed to be on the eve of triumphing, but his death, which happened with shocking suddenness at a public function in Constantinople, disappointed the hopes of his party. In the following year the emperor himself, having been baptised some time before, probably by Eusebius of Nicomedia, died without putting off the white robe of a neophyte.

He left the empire to his sons: Constans, Constantius and Constantine II., and the Arians found support in the imperial family. Constantine II. was only doubtfully a Christian, but in 340 he was murdered; and then, although Constans in the West was orthodox, Constantius in the East both persecuted the pagans and favoured the Arians with equal shortsightedness. Athanasius had been recalled before their father

died, but the disputes were by no means over. It was to try and make a final settlement of them that the two emperors at the request of Pope Julius, who had filled the Chair of Peter since 337, summoned a council to meet at Sardica, now Sofia in Bulgaria, in the year 344. Pope

St Julius.
(337-352).

Julius, though requested to do so, did not appear in person, but sent two priests as legates, and a letter explaining his absence. Hosius of Cordova, who had presided at Nicaea, presided now again after an interval of nearly twenty years, having it is supposed been given a special commission for this from the Pope, and very likely from the emperor too. The dignity of his see would certainly not give him the presidency. The Arian or Eusebian party refused to appear, and their bishops, to the number of eighty, retired to Philippopolis, leaving the council to be carried on by about ninety or a hundred orthodox prelates. The council, however, acted vigorously, condemned the Arian bishops, as well as the heresy of Photinus, Bishop of Sirmium, and reaffirmed the faith of Nicaea. It also very clearly established the right of appeal to Rome in the case of a bishop being charged, or wrongfully accused. There were some twenty canons of discipline passed, which recall strongly the legislation at Nicaea, of which council Sardica is not without reason held by some to be the true complement or appendix.

But, as might be expected, the Council of Sardica only added to the hostility and bitterness of the Arian trouble. The prelates who had seceded from Sardica and held a council of their own at Philippopolis legislated for themselves. The attention of the emperors was taken off religious controversy by wars which had broken out with Persia, and while these were in progress Constans died (351). Constantius now became sole emperor and threw the weight of his authority into the Arian scale. For some time he fixed his residence at Sirmium in Illyria, and there gathered round him a number of bishops who were Arian or semi-Arian in settlement, and this party of prelates, who lived not in their sees but around the emperor's court, received the name of the Permanent Synod, and composed a formula known in

Arian troubles increased.

Sirmium and the Permanent Synod.

history as the *First Formula of Sirmium* (352). This is semi-Arian in tone, declaring that the Son is like (Homoios) to God the Father in substance and in all things. This was circulated and extensively signed by the bishops. Meanwhile, an Arian council, which met at Arles, condemned St Athanasius, though when the condemnation was submitted to the Pope for his approval, he refused it and demanded another council, which should be really representative and free. St Julius was

Liberius. dead, and this new pope was Liberius, who, (352-366). being elected in 352, did not die till 366.

Constantius managed to gather a large council at Milan in 355, and acted towards it in a very arbitrary manner, trying to force the acceptance of unorthodox opinions upon the bishops. So great was the pressure which the emperor brought to bear that nearly all signed the formula put before them. There were, it is true, noble exceptions, and first and foremost among these was Pope Liberius, while with him were also St Hilary of Poitiers, St Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari and St Dionysius, Bishop of Milan. Exile was now again the imperial weapon. St Athanasius had once more to go; nor did the Pontiff himself escape, but, persisting in his refusal, he was banished to Berea, and Felix II. occupied the See of Rome in his absence. A new formula was now drawn up, and signed by many. It is known as the *Second Formula of Sirmium* (357). There are those who think that Liberius signed this, and it is known that the veteran Osius of Cordova, who had presided both at Nicæa and Sardica, was induced to sign it. It was drawn up under the influence of the extreme Arian party, and is quite heretical, rejecting both the identity and similarity of substance between the Father and the Son. But these pure Arians, or Anomeans, as they were called, had gone too far in pressing this formula on all, and controversy ran high between them and the Semi-Arians. An attempt at conciliation led to the *Third Formula of Sirmium*, which was ambiguous, but in the main embodied the semi-Arian

Rimini. view. In order that this formula should be (359.) universally signed the Western bishops were summoned to Rimini in 359 and the Easterns to Seleucia in 360. About four hundred bishops met at Rimini, and there, after discussion, all the Arian

proposals were rejected, and the faith of Nicaea reaffirmed. Deputies were then sent to report these proceedings to the emperor. But in the meantime two hundred Eastern bishops had met at Seleucia, and though St Cyril of Jerusalem and St Hilary were both present at the council, a semi-Arian formula was drawn up, and a report of this also was sent to the emperor. Thus the Augustus had before him almost at the same time two contrary decisions taken by these two councils in sharp contradiction with one another. Thereupon Constantius made up his mind to use every effort to impose on all the above-mentioned Third Formula of Sirmium. Thus it came to pass that the deputies sent from Rimini to report the orthodox decision of that council nevertheless signed the formula, and took it back to Rimini to be signed by the fathers of the council who were still there. This formula was now very generally signed, for the civil power menaced exile to all defaulters, and the threats and influence thus wielded prevailed. In fact so general did this seem that St Jerome cries out in his impassioned way: "The condemnation of the faith of Nicaea was applauded, and the whole world with a groan was shocked to find itself Arian." Liberius, however, was not overcome, but had denounced all the proceedings at Rimini as irregular. Besides, it would be impossible to prove in cold blood that a majority of the fathers did really sign, while even of those who unquestionably did, many went home abjuring Arianism, and professing their devotion to the Nicene faith.

In the following year Constantius died and the empire fell to his cousin Julian, last of Constantine's family, on whom history has fixed the ignominious name of the Apostate. Yet, strangely enough, the new reign brought relief to the orthodox champions. The new emperor, who had once been, or once professed to be a Christian, had gone back to paganism, and now pretended to look upon the disputes about doctrine in the Christian Church as mere folly. Hence St Athanasius was able to return from exile to his see, and everywhere the bishops returned in triumph. Pope Liberius had long before come back and taken possession of his see. As for St Athanasius, as soon as he got home to Alexan-

**Julian the
Apostate.**
(361-363).

**Saint
Athanasius.**
(296-373).

dria, he held a council there (362), in which the test word "Homœousios" and the Nicene faith were reaffirmed. At the same time the ambiguity of the word "hypostasis," which with the Latins meant substance, but with the Greeks meant person, was distinguished. The heresy of Apollinaris, who denied the existence of a human soul in Jesus Christ, was also here condemned. And then as to practical measures for the reconciliation of the Arians, it was decided that the chiefs should be received back to lay communion only, while the rest should recover whatever ecclesiastical position they had held, if they made orthodox professions. Once again, it is true, the dauntless Athanasius had to flee, for Julian, in granting a general amnesty, made a special exception against him. It was only in the following year, 363, when Jovian succeeded Julian, that Alexandria saw its holy patriarch again. His last and fifth exile was under Valens, who was an Arian (364). But he was able to return once more, and died in peace at Alexandria, A.D. 373. His works, which entitle him to rank amongst the greatest of the doctors, were chiefly directed against Arianism, of which he was the foremost opponent.

If we go by the date of death, however, the honour of being the first doctor of the Universal Church goes to St Hilary of Poitiers, though his claims were acknowledged only much later. He died in 368, and is sometimes called the **First Cycle of Doctors.** Athanasius of the West. His chief work is one in twelve books *On the Trinity*, besides three other distinct works on the Arians and their heresy. At all events, he holds a parallel place among the Latin fathers to that held by St Athanasius among the Greeks. And, in fact, both were concerned in the same controversies, and covered the same ground, while the public life of both of them is bound up with the history of the Church in their day. The names of Lucifer of Cagliari (375) and of Eusebius of Vercelli (371) belong to the same cycle, though neither of them is held as a doctor of the Universal Church. St James of Nisibis and his disciple, St Ephrem, though teachers and glories of the Syrian Church, took little part in the controversies of their time, and wrote more on devotional and liturgical themes. Neither did St Cyril of Jerusalem at first descend into the fray, though he is supposed to have been Bishop of

Jerusalem as early as 348. It was in his episcopal city that he delivered the celebrated *Catechetical Discourses* which give such valuable testimony to the teaching of the Church. He opposed the teaching of Arius, though without naming him, and taught the doctrine of the Consubstantiality of God the Son, though without using the term "Homoousios." However, later on he incurred the enmity of the Arians, and was thrice banished from his see. The third time it was eleven years before he could return. But he survived long enough to take part in the General Council of Constantinople, and died about 386. With his name, recently honoured more than before through the action of Leo XIII. in giving him a Feast for the Universal Church, we finish the First Cycle of Doctors, though it would not be true to say that there was any clear line of demarcation between those we have mentioned and the still greater names that are to follow.

The short reign of Julian (361-363) was taken up in a cunningly devised attempt at a pagan revival, which occasioned some severe persecution, and many renewed annoyances to the leaders of the Church, who at first had experienced some relief. Julian, after he had relapsed into paganism, gave the rest of his life to feverish efforts to fight against the rule of the Master whom he had disowned. Hence it is that, though not for his abilities, at least for his great position as ruler of the Roman world, the Augustus Julian must be counted as one of the greatest enemies of Christianity in his day. Though he did persecute when he chose, and among the martyrs of his reign may be counted such well-known witnesses for the Faith as the Roman brothers, SS. John and Paul, still it was in the main to ridicule and contempt that he trusted in his antichristian campaign. A satirical book of his against Christianity survives to bear witness to the spirit that animated him. He forbade the Christians to teach, and then threw contumely on them as illiterate. For similar reasons he caused two attempts to be made to rebuild the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem. But both attempts were frustrated by supernatural intervention, and the stones of the city were scattered more widely than before. But the Persian enemies of the empire would not wait for his taunts to take effect; Sapor (King

of Persia) with his captains was pressing on, and Julian had to lead an army against them (363). He was stricken to death on the battle-field, and the epitaph on the unhappy Cæsar may well be the words which popular tradition puts upon his dying lips: "Galilean, Thou hast conquered."

When Liberius was banished to Berea by the Emperor Constantius, as we saw above, Felix II. was nominated by the persecutor to rule the See of Rome in his absence. But though obeyed by many of the clergy, he was never acknowledged by the people. Though held by some as an antipope he is thought by others to have governed the Roman See with the consent of Liberius during the latter's exile. He subsided into a subordinate position when Liberius returned in triumph from his exile in 357. The Arian emperor, Constantius, at first suggested that Liberius should occupy the see conjointly with Felix, but this idea was so unpractical and absurd that a great disturbance was created among the faithful at Rome, and at last the emperor agreed that Liberius should remain with the full understanding that he was to rule alone. This he did till his death. Felix died in 365.

Liberius was an undoubted champion of orthodoxy in the earliest years of his reign, and again welcomed back as true Pope in doctrine and power at the end. But over the middle period, or rather moment of crisis between these terms, a storm has gathered round his memory. It has been held by many writers that under pressure from the emperor during his exile, Liberius subscribed one of the Arian or semi-Arian formulas which Constantius was trying to force upon all. But amongst those who think this there is not full agreement as to which of the formulas he did sign. The three formulas of Sirmium were not all equally heretical. And the most competent authorities at the present day hold it as quite as likely as not that Liberius signed none of them. The discussion is a long and complicated one, quite out of place in a sketch like the present one. Absolute certainty, when all is said and done, is, with the materials at our disposal, unattainable, so there it must be left. But it is of moment to remark that the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in official pronouncements would be no wise

compromised by a slip of this kind, even if it could be proved home, made as it certainly would have been, under pressure and without freedom, nor in any way meant to be a declaration teaching the Universal Church. It was in 366 that Liberius died in honour at Rome, and in peace also, after the many storms in which his Pontificate was passed. But before he died he had seen Julian fall in battle against the Persian, and after Jovian's short spell of power, a Catholic emperor, Valentinian I., ruling the West, from Milan, where he resided as in his chosen capital. Whenever he was not engaged in warfare in Gaul, Valentinian was able to exercise some limited influence of favour of the faith of Rome, but though a Christian he meant to keep in favour with pagans and Arians alike, and made an ostentatious show of impartiality. And the metropolitan of the emperor's capital was an Arian named Auxentius. St Hilary, when at Milan, attacked the teaching of Auxentius, and refuted his heresies, naming him, no doubt on account of the high position he held in the Church. But the friends of Auxentius were able to use such influence at the imperial Court that St Hilary was forced to leave Milan. With regard to the pagans, Valentinian, it is true, forbade nocturnal sacrifices, but he allowed the Eleusinian mysteries to be celebrated, and granted special privileges to the pagan priests as well as to the Christian clergy. Before the end of his reign St Ambrose had replaced Auxentius as bishop, and the holy doctor's influence was great over emperor and city alike.

CHAPTER III.

TRIUMPH OVER PAGANISM AND HERESY.

(366-395).

THE papal election was marked by violent scenes among the members of the Roman clergy. Damasus was chosen by one party, and a certain Ursinus by another. The quarrels led to bloodshed, and it was only when the emperor forced Ursinus and his supporters to leave the city in 367 that Damasus was able to take peaceful possession of his see. He then held several synods in Rome, which contributed to the decay of the semi-Arian party in the West. Again, it was he who petitioned the Emperor Gratian for the removal of the pagan altar of Victory from the Senate House; its long persistence there was another sign how slowly pagan ideas and emblems were being cast out of the public life of the empire. But before Damasus died the strong orthodox line taken by Theodosius assured him that now at last the empire was being made Christian and Catholic. And then he turned with loving care to the monuments around him of the strenuous persecution times that now were gone. He undertook the restoration of the catacombs, and of many tombs of the martyrs both there and elsewhere, often adorning them with epitaphs from his own pen. The Church he had served in his youth also owed its restoration to him, so that in memory of the work done there it is often called S. Lorenzo in Damaso.

It was he who invited St Jerome to undertake the revision of the old Latin version of the Bible, known as the Itala, and the result of his labours was the Vulgate,

as we have it. St Jerome seems to have acted as secretary to the Pontiff for some time. It was in his days, too, that St Ambrose came to the front as successor of the Arian Auxentius in the See of Milan. But the battle for the Faith in the East was mainly waged by the great triumvirate, Basil and the two Gregorys, who form the glory of what we may call the Second Cycle of Doctors, with Damasus as in some sort a connecting link between them and the champions of the previous age. He was succeeded at Rome by Siricius (384-398).

Jovian, an officer in Julian's army, brought off the Roman army from Persia after that emperor's death as well as he could, and was acclaimed emperor by the soldiers. He concluded a treaty with Sapor, the Persian King, which was not considered very honourable to the Roman power, involving as it did the

**Valentinian
I., Emperor
of the West.
(364-375).**

surrender of Nisibis and several provinces to the Persians. But at any rate it gave some breathing-space, and before the competency or incompetency of Jovian could be given any time for proof, death took off the emperor after less than a year's reign (363-364). It fell to the army again to choose, and this time they chose a strong and able officer by name Valentinian. Valentinian was already a well-known soldier in Julian's time, but had fallen into disgrace with him on account of his bold profession of contempt for the heathen gods. Valentinian was urged by his counsellors to choose a colleague to share the burden of empire with him, and after some hesitation named his own brother Valens as emperor of the East, he himself retaining the Western provinces. Valentinian, whose capital was Milan, spent the greater part of his reign in Gaul, warring with the barbarians, for Rome did not yield those fair provinces to the Gothic invaders without an obstinate resistance. He associated his youthful son Gratian with himself in the empire, causing him to be proclaimed Augustus. But while still in the fulness of his strength Valentinian was struck down by apoplexy, just after an angry conference with a barbarian embassy, and died in 375.

Valens was a man of inferior abilities to his elder brother, and was very far from imitating his manner of reigning. At first he had to deal with a pretender

to the empire in Procopius, and had to wage quite a considerable war before he got the upper hand. And

Valens in the East.

(364-378).

unlike Valentinian, Valens was an Arian, and such a violent extremist, that though for a time he was able to persecute the Catholics; his very violence told against the continuance of the heresy, by throwing the semi-Arian or non-dogmatic party into the hands of Pope Liberius and the Catholics. St Basil, when summoned into the presence of Valens, defended the Faith and rebuked the emperor with dauntless courage, and seems by his commanding ability to have overawed the tyrant, who was a man of very mediocre character. Still, Valens remained the friend of the waning Arian party until his death in 378 at the battle of Adrianople.

At the death of Valentinian I., by a strange mixture of election and negotiation, a three-fold division of the empire was made. Valens retained the East,

Gratian.

(375-383.)

Valentinian II, the infant son of the late emperor, received Italy and Illyrium, and his elder son Gratian received Gaul, with some sort of control over Rome. Gratian, not content with removing the statue of Victory from the Senate House, at Damasus' request, refused first among the Roman Cæsars the title of Pontifex Maximus, thus breaking in the most formal way all connection between the Roman Empire, as he understood it, and the old paganism. But the votaries of the heathen gods did not forgive him. And perhaps he gave a handle to the calumny that he would destroy everything Roman, by choosing his body-guard among the Alans, and not among the Romans. But so it was that when Maximus the Spaniard landed in Gaul from Britain in revolt against him, Gratian found that when he marched to meet him many of his army were deserting. Fearing the result of a pitched battle with a wavering army, Gratian fled towards the south of Gaul, but was overtaken and seized by the soldiery of Maximus. At a banquet in Lyons he was treacherously struck down by an assassin, and died calling on St Ambrose. "Surely my soul waiteth upon God. My enemies may slay my body, but my soul they cannot kill"—these were the words almost of a martyr that fell from Gratian before he died.

So long as Valens ruled in the East, the Arian

party were dominant there, though Valentinian II. in the West was quite favourable to the Catholic claims. But there was to come a change. It was the Emperor Gratian who selected Theodosius to share the empire with him and Valentinian II., and handed over to him the government of the East. This meant a great deal for the progress of the Church and of orthodoxy (379). Theodosius, who had been a valiant general of the Roman Empire, was a sincere Catholic, and contributed to christianise the realm in a more thoroughgoing way than Constantine had been able or willing to attempt. At first his part was a limited and almost subordinate one, but yet it was at Constantinople, where he began, that the Arian influence had lasted longest. The city had now been founded for about fifty years, and the Arians had held possession of the see for forty years out of this time. The Edict of Gratian, giving peace to the Catholics, had already enabled them to

**Theodosius
in the East.**
(378-394).

(379). have a bishop of their own in the person of St Gregory Nazianzen, but the holy doctor did not find the imperial city a bed of roses. He had preached with an unrivalled eloquence, expounding the true doctrine of the Trinity, in the Church, which he called the *Anastasis*, or Resurrection, but the Arian majority was against him. Demophilus, at least a semi-Arian, had held the imperial see for ten years. And even in the orthodox flock there was dissension. Maximus, a cynic philosopher who had embraced the faith of Nicaea, was consecrated bishop by the opponents of Gregory, and the harmony of the Catholic party was rent asunder.

But it was not so much to quell the heretics within as to make head against rampant enemies without, that Gratian had called Theodosius to share his empire. For events had happened in the preceding year which seemed to forebode disruption to Rome and its civilisation. Not for the first time, the Goths over the border had caused trouble by their inroads, and their restless hostility. It will be at once remembered how they had defeated and slain Decius a century before in Bohemia, and had only been appeased by Aurelius' cession of Dacia to them. But now they had broken into the empire again, pressed on by the advance of the Huns, and in part joined by them in the attack. Valens had met them at Adria-

nople, and, after a bloody battle, had been slain, his army being almost annihilated (378). And since then the Goths had been marauding and ravaging at will over nearly the whole Balkan peninsula. This was why Theodosius, a tried soldier, was named Augustus by Gratian, who was still quite young, that his advent might restore the fortunes of the war against the Goths. Fixing his headquarters at Thessalonica, and keeping in touch with Gratian, who had come as far east as Sirmium, Theodosius conducted the campaign with great skill, and gradually drove back the Goths, falling on them in various unexpected places, and causing great slaughter among them. At last they were fully minded to make peace, and they accepted the position of allies of Rome, fighting for the empire, and paid for doing so, but standing outside of the ordinary system of government. Theodosius was thus able to enter Constantinople in triumph on the 24th of November, 380, and devote his attention to the religious situation in the capital. He had already, when baptised at Thessalonica, declared his faith in orthodox Catholic Christianity and his determination to make this the religion of the State. So now the Arians were called upon to restore the churches to the Catholics, and the Arian patriarch, Demophilus, was required to sign the Nicene Profession of Faith. On his refusal he was banished, and St Gregory, enthroned in the Cathedral of the Twelve Apostles, was to administer the see until further order could be taken. But as far more deliberation and legislation was needed before the long-drawn-out troubles could be laid to rest, the emperor decided on a council to meet in Constanti-

**The Council
of Con-
stantinople.**
(381).

nople. Invitations were only sent to the bishops in Theodosius' division of the empire, and hence it was not at first intended for an Ecumenical Council, and no Westerns were present. The leader of the Arian party was now Macedonius, who had added to the other errors the heresy that the Holy Ghost was a Creature, but in order to try and gain the Arians over to the Church, thirty-six bishops of their party were invited, while one hundred and fifty orthodox bishops responded to the call. Meletius of Antioch presided, and St Gregory Nazianzen was the great light of the assembly by his theological acumen and eloquence. However, other great teachers of the East in those days were

also present: St Cyril of Jerusalem, St Gregory of Nyssa, St Amphilochius of Iconium were the most celebrated. All that Constantine had done for Nicaea, that did Theodosius perform for the Constantino-politan council, except that he does not seem to have been present after the first session—a more thorough Christian than Constantine, he was contented to leave the bishops to their deliberations.

FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381)

Seeing that it was not called by the Pope, nor presided over by his legates, nor attended by any Western bishops, it is not surprising that this council should not for long years have been admitted as ecumenical. It owes this acknowledgment chiefly to its creed, which has ever been since considered the standard of orthodoxy, and praised as such, having possibly been composed by St Gregory or by St Epiphanius. But it only came to be admitted in the East at the Council of Chalcedon seventy years later, and in the West in the sixth century, and then only as to its creed, and not its canons of discipline.

Its first work was to provide for the See of Constantinople, and St Gregory was solemnly installed and confirmed as Patriarch by Meletius, the president. But Meletius died during the synod, and the question of his successor reopened the question about Constantinople as well. One view was that Paul, who had been in schism against Meletius, should now be acknowledged, and this was St Gregory's opinion, but the majority would have Flavian, a follower of Meletius, appointed, and this was done and thus was perpetuated the schism at Antioch. Thereupon Gregory, full of grief, resigned his own see, and Nectarius was chosen to succeed him at the emperor's suggestion, though he was only a Catechumen of high civil rank. Besides the two appointments of Flavian and Nectarius, the council confirmed the decrees of Nicaea, and condemned Macedonius, Apollinaris, and other heretics, and proclaimed a creed which is an extension of that of Nicaea, especially bringing out the true doctrine about the Holy Ghost, being in fact the creed we now call the Nicene Creed. It also passed some canons of discipline, the most important of which was the long-disputed decree: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the Bishop of Rome because

it is the New Rome." This involved the pushing aside of the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. The decrees of the council were confirmed by the emperor, who ordered that all heretics not in communion with the fathers should be driven from the Church.

As the Council of Constantinople was the scene of the final Arian and Macedonian discomfiture, perhaps this

**Second
Cycle of
Doctors.**

is the most fitting place to speak of those great men who spoke and wrote for the Church in the day of the Arian decline, as Athanasius and Hilary did in the day of its success. Foremost among them comes St Basil, who both by date and character seems to deserve that title of Great which mankind gives to historical figures of heroic proportions. He belonged to a family of saints. His grandfather was a martyr, and his parents confessors of the Faith. Basil was one of a family of ten, out of whom three became bishops, and four are considered to be saints: Basil himself, St Gregory of Nyssa, St Peter and St Macrina. Basil had frequented the schools of Athens in company with his friend, Gregory Nazianzen, and came back equipped with all the education the times could give. After some time spent under Dianius, Bishop of Cæsarea, he was drawn by the desire of perfection to retire from the world, and founded a monastery in the desert of Pontus, where he wrote the celebrated *Rule of St Basil*, which is to the Eastern monks almost more than St Benedict's is to the Western, and to our own day remains the standard to a still larger number of sons. He was drawn out of his retreat by the needs of his day, and sent to Constantinople on an embassy to the emperor. His noble freedom of speech found small favour at Court, and he returned to Cæsarea, where his influence became very striking. His commanding talents and his eloquence were used for some years at the side of Eusebius the Bishop, whom he succeeded in 370. His years as metropolitan of Cæsarea were years of the most untiring pastoral activity. As he had given a model to monks by his Rule and life of seclusion, so did he give a model to bishops by his administration of the diocese, or rather exarchate, which became an ideal one under his government. It was a very important see, ranking with Ephesus after the patriarchates, and having fifty "chorepiscopi" subject to it. Of course

his energy and orthodoxy made enemies, and after nine years of struggle with public woes and private dissensions, he died worn out with his labours in 379. Of St Gregory Nazianzen we have already spoken in regard to his public career, which only lasted some three years. St Basil was already dead before his friend was invited to Constantinople; and his writings, which are far more voluminous than St Basil's, seem to have been chiefly composed in the comparative retirement which followed his resignation of the patriarchate. He died in 389. By his devotional writings St Gregory of Nyssa (386), the brother of St Basil, also holds an honoured place in the cycle; while if we mention St Amphilochius of Iconium, St Meletius of Antioch, and St Ephrem, it is not in order to exhaust the list, but because these saints stand out in history with special lustre on account of their deeds and writings.

Were the cycle to be made wide enough to embrace the West, as well as the East, one of the brightest places would be that of St Ambrose. Called to **St Ambrose**, Milan, he had a long and glorious career as bishop and doctor in the Western Church. He was only a Catechumen when the cries of the people called him to the episcopal throne in 374, his election thus preceding by several years the almost similar case of Nectarius at Constantinople. Both had been distinguished civil officials, both were equally Catholic, but the splendour of Ambrose's writings makes him one of the great doctors of the Western Church, while the name of Nectarius remains in obscurity. The youth of Ambrose would explain his having no part in the Council of Constantinople, but as time went on his place grew greater and more imposing in the Western Church. To the noble Gratian he was guide and oracle—his name was the last on his dying lips, and when after the fall of Maximus it was Theodosius' turn to rule in Italy, Ambrose knew how to deal with him with noble firmness, and to rebuke him for his cruelty at Thessalonica. He preached the Word of God assiduously in his cathedral, and among his auditors came the youthful Augustine, attracted by the fame of his eloquence, but in the end led by him to conversion and baptism—a worthy subject to praise God and acknowledge Him to be the Lord. And

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besides these homilies, the written works of the Milanese doctor fill a high place by their importance rather than by their volume in the Library of the Fathers. Written with a freedom that speaks of the noble spirit that composed them, they yet seem to almost consciously imitate the classical rhetoric of Cicero and the old pagan masters. There is the treatise on the *Mysteries*, there is the treatise on *Virginity*, and another on *Widowhood*; there is the work on the *Sacraments*, and another on *Penance*; there is besides a volume of exegetical work, full of allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Text about equal in volume to all the rest of his works. There are some ninety *Letters* and some very well-known *Sermons*; there are also a collection of *Hymns*, of which four have been identified as his, and became very celebrated. By his hymns and his care for what is now known as the *Ambrosian Chant*, the holy doctor did more than anyone before him for the development of the ecclesiastical chant in the West. Though the Empress Justina was his enemy, he was the trusted friend of Gratian, and after his death, of the young Valentinian. Twice he journeyed to Treves in his cause to deal with the usurper Maximus. Nor was he less an honoured and noble figure with the great Theodosius. He pleaded not in vain for the forgiveness of the Mesopotamian Christians in disgrace: he exacted penance for the massacre at Thessalonica. And when Theodosius died, as when Valentinian was slain, it was Ambrose who pronounced the funeral oration. He died soon after, namely in 397.

It is thought to have been in the second century that the Goths left Asia for Europe in search of new homes, or as a Church historian would say, "to meet the light of the Gospel." And they flung themselves on the still pagan Empire of Rome, in the third century, and on the Christian Empire in the fourth century. Driven onward in their turn by the Huns, who were following the same impulse, they gained permission from the Romans to settle in Moesia, on condition that they embraced Christianity. And missionaries were sent to them from the East. It seems that they either embraced Arianism at once, or at least if not first of all Arians, that they soon turned to that heresy. Their first bishop, Ulphilas (360-383) fills a great place in the

**Conversion
of the
Goths.**
(380).

work of their conversion, for besides his labours as bishop and missionary, he invented an alphabet for his flock—the well-known Gothic alphabet—**Ulphilas.** and translated the Gospel into the old Gothic tongue. By at least a double title then is (360-383).

Ulphilas the Apostle of the Goths. And from this time forth, when we see them coming down on the Christian Empire, we must think of them as Christians too, though barbaric ones, and outside the pale of Roman civilisation. They carried their Arianism, in which probably ignorance counted for a great deal, into Italy, France, Spain and Africa. And it was only after centuries that these half-savage Christians were won back from their errors to the orthodox fold. In Italy and Africa especially this seems to have been a gradual process. It was only in Spain that their conversion was somewhat more striking and rapid. So that Spain stands out in history as the chief if not sole instance of a whole country won not from paganism but from heresy to the fulness of the Catholic Faith.

But we must pass on to see other cases where the evangelisation of the world had passed beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, and made conquests both in the East and in the West. To take **Celtic Christians.** the West first, we must remember that the Romans had held sway over the Celts in Britain for centuries before the weakening of their power at its centre led to the abandonment of those distant dominions. And they had not only their elaborate system of roads, some of them existing even to our times, but they had their regular provinces, four in number, their cities, their seaports and their marts. Britain was garrisoned by a considerable army, and we may conjecture that the position of Christianity in Roman Britain was about what it was at the same period in the other more remote provinces. In the general persecutions, or at any rate the later ones, there were martyrs in Britain, St Alban being honoured as the proto-martyr. The subject Britons learned Christianity from their masters, so that when the Romans withdrew, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants must have been Christians. Even before this, the presence of three British bishops, supposed to have had their sees at London, York and Caerleon, at the Synod of Arles in 314, points to an

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organised episcopate, such as other lands possessed. Still there is very little authentic information available about the British Church. We learn from Venerable Bede that St Ninian, a Briton with a Roman training, preached to the Southern Picts in Galloway, and there founded the See of Casa Candida, or Whithern, about 397, and that he died there in 432. What amount of permanent success attended his labours is problematical. At all events we know nothing further about him. With regard to Wales even St David, who is honoured as the Apostle of Wales, has a history so overwhelmed in fable and legend that very little can be relied on, except that he was Bishop of Menevia, called after him St David's. The Annals of Cambria assign his death to the year 601. But no doubt his career stretches over nearly all the sixth century, and recent writers even assign part of it to the fifth century.

To turn to the East, the Christian Empire of Rome had inherited a long quarrel with the powerful empire
 Persia. set up in Persia by the dynasty of the Sassanidae (226-641). But the very fact that Christianity was the religion of the Romans set the Persian kings, whose power grew greater and greater until it became the rival of Rome itself, quite against it, and the Church has had few fiercer persecutions to endure than that under Sapor II. (310-379). Still Christianity grew and its numbers multiplied. The city of Seleucia Ctesiphon became first the metropolitan see over several suffragans, and at last so powerful as to equal the great patriarchates, with a hierarchy of two hundred and thirty bishops subject to it, scattered through Persia, Arabia, Assyria, Chaldea, and even to the confines of Tartary and China. It was before Mohammedanism that the Persian Church gradually went down, though tolerated by the Arab conquerors.

The most considerable mission of the Alexandrian Church was that to the mountain region of Abyssinia,
 Abyssinia. sometimes called Ethiopia. Frumentius, who had reached this country from Tyre, became tutor to the king's sons, and won them over to the Faith. Going to Alexandria in 341, Frumentius was consecrated Bishop by St Athanasius, and sent back, becoming the Apostle of the Abyssinians. He in his turn consecrated other bishops, and with time the

majority of the nation became Christians, and in spite of corruptions later on, the substance of the work done by Frumentius has never been undone. But the Monophysite patriarchs have got the Abyssinian Church under their control. In the eleventh century traces of union with Rome could still be found, but after that the Monophysite heresy had its way. Monophysites still, the Abyssinians have added some errors of their own. No other Church exists showing so many traces of Jewish influence, for they still circumcise, keep the Sabbath, and have Nazarenes. Moreover no other Church retains the Agape, the communion of infants under the species of wine, and the abstinence from things strangled. The Abyssinians remain still the most considerable body of Christians in the African continent, and their Christian monarch is the only native potentate retaining his sovereignty against the partition of Africa among the European powers.

CHAPTER IV.

HIGH TIDE OF THE GOTHIC INROADS.

(395-440).

WE have seen the barbarian Goths many times in conflict with the Roman power, dashing up to it, and many times held back, but renewing the assault Alaric. with rhythmic persistency, as the sea waves (395-412). do upon the breakwater. Twice we have seen them leave a Roman Augustus dead after their victory. Theodosius had held them at bay, but they were to encroach further yet. In the very year of Theodosius' death, 395, they had chosen for their king the warlike but wary Alaric, who considered that his nation had fought as Roman auxiliaries long enough, and should now fight and conquer for themselves. Before the year was out he had led his forces into Greece, and, although he had abstained from an assault on Athens, had ravaged and conquered wherever he went. He seems to have been bought off by the bribe of an imperial commission to rule Illyria, but he meant to go further than that, and in 400 led his army, or rather his whole nation, to the invasion of Italy. He passed through Venetia, though Aquileia held out against him, and then directed his forces towards Milan. Anastasius I. (399-401) was now Pope, but died before the invader reached Rome. Very likely Alaric meant to co-operate with Radagasius, another Gothic leader, who had marched down into Italy from Switzerland. But in 402 they were met by the Roman army at Pollentia, and repulsed though not thoroughly beaten. Stilicho, the Roman general, was a consummate leader, and made the best of the difficult campaigns he had to fight. In 405 he inflicted a crushing defeat on Radagasius, who was slain. He dealt with Alaric, however, by way of negotiation, and his loyalty to the empire fell

under suspicion. After many ups and downs of fortune Stilicho was arrested and executed at Ravenna (408). In the same year Alaric pressed on and laid siege to Rome. It was, however, more by blockade and famine than by assault that Alaric meant to reduce it, and after long negotiation, the payment of a large ransom induced him to depart. But the following year, 409, brought him back, and this time the citizens cast off the yoke of Honorius, and a Greek adventurer on friendly terms with Alaric, named Attalus, was set up as emperor. In this way the Goth was once again appeased, but in 410 he came again and took Rome by assault.

It was a disaster without parallel to the Roman Empire; the beginning of the end as far as its universal dominion was concerned. Much damage was done: the palace of Sallust and probably other buildings were burnt, and many outrages committed. But materially it was far from being general destruction or complete ruin, however grave its moral effect. For Alaric and his men were Christians, even if Arians, and they spared the city churches. Plunder and victory and disgrace to the Romans were enough for them, and it was not long before they passed south, taking city after city in Campania without resistance. We do not know whether Pope Innocent I., who was then in the middle of his long reign of fifteen years, was in Rome at the siege. History tells but little of his share in these events, whether he protested, or suffered, or fled. We know he had taken part in an embassy to the emperor at Ravenna just before, and Orosius says he was still there during Alaric's raid.

Alaric takes Rome.

Innocent I.
(402-417).

It was more than unfortunate that the emperor, who should have been the bulwark against the Gothic advance, counted for little in such scenes.

As stated above, Theodosius had divided his empire between his two sons, giving the East to Arcadius, and the West to Honorius. And Honorius was a futile trifler. He was not a wicked prince, and seems to have been religious after a fashion, but he was quite incapable of making head against the great public difficulties which beset him, and he had the more defenceless half of the empire to govern. In Stilicho he had had a general of first-class

Honorius in the West.
(395-423).

ability, but faithful or faithless, Stilicho was now gone, and there was none to replace him. Death, however, fought for the emperor better than his armies. Alaric had passed on into Sicily, conquering as he went, and at Reggio a sudden illness carried him off. He was buried in the bed of the River Busento, which was temporarily diverted from its course for the funeral. And with his great enemy gone, fortune began to smile on Honorius.

While the West was given to Honorius, Arcadius had been made by his father emperor of the East, and reigned at Constantinople. He was several years older than his brother, but unfortunately as little fitted as he to follow in the footsteps of the great Theodosius. Sluggish

and timid, he fell under the dominion of one favourite after another, and under the influence of his consort, Eudoxia. His first minister was a Western Roman named Rufinus, but the Gothic general of the empire, Gainas, slew him before the emperor's very eyes, and yet Arcadius was fain to accept Eutropius, one of Gainas' friends, as minister in his stead. And the administration of this man was a very corrupt and dishonourable one. Yet his power was so great that he was fawned on and flattered by the courtiers, and seemed all-powerful at Constantinople. When the patriarch Nectarius died, it was his voice that called for St John Chrysostom to succeed him, and in 398 he did so, though to a troublous and stormy Pontificate.

This celebrated man was a native of Antioch, where his youth had been spent in the study of eloquence, philosophy, and afterwards of theology, as it was understood in the Exegetical School of Antioch. From desire of perfection he had become a monk, and had spent years in

**St John
Chrysostom.**
(347-407).

seclusion and study, but the patriarch Meletius had called him back to the life of the city, and ordained him deacon. Meletius died as president of the Second Ecumenical Council (381), and was succeeded according to the decision of that assembly by Flavian, who was very favourable to the young orator. In 386 Flavian ordained him priest, and used his talents in the ministry, and so it came to pass that during his own absence to plead the cause of the citizens of Antioch, who had risen in revolt, and were threatened with punishment by the emperor, he left him in charge of his

flock. And St John used the opportunity to guide and govern the people by the discourses which he delivered with surpassing eloquence. This was the John of Antioch whom Eutropius' influence now secured all unwittingly for the See of Constantinople, and thus made one of her greatest patriarchs. It was not long before Eutropius' turn came for disgrace and ruin. He offended the Empress Eudoxia, who then came with her two children before her husband, complaining of his insolence, and clamouring for his punishment. Arcadius yielded to his wife, and Eutropius was disgraced. The fallen favourite, knowing he was surrounded by jealous enemies thirsting for his blood, fled to Sta Sophia, and claimed the privilege of sanctuary there. The new patriarch stepped forward with dauntless firmness to defend him. He spoke his eloquent oration, "*On Eutropius*," while the fugitive was in refuge in the Church, daring his enemies to take him, though at the same time he condemned his career, and even spoke openly of his crimes. At all events the bold stand made by St John was successful for the time, and Eutropius was able to leave unharmed. Later on, it is true, he was seized in his exile by his bitter enemies, and executed at Chalcedon. Meanwhile the holy patriarch had embarked on the career of a fearless and unsparing reformer in the capital. He spared not the guilty whatever their state or station. He exacted a stricter life from the clergy, seclusion from the world from the monks, and a higher standard of the Christian life from the body of the faithful. He attacked with unsparing tongue the frivolity and extravagance of the ladies of the Court, and even was thought to have blamed Eudoxia herself as their leader. Anyhow, the empress put herself at the head of a cabal, which in 403 left no stone unturned to ruin him. A quasi-council, known as the Synod of the Oak, held at Chalcedon under the presidency of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, deposed him in the most un-
Synod of
the Oak.
canonical fashion, and Eudoxia persuaded her weak husband to ratify the sentence. Scarcely, however, was St John gone into exile when the misfortunes that fell on the city, and a tumultuous rising of St John's friends, stirred Eudoxia and her party to a kind of remorse. Theophilus fled to his own see, and St John Chrysostom returned in triumph. Yet once again

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before very long the enmities burst forth. The noise of a semi-pagan festivity for the dedication of Eudoxia's silver statue roused the holy doctor's indignation, and his vehement words of denunciation rekindled the flame. Once more a council was persuaded to condemn him, and once again he was exiled. This time he was not to return. Carried to the Armenian highlands, and kept there in cold and hardship for three years, when the order arrived for his further deportation to the Caucasus, he was unfit for the journey. Being urged forward by his guards, he died at Comana in Pontus (14th September, 407). Eudoxia had died before him, in fact soon after his exile began (404); and in the year after his death the inglorious reign of Arcadius was ended by that emperor's death (408).

St John Chrysostom had appealed against the Synod of the Oak to the Roman Pontiff, Innocent I., and the Pope had written, declaring the acts of this council to be null and void. He had also written in favour of the holy doctor to the emperor and to Chrysostom himself. But Arcadius paid no attention at the time to the papal remonstrance. Arsacius, who was chosen to succeed St John, died in the following year, and then Atticus was chosen and lived as patriarch for twenty years, but when he wrote to announce his election to the Pope, Innocent refused to enter into communication with him till justice was done to the memory of St John, by restoring his name on the diptychs. The Pope held firm on this, and following on the example of other Eastern bishops, who had complied with the Pope's demand, at last Atticus yielded. Finally, in 418, the body of St John was brought back with great honour to Constantinople, and buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles, where Eudoxia had already been buried, and in this way peace was made all round.

St John Chrysostom, by his marvellous eloquence and voluminous writings on Scripture and Christian doctrine, holds a place second to none among the doctors of the Eastern Church. It is not possible to allude to more than a few of his writings. Among the best known are his book *On the Priesthood* and his *Sermons on St Paul*.

St Innocent receives appeal from Constantinople.

The Third Cycle of Doctors.

But, contemporary with him, there were several holy and learned writers in the Western Church whose influence has been at least equal to his, though in a somewhat different sphere. They had not to shine before the Court of an emperor, or fill a patriarchal chair, but they were raised up to fight the battles of the Church against new heretics, who were rising up to adulterate the purity of the Faith, this time mainly in the West. There were St Jerome and St Augustine, and both of these are doctors of the Universal Church, and besides these two great lights there were men only less than these stars of first magnitude, Rufinus, Orosius, Sulpicius Severus, St Gaudentius, Bishop of Brescia, and St Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia. There is a special and honoured place in the cycle for St Cyril of Alexandria. But though a contemporary, his deeds will be best related in connection with the Council of Ephesus.

We have suggested above that St Damasus may be considered a sort of connecting link between the older doctors and the bright luminaries whose names we have just recalled, and without question the nearest to the holy Pope was the ascetic and energetic Jerome of Strigonium. Born in Dalmatia, he came to Rome, and soon gained the friendship and favour of the Roman Pontiff, who made him withdraw from the contagion of corrupt society, and baptised him. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the pagan classics, and besides this studied rhetoric and philosophy. It was at Treves that he studied theology, and then he travelled through the East as far as Egypt, perfecting his circle of knowledge, and being one of the earliest Westerns to study Hebrew, which he did with the help of a learned Jew. His way back westwards was through Antioch, where he was ordained priest, and through Constantinople, where he enjoyed the friendship and teaching of St Gregory Nazianzen, to Rome, where he settled a welcome counsellor and almost secretary at the side of Pope Damasus. He was now a scholar of unequalled attainments, and it was to him that the Pope entrusted the revision of the Itala version of the Holy Scripture. At this Jerome worked with industry and rare tenacity of purpose. On another side of life, a notable band of devout Roman ladies, Marcella, Paula, Eustochium and others, looked to him for spiritual

St Jerome.
(340-420).

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guidance. At one time it seemed he might have succeeded Pope Damasus, but he had made enemies, besides attracting friends; so when Damasus died Siricius was the choice of the Roman Church, and Jerome's career in Rome came to an end. The strong attraction the Holy Land had for him now made him fix his abode at Bethlehem, whither St Paula followed him. And near the birthplace of the Founder of the Church twin monasteries arose, that for men presided over by Jerome, that for women ruled by St Paula. Here the remainder of his life was passed: "ever immersed," as an eye-witness tells us, "in his studies and his books; neither day nor night does he take any rest." Nevertheless, he did not disdain to teach classics to the children of his more cultured neighbours, or to study Hebrew with the Rabbis. The controversies on Origenism and Pelagianism troubled his later years. In fact a party of Pelagians, whom he had written against, burnt his monastery in revenge in 416. In 420, after a long and well-filled life, he passed to his rest.

A still greater than Jerome shone in that constellation of genius and piety which we have called the Third Cycle of Doctors, and this was Aurelius Augustine, by common consent one of the greatest geniuses the world has known. Born at Tagaste in Numidia from a heathen father, Patritius, and a pious Christian mother, Monica, who is numbered among the saints, Augustine has described for us his early life in the book of his *Confessions*. His extraordinary talents enabled him to make great progress in the schools both at Tagaste and at Carthage. But his ardent temperament led him into moral excesses and loose living; he had one illegitimate son named Adeodatus, and in doctrine also he went astray, joining the Manichean sect, which seemed to him more intellectual than Catholicism in its method and professions. After finishing his studies, he taught rhetoric at Tagaste, and afterwards at Carthage, but his soul was not at rest, and the Manichean leaders were unable to give him any satisfaction. In this state he journeyed to Italy, and at Milan heard the great bishop St Ambrose discourse to his flock, and the light of truth began to dawn upon his soul. The "Tolle, lege" which he heard within his

soul finished the work. The words of St Paul in his Epistles pierced him through and through, and his conversion was wrought. He was baptised by St Ambrose in 387 at the age of 33, and set out to return to his native Africa. St Monica died on the journey at Ostia, rejoicing over the son for whose soul she had poured out such constant prayers. Possidius gives the rest of his history. He led a life of retirement for three years near Tagaste on a small estate that was his, and then journeyed to Hippo, whose aged bishop, Valerius, constrained him first to be ordained priest, and then consecrated bishop as coadjutor to himself in 394 or 395. Valerius did not long survive, and from that time till his death in 430 Augustine presided over the small diocese of Hippo, thus surviving to pass as Bishop of Hippo a longer period than he had spent in his youth given up to the service of the world. His household was ordered like a religious community. His hospitality was boundless, his care of the poor unceasing. He was indefatigable in preaching the Word of God, and no fewer than three hundred and sixty-three genuine discourses remain to us. But it is above all as a doctor of the written Word that his greatness seems to shine forth beyond comparison with others. In his *City of God* he gives a final summary of far-reaching sweep of the pagan objections to Christianity, elaborating his answer in no less than twenty-two books with masterly genius. In his works on *Christian Doctrine* and *The True Religion*, he expounds the Catholic dogma with a royal freedom which is peculiarly his own. In his Scriptural works he attacks the task of explaining Holy Writ in a high philosophical spirit. In his ascetical works he has words of advice for the married and the unmarried, for monks and virgins. In the Donatist and Pelagian controversies his voice was the masterly one and his arguments the mightiest to refute and convince the erring and the misled. No Latin father has written so much, though others may have written more classical Latin. And certainly no other father has united such philosophical breadth of mind and such cordial, ardent charity and piety in his writings. He is truly a royal saint—a king among men, on whom admiring readers have bestowed the honourable titles of Second Paul and Doctor of Grace.

These last words designate the rôle of St Augustine

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in the greatest controversy he undertook, namely that which arose out of the heretical teaching of the Briton Pelagius. This Celtic priest with his companion Celestius met Rufinus at Rome, and there, supported by Julian, Bishop of Eclanum, taught a doctrine on the relation of nature to grace, which discussion with Catholic teachers showed (400.) to be heretical. Pelagius taught that

man can be saved by his natural virtues without the aid of divine grace, and that Adam's sin injured himself alone, thus implicitly denying the transmission of original sin to all, which last point was, moreover, explicitly denied by Celestius. Celestius was first condemned by a Council of Carthage in 412, though Pelagius escaped condemnation by signing an orthodox formula. However, the insincerity of this was detected by St Jerome, and Pelagius was condemned by two councils in 416 at Carthage and Milevis respectively. Finally, he was also condemned by Pope Innocent I. in his celebrated letter to the African bishops in 417. And it was on occasion of this letter that the well-known dictum was pronounced : "*Decrees have come from Rome, the case is finished.*" St Innocent died in the same year,

and was succeeded by St Zozimus (417-418), who at first, being deceived by the Pelagians, wrote to the African bishops in their favour, suggesting that the previous condemnation may have been hasty. Thereupon a council was called at Carthage in 418, and attended by two hundred and fourteen bishops. Reaffirming their sentence, they wrote a full defence of it in a synodal letter to the Pope. The Pope, at last undeceived as to the true character of Pelagius and his teaching, confirmed all that had been done against it. And an appeal to the Emperor Honorius brought in the support of the secular arm to stamp out the heresy. The chief partisans of Pelagius were exiled, though no fewer than seventeen bishops resisted the decrees.

At the end of 418 St Zozimus died, and within a very few days Boniface I., a Roman of good repute, succeeded him. There was an attempt at a schism on the part of a minority, who favoured the election of Eulalius, and he appealed to the emperor. Honorius, however, did not at once decide, and Eulalius was awkward enough to act as

though he had, and at once entered Rome. He was ejected, and the schism soon came to an end. Boniface however almost at once became involved in the dispute as to an appeal to the Holy See made by Apiarius, a priest who had been deposed in Africa. Zozimus had restored him, and the African bishops considered this uncanonical. Without going into the intricate details of the case, let it suffice us to note that the appeal was rightly upheld as a matter of principle, however inconvenient and unpractical might be its application in practice, which is really all that was urged by the Africans.

The next ten years, which comprise the reign of St Celestine, saw the outbreak and condemnation of one of the greatest heresies touching the teaching of the Church on Christ that have ever been: the rise of Nestorianism and its condemnation at the Council of Ephesus. There had been handed down from Apostolic time a traditional teaching about the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, without however any exact terminology, and couched in somewhat vague expressions. It was Apolli-

**St
Celestine I.**
(422-432).

naris, Bishop of Laodicea, who attempted a scientific explanation based on the philosophy of Plato. Dividing man into body, soul and spirit, with the heathen sage, he denied the human spirit in Christ, saying that the Word, or Logos, took its place. This attempt, which is called the heresy of Apollinarianism, was confuted by St Athanasius, St Gregory Nazianzen, and St Epiphanius, and at last condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381. But these replies not seeming sufficient to the theologians of the School of Antioch, they went further, and led by Theodore, later on Bishop of Mopsuestia, a fellow pupil of St John Chrysostom in that school, taught that the union consists in the indwelling of the Divinity in a perfect human being, and that what is called the Communication of Idioms is to be rejected. Among those trained in the Antiochene School was also Nestorius, who, when Sisinnius, the successor of Atticus as Patriarch of Constantinople, died in the following year, was suddenly raised to the capital see in 427. He was an eloquent and imposing personage, and people hoped to see the times of St John Chrysostom renewed, but he was a man of another stamp. He began by inveighing against the expression

**Apollinar-
ianism.**
(370).

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Theotokos, or God-bearing, as applied to the Blessed Virgin, and at once provoked controversy and hot remonstrance. As soon as the news of the dispute spread over the East, St Cyril, who had succeeded his uncle Theophilus as Patriarch of Alexandria, leapt into the fray. He and Nestorius soon became the protagonists in the struggle. Nestorius wrote to St Celestine twice to try and gain him over, and St Cyril sent the deacon Posidonius to the Holy See, armed with all the documents necessary to defend the truth. In consequence of this, Celestine held a synod at Rome in 430, when Nestorius was declared a heretic and threatened with deposition unless he retracted within ten days of receiving the decision. The Pope also wrote to St Cyril, commissioning him to put this sentence into execution. Before doing so, St Cyril in his turn held a synod at Alexandria, and drew up a formula, called the *Twelve Anathemas of St Cyril*, for Nestorius to sign. This, however, he refused to do, and drew up the same number of counter propositions, accusing St Cyril of Apollinarianism. Both parties to the controversy were now anxious for an Ecumenical Council, and the Emperor Theodosius II. convoked it at Ephesus in 431. Pope Celestine in a letter to the emperor consenting to the

**Council of
Ephesus.**
(431).

THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF EPHESUS (431)

appointed Arcadius and Projectus as his legates, but referred them to Cyril, in case of difficulty as to their manner of acting. The emperor was no more able to be present in person than the Pope was, and appointed the Count Candidian as his representative and protector of the council, though he was to take no active part in the deliberations. It was to meet at Pentecost, but John of Antioch, who in part sided with Nestorius, did not appear; still after waiting some time for him and his friends, it was opened by Cyril as president in virtue of the Pope's commission, and was attended by bishops in number varying from time to time from one hundred and sixty to one hundred and ninety-eight. Nestorius was condemned, and the doctrine that in Christ there are two Natures in one Person, and that Our Lady is really Theotokos, or Mother of God, proclaimed. There was much opposition on the part of the Antiochene bishops, who met

in a conciliabulum under their patriarch John to the number of forty-three, and drew up a creed of their own. But in the end they were reconciled with Cyril and the Council of Ephesus, which forbade any other creed than the Nicene to be used. The opposition of the civil authorities, voiced by Theodosius and Candidian, in favour of Nestorius, was also overcome, and finally Nestorius was deposed and sent into exile, where he died. With strange persistency, in those Eastern regions to which he was sent there still remain Nestorian Christians under a patriarch of their own. As far as the Church in general was concerned, the papal legates confirmed the decrees, and the victory was won.

The greatest event in the evangelisation of the world to be referred to the Pontificate of St Celestine is the mission of St Patrick to Ireland. It was not that he was the first Christian missionary to touch those island shores. There are traditions of several Apostolic men who preached in Ireland some time before this; such were St Ailbe at Emly, St Declan at Ardmore, and St Kieran in Ossory. (380-492).

St Patrick.
(432).

And even St Celestine himself is said to have sent one Palladius, earlier in his reign. But, whatever may have been the success of those earlier preachers, that of Palladius is said not to have been great; it was the almost matchless achievement of St Patrick in the space of one lifetime to have made a whole pagan land Christian, to have gone far towards organising the Church he had founded, and to have done his work so thoroughly that it has never been undone even until now. The title of Apostle of Ireland is his and his alone in the fullest and noblest sense. From the time Patrick landed in Wicklow, having been consecrated Bishop by St Maximus of Turin, and sent by St Celestine on his Apostolic mission, till his death in 492, or thereabouts, he travelled over almost every portion of Ireland, preaching, baptising, instructing and organising with ceaseless zeal and activity. And he carried all this work on side by side with a life of almost superhuman austerity and union with God in prayer. From Wicklow he passed north to Antrim, and thence to Downpatrick, and on to Tara in Meath, where he lighted the paschal fire, and by his preaching and miracles converted the Ardrigh, or Chief King, as well as the leader of the bards. Thence he passed into Connaught,

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where he remained preaching for seven years, and thence through Ulster, establishing St Macartan Bishop of Monaghan, and St Fiacre Bishop of Sletty. He is supposed at another time to have gone south, and penetrated at least to the northern borders of Munster. Finally, he returned to the north and died at Saul in Ulster. Armagh, where he fixed his own see, has ever since been considered the primatial see of the Irish Church. He was succeeded here by his disciple, St Benignus, who had been from his youth the companion of his journeys. It seems most probable that St Patrick followed the more primitive custom of setting a bishop over every considerable body of Christians whom he had formed, rather than the later one of carving out a large tract of country as a diocese for a bishop with one of its settlements as the episcopal see.

But it was more as an "island of saints and doctors" than as the abode of mighty prelates or the land of stately churches that Ireland gained an enviable reputation in the ages following on St Patrick's mission. The *Catalogue of Irish Saints*, found and published by Usher, which is thought to have been made about the year 700, distinguishes them into three orders. The first is comprised of those who lived from the time of St Patrick's landing in 432 up to 542, or some fifty years after St Patrick's death. No less than three hundred and fifty bishops belong to it, founders of churches and other illustrious men whose numbers testify to what has been said above as to St Patrick's system of episcopacy. The second order carries us on for another half-century, from 542 to 598, and in this, out of three hundred names, only a minority are those of bishops, the others being the abbots and monks of those Irish monasteries which by this time were homes both of piety and study. The third order only contains the names of one hundred priests and a few bishops who flourished from 598 to 665. Soon we shall see the Irish missionaries leaving their native land to implant on other shores the Faith which had sunk so deeply into their own hearts.

CHAPTER V.

ST LEO AND THE BARBARIANS.

(440-476).

THE history of the next generation is dominated to a very large extent by two great personalities: the one Pope Leo I. (440-461) called by common consent the Great, and the other Attila, the Scourge of God. Nor can we hesitate long as to which of these two was the greater. Leo typifies moral and spiritual greatness, triumphant over what was mainly material. And even in the external scope of his influence, his reach went far beyond that of his opponent. For, if Attila dominated the whole West, like a barbaric Napoleon, Leo dominated in his own way both East and West. The Roman Empire was under female sway in both its halves; Galla Placidia ruled at Ravenna and Pulcheria at Constantinople. And when the Church met in council at Chalcedon it found the great doctors of the East already dead, but Leo beforehand with it to guide it, doctor in the East as truly as ruler in the West. He had twenty-one years of eventful Pontificate. We know little of his earlier years, except that he was a deacon of the Roman Church under Celestine, and legate under Sixtus III. He was absent in Gaul when the latter died, and being chosen to succeed him, returned at once to Rome. He came to the papacy inspired with the loftiest aims, and his noble, firm, practical character carried him far on the road towards realising them. From the study of his *sermons* and his *letters*, which have been the admiration of scholars from their simple yet truly classical style, we see the noble dignity of the man who felt that the "rank of Peter fails not in his unworthy heir"; and, while full of humility in his own person, carried his lofty position with a proud

**Ruler and
Doctor in
one.**
(440-461).

consciousness of its greatness. From these letters it is clear how his sway was exercised in all parts of the Church. St Prosper of Arles, St Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, and St Flavian of Constantinople were among his friends, while with the saintly Empress of the East, Pulcheria, he was in constant interchange of letters when the interests of the Universal Church were at stake.

The early death of Arcadius in 408 left the imperial family at Constantinople but a group of children.

The Anthemius, the prefect, held office for some
Empress six years, and served the house of his
Regent. master well. He made treaties with the
Persians, beat off the Huns from Moesia,

and regulated the corn supply of the capital. Moreover he put in order many other affairs concerning the interior of the realm. He also did what in him lay that the household of the young emperor should be a model of piety and regularity. But he died in 414, and his place was not easy to fill. Theodosius, the only son of Arcadius, was not more than thirteen, and possessed of but mediocre ability. Fortunately for him, his eldest sister, Pulcheria, was a girl of extraordinary parts, and of equally remarkable character and piety. On the death of Anthemius, she assumed the title of Augusta, and ruled the empire as regent during her brother's minority, and afterwards as his colleague for the space of six-and-thirty years. And all this time she was the guardian angel of the empire and of the imperial house. The palace in which Pulcheria, who had taken a vow of chastity, lived with her sisters was like a convent from its order and devotion and austere moral tone. The empress devoted herself with an attention that a man of state might have envied to the routine of public business. Once there was a breach in the harmony between Theodosius and his sister—very likely through the influence of Eudoxia, whom the emperor had married by his sister's advice; and Pulcheria retired into seclusion. But as her biographer tells us, it seemed as if the prosperity of the realm had gone into exile with her; and so she was drawn back out of her retirement by acclamation. It is clear that a great share of the tranquillity of Theodosius II.'s reign was due to his sister. She seems scarce other than the ideal Christian princess: a little wanting in colour and passion to the natural

craving for these things, like the traditional King Arthur of old, "high, self-contained and passionless," but, from the supernatural standpoint of the Catholic Churchman, giving her people such guidance as they never enjoyed before or since. Theodosius was killed by a fall from his horse in 450, leaving an only daughter, married to Valentinian III., emperor of the West, but he willed the crown to Pulcheria, and she, without detriment to her vow, espoused the veteran soldier, Marcian, and thus secured for the empire seven more years of prosperity and victory (457).

The Patriarch of Alexandria, St Cyril, passed away in 444, and with him the golden age of the Eastern Doctors came to an end. An Alexandrian, trained in the Christian schools of that city, and the nephew of its patriarch, Epiphanius, he had spent some time with the monks in the desert, leading an ascetic life, but in 403 had accompanied his uncle to Constantinople, and had been present at the Synod of the Oak which condemned St John Chrysostom. When Epiphanius died in 412 Cyril was chosen to succeed him, and before his career came to an end, had been patriarch for more than thirty years. He was the instrument of Providence for the defence of the Catholic doctrine on the Person of Christ, and the Divine Maternity of His mother against Nestorius, and though he triumphed at Ephesus, and soon after was reconciled to all but the obstinate heretics, he had to devote what was left of life to him to the final extirpation of these false theories. His most celebrated writings refer to this, and his influence is second to none in framing this region of theology. It is true there is a work *against the Emperor Julian*, also a few *sermons*, and some eighty *letters*; but it is by his works *on the Trinity and on the Incarnation* and by his scriptural writings that the greatness of the Alexandrian doctor is best measured.

Not all the opponents of Nestorius had the firm grasp of the truth and the clear perception of Cyril. The Archimandrite Eutyches, taking an over-zealous part in the opposition, at last fell into the opposite error, and thus began the so-called Monophysite heresy. He declared that Christ is *of* but not *in* two natures, because after the Incarna-

**St Cyril of
Alexandria.**
(444).

**Eutychian
error.**

tion the divine nature has absorbed the human nature, and professed to ground this view on the teaching of St Cyril. It was unfortunate that the holy doctor was then dead and his archdeacon, Dioscorus, had succeeded him. This prelate now supported the views of Eutyches, who also gained considerable favour from Theodosius, and from the Court chamberlain, Chrysaphius. However, he was opposed, as soon as his teaching was generally known, by Domnus of Antioch, and Flavian, who had followed Proclus as Patriarch of Constantinople. Both sides then appealed to Pope and emperor, and it was in answer to these appeals that St Leo sent Flavian the celebrated dogmatic letter which is called the *Tome of St Leo*, clearly explaining the doctrine of the two natures in Christ. St Peter Chrysologus of Ravenna, who was also written to by him on account of his fame for learning, likewise replied in the same sense as St Leo. However, urged on in favour of Eutyches and Dioscorus by the officer Chrysaphius, the emperor convoked a general council at Ephesus in 449, which is known in history as the Robber Council of Ephesus on account of its violence. Some one hundred and thirty bishops met, and Dioscorus presided under the support of the imperial officers and of the military. The Pope had sent his legates, but their rights were set aside by the action of Dioscorus, and they therefore refused to take their seat at all. Under pressure the council deposed Flavian, and also Theodoret, Bishop of Cyr, and declared Eutyches orthodox. However, when the legates protested, and the report of the proceedings was known to the Pope, he annulled the acts of the assembly and wrote to Marcian and Pulcheria for a new and greater council. This was convoked by the emperor, and met in 451, being the

FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF CHALCEDON (451).

It was presided over by the papal legates, and attended by six hundred and thirty bishops. There were sixteen sessions in all, and at the sixth, besides the bishops, the Emperor Marcian was present, and more remarkable still, the Empress Pulcheria, almost the only woman ever seated in solemn state at an Ecumenical Council. The Roman senate and the imperial officers also attended, as it was the last session of the general work of the assembly. Dioscorus and Eutyches had

been condemned at the earlier sessions, and deposed, and then banished, and a Profession of Faith had been drawn up, declaring the doctrine of "one Christ in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation." The Tome of St Leo had been accepted by the fathers. There remained ten other sessions, which were chiefly occupied in drawing up canons of discipline. The decrees were sent to the Pope to be confirmed, but the twenty-eighth canon, which decreed the second rank after Rome to the See of Constantinople as being the New Rome, the capital of the empire, was rejected by him on the double ground that it broke in on the order established at Nicaea, and that secular predominance did not necessarily carry with it ecclesiastical rank, and he rebuked the patriarch Anatolius for ambition in seeking for this advancement. So the decrees remained for some time unconfirmed. Trouble soon arose from this in the East, and Marcian wrote asking to have the decrees confirmed. Leo at once did so with the exception of the twenty-eighth canon. And as both Marcian and Anatolius had expressly allowed that the papal confirmation was required for this also, the Pope might reasonably assume that this canon was a dead letter. In practice, however, the privileges accorded by it to the Capital See were acted upon by the emperors and by the Eastern Church. It was only the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215) which accepted it for the whole Church, and with this went of course the Pope's consent.

It was a curious coincidence that during the greater part of the period in which Pulcheria ruled at Constantinople, the Western Empire also should be guided by the statesmanship of a woman. Galla Placidia was the daughter of Theodosius the Great by his second wife, and sister to Honorius, whom he had made his successor in the West. Falling into the hands of the Goths, when Alaric took Rome in 410, she had been held by them at first as a hostage, and then as a likely bride for Ataulfus, who became their king when Alaric died. And in fact, accepting his proposals, Galla Placidia was married to the Gothic king by Bishop Sigisarius at Narbonne in 414, and thus became queen of the Goths. But, in the following year Ataulfus and the infant son of Galla both passed away, and King Walia restored Galla Placidia to

The
Western
Empire.

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the Romans. She was now courted by Honorius' general and counsellor, Constantius, and after two years Constantius and Placidia were married, according to the wish of Honorius. They had two children, Honoria and Valentinian. Some successes gained by the Roman arms in Spain against the Vandals gave a pretext for Honorius celebrating a triumph in Rome, which had in the interval recovered a certain amount of prosperity. Galla Placidia assumed the title of Augusta in 421, and her husband was associated by Honorius with himself in the empire. But his tenure of the imperial dignity was of the shortest. Within seven months, already tired of the ceremonious life of royalty, he succumbed to an attack of pleurisy, and Honorius and Galla Placidia reigned together. In 423 dissension broke out between them, and the empress fled to her kindred at Constantinople, the dauntless Pulcheria and Theodosius II. Honorius then died, and a Court official, Joannes, was proclaimed emperor at Ravenna, but the Eastern emperor took up the defence of his cousin's rights, and an imperial army, under the Count Candidian, overthrew and slew the usurper. Valentinian III., the son of Galla Placidia, a child of seven, being taken to Rome, was invested with the imperial purple (425) and henceforward for twenty-five years Galla Placidia, first as regent, and then as the counsellor of her son, reigned at Ravenna over the Western Empire. She died in 450.

Ravenna, far out on the plain or delta of the Po, was well known in classical antiquity, when it stood by the sea, intersected by canals, somewhat as Venice stands now. It was made by Augustus the second naval station of the empire, but it was only Honorius (404) who made it his capital, instead of Milan, as being more easily defended, and more convenient. And so it proved. Here, then, was the Court of the Western sovereigns, first Honorius, and then Galla Placidia and her son. Monuments of those years of prosperity still survive, though somewhat overshadowed by the memorials of the later Gothic kings—Theodoric kept his Court here—and when the Roman general, Belisarius, won it back for the empire, it had another period of importance, which lasted for centuries, as the

residence of the Byzantine exarch or viceroy. But modern progress has treated it with coldness, and passed it by, even as the sea has receded from its walls and left it five miles away. But now was the heyday of its importance, and while Honorius and Valentinian reigned there, its brightest lights shone also in the annals of its episcopal see. St Ursus had built the cathedral before the fourth century was out, and then came St John, "the angel seer," and then St Peter Chrysologus whom we have already spoken of as friend of St Leo and Doctor of the Universal Church.

But scarce was Galla Placidia dead when another barbarian inroad came down like an avalanche upon Italy, and threatened to crush her beneath **The Huns.** a weight of savagery far lower than that of the Goths. The Huns were what is now called a Turanian race, and burst forth upon the world from Tartary and Northern Asia. Eastward, the Great Wall of China was built to keep them out, and they turned westward, pushing the Goths on before them with interminable strife. It was pressure from them that forced the Goths into Moesia, and led to the battle of Adrianople and the Gothic wars with Rome. But the Goths had now passed on into Spain, and there was no break-water between the Huns and the empire. It was the Eastern Empire which suffered first. Attila, whose masterful ambition and ascendancy over the minds of his men seemed at one time to promise him a mighty and lasting dominion, became sole king in 447. And in more than one marauding expedition he laid waste the whole country up to the gates of Constantinople. However, he was repeatedly bought off by the Byzantine with large payments of gold, whether ransom or tribute, and at length turned his footsteps farther west. It was not into Italy but into Gaul that Attila first marched with his heterogeneous mass of Huns and various tributary nations in the spring of 451. There were already Goths and Franks and Saxons in Gaul, and it was no easy task to make these elements unite with the Romans to repel the Hunnish invasion. The Roman general Aetius strove patiently to do so. Meanwhile the tide of devastation rolled on. Belgic Gaul was wasted, and city after city was sacked and ruined by the barbarians. The Bishop of Metz was slain at the altar, but the prayers of

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St Genevieve are considered to have led to Attila passing over Paris. Orleans was relieved by Aetius and Theodoric, King of the Goths, while St Lupus of Troyes went to Attila to implore him to spare that city, and won his suit. At last the two great armies of the Romans and their allies under Aetius, and the Huns under Attila, met in pitched battle on the Seine near Troyes, and Attila was defeated. It is usual to call this decisive contest the battle of Chalons, though Chalons was fifty miles away. Few battles ever caused greater slaughter, the number of slain being estimated at anything between one hundred and fifty thousand and three hundred thousand. Attila recrossed the Rhine, and retired to Hungary, but next spring

Attila in he invaded Italy, and laid siege to Aquileia.
Italy. (452). which he took after an obstinate resistance. Padua and nearly all the cities in the valley of the Po were taken, or opened their gates. In dismay the Romans sent an embassy to Attila to sue for peace. The chief ambassador—the only one who carried weight—was the Holy Pope St Leo. And what he asked he obtained. The Huns would retire from Italy and live in peace with Rome. It was a dramatic moment when the supreme spiritual chief of the Christians, so weak withal in temporal power, and the mighty barbarian conqueror faced one another. And armed with the might of Peter's protection, seen or unseen, Leo won, and the embassy was fully successful. Attila went home, and next year, after an orgy of banqueting and revelry, he was found dead in his tent.

After the Huns came the Vandals. But their attack on Italy was made from another direction. They had
The ravaged Gaul in 401, and had passed on to
Vandals. found a kingdom in Spain some years later. In 429, under their new king, Genseric, they crossed the sea into Africa at the invitation of the Roman Count Boniface, who was unfaithful to the imperial service. They took Carthage and devastated Roman Africa. And together with the civil province they ruined the Christian Church they found there, which never recovered from the ravages they wrought in all directions. They were at the gates of Hippo when St Augustine lay dying; they reduced all that once flourishing part of the church to desolation. The great writer, St Fulgentius of Ruspa, fled before them, and many

martyrs suffered. They reigned supreme till Belisarius ejected them for Justinian, and for a while Africa was recovered for the empire. They were called into Italy also by treachery, to avenge Valentinian III., who had been assassinated in 455. But this assassination itself had been a work of vengeance for the death of the able general Aetius, who had been executed on suspicion by Valentinian, somewhat in the same way as some years before Stilicho had been killed by Honorius. Genseric marched on Rome, and St Leo went forth to meet him, as he had met Attila, and though the Vandal took Rome, he seems to have abstained from slaughter and the plunder of churches. Genseric died in 456.

After Valentinian's death, Petronius Maximus, a well-known senator, was chosen emperor, but taking into favour the assassins of Valentinian, Genseric had been called in by Eudoxia, his widow, to avenge her. But now Genseric was dead, and the power seems to have fallen into the hands of a member of another race. Ricimer

**Fall of the
Empire of
the West.
(476.)**

a Sueve, held the reins of power at Rome for a period of seventeen years from 455 to 472. At first, after Genseric's taking of the city, no attempt was made at restoration in Rome, but after two months, Avitus, master of the army in Gaul, was proclaimed emperor at Arles, and Rome in her depression silently acquiesced in this. In the following year, 456, Avitus came to Rome to assume the consulship for the year, and was received with an elaborate pageant. He made war on the Suevi in conjunction with the Visigoths and Burgundians, and thoroughly shattered their power. It was this that provoked the resentment of Ricimer, who was a Sueve, and he decreed the deposition of Avitus, who seems to have been a blameless and virtuous old man. So he was deposed, and at Placentia consecrated Bishop. Ricimer, who had been master of the forces in Avitus' reign, now assumed the style of patrician, and was instrumental in the selection of Majorian as emperor (457). The object of this choice was a doughty soldier who had served under Aetius, and who now undertook to drive off the Vandals from Campania. In 458 Majorian was consul in conjunction with the Byzantine Emperor Leo I., and then used his military talents in defence of the empire, first against the Visigoths in Gaul, and then

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against the Vandals in Spain, and in both enterprises was successful. He seemed about to restore the military glory of Rome, when either through jealousy or for some unknown reason, Ricimer, the king-maker of those days, procured his death (461). A Lucanian named Severus was now hoisted like a puppet on to the imperial throne at Ravenna, and retained the dignity for four years till 465. After his death there was an interregnum of twenty months, which prepared the way for the final overthrow of the empire of the West. The patrician Ricimer meanwhile wielded the executive power, and far from being tired of his anomalous position, caused in 467 Anthemius, a Byzantine noble, son-in-law to the Emperor Marcian, to be proclaimed Emperor of the West. This meant once more a close alliance with Constantinople, and Anthemius quite thought himself the equal of the sovereign in the East. But after four years Ricimer quarrelled with him in his turn, and rushing from Rome, gathered a Gothic army at Milan. Immediate war between emperor and patrician seemed inevitable, but Epiphanius, the Holy Bishop of Pavia, went to Anthemius to plead for peace and reconciliation, and the Roman Cæsar yielded. Yet peace was of short duration, and in 472 Ricimer proclaimed Olybrius, who was the son-in-law of Genseric the Vandal, emperor, and marched against Anthemius at Rome. Betrayed by a portion of the Roman army, Anthemius fell into the hands of his enemies, and was slain at the shrine of St Chrysogonus in the Trastevere. However, in the following month, after his entry into Rome, Ricimer died suddenly, and thus his seventeen years of power came to an end. Olybrius, who shared in the triumph over Anthemius, died in the same year, 472, having appointed Gundobald the Burgundian to be patrician. He was the nephew of Ricimer, and seemed almost to aspire to a position akin to the one his uncle had held, but in 473 he proclaimed Glycerius emperor at Ravenna. This choice, however, was not approved at the Byzantine Court, where Julius Nepos, a relative of the family of the Eastern emperor, was proclaimed. Nepos landed in Italy with a Byzantine army, deposed Glycerius, who was then consecrated bishop of Salona, while Nepos was solemnly installed in Rome. For fourteen months only did the new ruler manage to retain his power, and was then forced

to flight by the revolt of Orestes, the master of the forces. Orestes then proclaimed his son **Romulus Augustulus**, though he might as well have taken the imperial dignity himself, and did in fact retain all real power, as **Romulus Augustulus** was a fresh-faced boy of fourteen, handsome and attractive, but no wielder of imperial sway. However, it was not to last for long. There was a revolt of the Roman auxiliaries, drawn from the Heruli, Goths and other Teutonic races, and an officer of the Heruli, Odoacer, put himself at its head. The soldiers proclaimed him king, raising him on the shield in true Teutonic fashion. Orestes was overtaken and slain at Placentia, and Odoacer passed on to Ravenna. Here was the boy Augustulus. His life was spared by the victorious barbarian, and though deposed, he was given a pension and a villa near Naples. The imperial insignia were sent to Constantinople to the Emperor Zeno with a request that the dignity of patrician might be given to Odoacer, while for emperor they wanted no other than Zeno. The request was granted, and the empire of the West was at an end, A.D. 476.

Though the end of the Western Empire came about quite gradually, and may almost be called a painless extinction of the imperial authority, it was an event so fertile in consequences that it may be worth while to put down some of the causes to which historical writers have ascribed this event. The establishment of Rome as the centre of the Catholic Church may have tended to overshadow the secular authority of the civil ruler, especially when he was a Christian, and thus bound to treat the head of that Church with marked deference. Anyhow, that the first Christian emperor, Constantine, chose for himself a new capital may have been prompted to a certain extent by this feeling. Constantinople from the civil point of view was a dangerous rival to old Rome, and weakened its authority by making it no longer the seat of the empire. And even the Western emperors had left it. Ravenna and Milan suited them better, and Rome was left to the popes undefended and shorn of its civic splendour. And then there had been a mighty deterioration in the Roman people themselves, on whose worth the safety of the empire must in the long run rest.

**Causes of
the fall of
Rome.**

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Slavery had eaten into the heart of society, severe taxation had drained the resources of the middle and lower classes, and even the physical courage, which had gone so far towards making Rome the power she had been, seemed lost, while corruption and refined effeminacy had taken its place. Thus the Roman army was no longer the formidable machine that had conquered the world. The lack of stamina and endurance on the part of the Romans had led to the wholesale recruiting of foreign auxiliaries, and these men were not loyal to the empire with the loyalty of a patriot. So that it must be remembered it was not the irruption of a barbarian horde, but the revolt of her own mercenaries, that laid Rome in the dust and brought her empire to naught. But out of the ruin of this ancient world-wide dominion the Providence of God built up a new and loftier domain—the rule of the Roman pontiffs over the city of the Caesars, which was to endow it with glories beyond what it had ever known, and make it with a double right the Eternal City.

CHAPTER VI.

GOths IN ITALY AND FRANKS IN GAUL.

(476-527).

THE fall of the Western Empire left Italy in the hands of Odoacer, who governed it nominally as patrician, showing occasional deference to the Byzantine emperor, but acted in the main as a barbarian king of the Heruli and other Teutonic tribes. And there is little of interest to tell until Theodoric and his Ostrogoths set up their kingdom in 493. After the death of St Leo in 461, St Hilary, archdeacon of the Roman Church, was chosen to succeed him, and reigned six years. He was able successfully to resist the attempt to introduce into Rome Philotheus, a Macedonian heretic, and to exact from the ephemeral emperor Anthemius an oath never to allow any similar attempt. It was his successor, St Simplicius (467-483) who ruled the Holy See when the empire finally fell, and though the Pope was at Rome, and the last scenes of the catastrophe were at Ravenna, there is no doubt but that what happened at the one place produced its full effect at the other. And then silence settles down on Rome and Ravenna alike.

The fact is that, as is admitted even by secular historians, the centre of movement and interest during those years was to be found in the affairs of the Eastern Church. Various usurpations at Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople sprang out of the Monophysite controversy, and the civil power took a hand in determining them. Marcian only survived Pulcheria until 457, and then three able civilians, Leo, Zeno, and Anastasius, followed each other on the throne. Their career forms a contrast in many respects to the fleeting sovereigns who then appeared in the West. It was not

**Rule of
Odoacer.**
(476-493).

**Sequel of
Eutychian
troubles.**

that they also had not to deal with ambitious generals and barbarian auxiliaries, but they mastered them instead of being mastered by them. Such was the fate of adventurers like Aspar and Vitalian. Rebellion might show its head, but in the end it was put down, and the empire continued to subsist. Leo the Thracian reigned from 457 to 474, and then was succeeded by Zeno, his brother (474-491), though for a while the usurpation of Basiliscus caused the latter to flee from Constantinople (476), but, having collected his forces, he returned, slew Basiliscus, and resumed the imperial power. At Zeno's death, Anastasius the Silentiary was chosen by his widow, Ariadne, to whom the choice was committed, to succeed him, and though already advanced in life, he reigned for some twenty-seven years. An able administrator and financier, Anastasius favoured Eutychanism in religion, and hence bore a considerable part in the stormy troubles that broke on the East before the heresy fell to ruin. There were schisms in all the Patriarchates. Even at Jerusalem there was a brief schism through the intrusion of the Monophysite Theodosius, but before long he fled to Arabia, abandoned by all, and St Juvenal kept his see in peace. At Alexandria Timothy Elurus disputed the patriarchate with St Proterius, but was banished by the orders of the emperor. At Antioch Peter the Fuller was intruded into the see by Zeno, who was already governing the East for his brother Leo the Thracian, but on an appeal to the emperor, Peter was driven out. The usurper, Basiliscus, who favoured Eutychanism, replaced both Timothy Elurus at Alexandria and Peter the Fuller at Antioch. The fall of Basiliscus brought with it that of both these intruder patriarchs, but there was to be a schism of longer duration at Constantinople. John Talaias, lawful patriarch of Alexandria, fell out with Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, who thereupon revived the Alexandrian schism by persuading the Emperor Zeno to support Peter Mongus, the successor of Timothy Elurus, against the Catholic patriarch, John Talaias. Moreover, under the influence of Acacius, Zeno published a formula of union between the Catholics and Monophysites which is known as the *Henoticon* (482), in which the Council of Chalcedon is passed over, and the Creed's of Nicaea and Constantinople laid down as the basis of union. This was rejected both

by the Catholics, on account of its implied censure or non-acceptance of Chalcedon, and by the extreme Monophysite party for other reasons. However, being backed by the imperial power, it was widely signed, and among the signatories were the three patriarchs: Acacius, Peter Mongus, and Peter the Fuller. Pope St Simplicius died while these things were proceeding, and thus the first care of Felix II. (III.) (483-492), who was elected after but few days' interval, was to provide for the Faith in the East. He sent legates to the emperor, and summoned Acacius to appear before his tribunal. This the latter refused to do, and being at last excommunicated by the Pope, retaliated by himself excommunicating the Pope, and thus the Acacian schism commenced.

It was a long and wearisome struggle. To Acacius succeeded Flavita, and to Flavita Euphemius. And then it was Pope Felix's turn to die. His successor was called Gelasius (492-496), but still the Roman See held out against the Acacians, and refused communion to Euphemius, because he would not remove from the diptychs the names of his two predecessors. It was in the strict sense a schism, not a heresy, for Euphemius was orthodox in doctrine, and at Zeno's death exacted a Catholic profession of faith from the next emperor, Anastasius. The latter, though a Eutychian, could not afford to quarrel with him just then, but, later on, feeling more secure on his throne, he banished Euphemius, and tried to get Pope Anastasius (496-498), his own namesake, to sign the *Henoticon*. He did not do this, but taking a less uncompromising attitude than his predecessors, seems to have displeased those who were more unyielding. Thus at his death there were the makings of a schism at Rome also, and the emperor sent the patrician Festus to the city to favour the election of the archpriest Lawrence, on whom he thought he could count. But Symmachus had been already elected, and Theodoric, king of the Goths, to whose decision the case was referred, gave it in favour of Symmachus.

The year 493 proved eventful in the history of Italy, for in that year Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, burst in upon Odoacer, and founded a kingdom for himself. The struggle was rather a long one, for Theodoric and his people had started for Italy in 488. It was a true

**Acacian
schism.**
(485-579).

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national migration; it meant the entry of the whole Ostrogoth people, some two hundred thousand or three hundred thousand strong, into Italy. In 489 the first **Theodoric.** battle was fought against Odoacer, and (493-519). won by the Goths after great slaughter. Several battles followed in that and the following year, and finally Odoacer, who showed no skill in grappling with an adversary who was all energy and courage, shut himself up in Ravenna, while Theodoric established himself at Pavia. Ravenna was blockaded, and in the fifth year of the war (493) surrendered by Odoacer. Though promised his life, the Herulian chieftain was slain by his rival a few days later at a banquet, and this treacherous deed casts a deep stain on the memory of Theodoric. But he was now undisputed lord of Italy, and fixed his capital at Ravenna, whence he reigned over the Gothic kingdom for nigh thirty years. He gave that kingdom a prosperity and extent which showed the government of a really able and successful ruler. Theodoric was an Arian, but, in general, was at great pains, especially at first, to show himself as a friend to the Catholic Church. Though he was so uneducated that he had to use a stamp or die to sign his name, his practical ability and general moderation made him a successful ruler. Residing chiefly at Ravenna, he built palaces at Pavia also, and at Verona, and kept court in peace and unwonted splendour. Cassiodorus and Boethius were among his counsellors, and a goodly company of ministers and officers were ready to do his will. When he visited Rome, all Arian though he was, he paid his devotions devoutly at St Peter's shrine, and as stated above ended what might have been an ugly schism by deciding against the Monophysite nominee, Lawrence, in favour of St Symmachus. His reign gave Italy a period of peace it had not enjoyed for generations, and his empire reached from Vienna to South Italy and from Sirmium to the borders of the Franks.

The Franks, who had long been in possession of extensive lands in Germany, and had taken their part in the Teutonic migration, now began to step **The Franks.** into that front rank which has been theirs since then, both in the affairs of Church and State. Their importance to the Church came from the fact that while the other Germanic tribes had been

Arian first, and then gradually converted from that heresy to Catholicism, the Franks had turned straight from their idols to the full light of the orthodox faith. Clodion, their ancient chief, was the ancestor of a Frankish chieftain, Meroveus, or Merving, who fought in that miscellaneous host which overthrew the Huns at Chalons (452). They were heathens as much as the Huns were, but this was a race war. It was on account of Meroveus, their first historic leader, that their kings were called Merovingians. Clovis, or Chlodwig, began his reign in 483, and soon distinguished himself by his prowess in war. At Soissons he met the Roman Count Syagrius in 486, and totally defeated his army. Then came a victory over the Allemanni at Tolbiac (496), and over the Goths at Vouillé in 507. It is true that he suffered defeat from the Ostrogoths at Arles in 509, but on the whole he settled the power of the Franks on a broad foundation, and when he died in 511 left a wide domain, extending over all Gaul, to be divided among his four sons. Clovis was not ignorant of the Christian religion in his early years, but it was only after Tolbiac that he was so convinced of its truth that he asked to be baptised by St Remy, and was followed by three thousand of his subjects. His wife, Clotilde, was a daughter of the Burgundian king, and a Christian. That Christmas night, 496, when St Remy baptised Clovis and his leading nobles, marked the entrance into Christian life of one of its most noble nations—there was no going back into paganism, no matter how far below the Christian standard the Franks fell in the rough times that followed, so that St Remy, with his far-stretched career and seventy years of episcopate, well deserved the title of "Apostle of the Franks," and brought it to pass that the river-side where the gate was found straight into Peter's fold, should be called after the holy bishop, Rheims, and be in some sense the metropolis of Frankland.

The attempt at a schism when Pope Symmachus was elected was not to be overthrown without trouble. In 501 King Theodoric, who was then again in Rome, gathered the bishops together at the Pope's request in what is known as the "Council of the Palm," and Symmachus was able to clear himself of the two charges of adultery and embezzlement of property which the patrician Festus

St
Symmachus.
(498-513).

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had proffered against him. The bishops, however, protested their incompetence to judge the Pope, and St Avitus of Vienne and St Ennodius of Pavia also wrote to the same effect, protesting against any judgment being pronounced in the Pontiff's case. The schism, however, went on all the lifetime of Symmachus, and Lawrence only disappeared, disappointed of his last hope, when, on the death of St Symmachus, Hormisdas was elected by the clergy and people in 514.

Hormisdas was a man of strong personality, and he had need of all his strength to cope with the violence and duplicity of the Court at Constantinople, where Anastasius still reigned. No less than five theological parties disputed on religion at the Eastern capital. There were the Catholics, there were the Orthodox Acacians, still in schism, there were the Acephali, there was another party called from their formula, "Who was crucified for us," Theopaschites, and finally there was the Court party of the *Henoticon*. The Emperor Anastasius exiled Euphemius from the capital, St Flavian from Antioch, and St Elias from Jerusalem, and intruded Timothy, Severus, and John into their sees respectively. Twice, through fear of sedition and hostile aggression, did Anastasius feign peace with the Pope, who sent St Ennodius of Pavia to be his Apocrisiarius, but each time he went back on his word. It was only after the sudden death of Anastasius in 578 that the schismatics were expelled and an agreement reached. Hormisdas sent his legates to Constantinople with a formula called the *Formula of Hormisdas* (519), the acceptance of which put an end to the Acacian schism. The four councils, including Chalcedon, were admitted, Nestorius, Eutyches, Timothy Elurus and Peter the Fuller anathematised, the names of Zeno, Anastasius, Acacius, Euphemius, and Macedonius taken from the diptychs, and a strong pronouncement of the necessity of union with the Roman See given forth. Hormisdas died in 523.

Without much delay, and without division, John I. became the successor of Hormisdas, being a Tuscan, but worthy of the great office of Bishop of Rome. His reign was short, and had a tragic end. The Emperor Justin, who had succeeded Anastasius, had begun to persecute the Arians, and

Pope

Hormisdas.

(514-523).

St John I.

(523-526).

confiscating their churches, had them re-consecrated for Catholic worship. This provoked the anger of King Theodoric at Ravenna, as he was an Arian, and he practically forced John to accompany an embassy which he despatched to Constantinople. The object of the embassy was to request Justin to abstain from persecution and to give back to the Arians both the churches and converts he had won from them. John met with an honourable reception from the emperor, being received in imperial state, the monarch bowing before him, and asking to be crowned anew at his hands. How far he succeeded in his embassy is not certain. That part of it which in Theodosius' mind meant handing back the churches and making the converts Arians once more, he evidently did not accomplish, and there is no evidence to show that he made the request. On the contrary, it is abundantly clear that the result was displeasing to Theodoric. On his return to Ravenna, Pope John was thrown into prison, where he died from the effects of such treatment on his enfeebled frame; and Theodoric began to persecute the Catholics.

Felix III. (IV.) who followed St John I. (526-530) was in his turn succeeded by Boniface II. (530-532), and he by John II. (533-535), but there is little to relate about any of these short-lived popes except the rather interesting story of their mode of succession. Felix III. seems to have been nominated by Theodoric when John I. died, and to have been accepted by the Roman clergy. And being on good terms with the Gothic Court, he was able to do much for the interests of the Holy See. But, before his death he took the unprecedented step of formally nominating his successor in the presence of the clergy. Taking off his pallium, he invested with it the Archdeacon Boniface. Soon after he died, but this nomination of his was disregarded by the majority of the Roman clergy, who elected instead one Dioscorus. Apparently they feared that Felix had been too much under the influence of Athalaric, who had by this time succeeded Theodoric on the Gothic throne. Both, then, were consecrated on the same day, though in different churches. Fortunately for Boniface, Dioscorus died within a month, and thus it was possible by measures of conciliation to win a tacit acquiescence in his rule.

Papal succession.

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Still, when he went so far as to present for acceptance a Constitution which was to confer on him the right to nominate a successor, as he himself had been nominated, he was not able to secure what he wished. For, though it was agreed to at the time, it provoked such opposition both at Rome and Constantinople, that the document had to be revoked and publicly burnt. And when he died in 532, there was an unusually long interval before John II., who was also known by the name of Mercury, succeeded him, and he reigned about two years (533-535).

Meanwhile the sceptre at New Rome had again changed hands, for Justin was dead, and had been succeeded by Justinian. The Emperor Justin I. was already advanced in life when chosen to be the sovereign at the death of Anastasius, the last of those three civil officers whose reigns are mentioned above. At the time of his accession he had had a long career in the army, reaching the position of Captain of the Imperial Guard, but he remained a rough and unlettered soldier to the end. His reign only lasted nine years (518-527) and the best that can be said of him is that during those years he played his part passably well for one not trained to royalty and civil administration. But he was a good-tempered and popular monarch, and an orthodox Catholic. A good deal of the actual work of government fell into the hands of his nephew, Justinian, who thus made his novitiate for the great career that was to follow. Justin's short reign forms a kind of transition, under the rule of a soldier, from the three preceding reigns of civilians to the long reign of a still greater ruler and much more remarkable man.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN.

(527-565).

THE Emperor Justin was a rude, uncultured soldier, but had enjoyed the favour of the people. He had no children, but had adopted his brother's son, Justinian, so when Justin died in 527, the succession fell easily to the nephew of so popular an emperor. Justinian, unlike his father and uncle, was highly educated, and, being moreover endowed with commanding abilities, had fitted himself to be a great ruler by wide-ranging studies in every department of knowledge. He married Theodora, who had been the chief actress or dancer on the Byzantine stage, though such a marriage was illegal for an emperor according to Roman law. But Justinian quietly repealed the law, and went on with his design. With equal persistency he brushed aside the opposition of his mother and the astonishment of the Court. And in the eyes of the world Theodora lived up to the great position in which Justinian placed her. No damaging breath of scandal came near her since her elevation, and her beauty and stately demeanour made her a noble head to the imperial household. And she was a true and often a skilful counsellor to her husband. The worst side of her influence in public affairs was that which she used in favour of the Eutychian heretics. Still they were a notable pair, both emperor and empress. Justinian led a life of methodical strictness, except that he "slept not o' nights." The midnight hours were spent over his papers, or pacing in lonely meditation the halls of his palace. To ordinary courtiers there seemed something weird or unearthly about the watchful, tireless monarch. He can hardly have been a lovable sovereign, but there is no doubt as to his greatness. Whether we look at the intellectual

acumen and masterful will displayed in his character, or at his external achievements—Italy won back to the empire, the administration of his vast dominions organised, the Roman Law codified for all time, and his capital and the world endowed with one of its most remarkable buildings—the answer is the same. Justinian towers above all his predecessors and successors on the Byzantine throne, and may well give his name to that era of thirty-eight years during which he held the sceptre.

It was five years before Justinian could do much outside his actual boundaries to vindicate the Roman inheritance. He was first occupied with a Persian war, which was indecisive, but had the advantage of training his army and of bringing to light the genius of that great

Recovery of the lost provinces.

general, Belisarius, who was to be the chief instrument in Justinian's wars of reconquest. Then came the unexpected obstacle of a violent outbreak of rebellion at Constantinople. Affairs looked so black that at one time Justinian meditated flight, but, encouraged by the advice of his wife, Theodora, all undismayed by the tumult, and aided by the military skill of Belisarius, at last the revolt was put down, and the emperor thus freed to prosecute his far-reaching plans. He began with Africa, and under pretext of siding with Hilderic, the deposed king of the Vandals, against his successful rival Gelimer, landed an army under Belisarius at Tripoli, which succeeded, in the course of a series of victorious campaigns, in breaking the Vandal power, thus recovering Africa for the empire. The triumph of Belisarius in Constantinople was a brilliant one, for he came laden with the spoils of Africa, and much of that treasure that the rapacious Vandals had taken from Rome and Italy. Encouraged by this success, Justinian immediately set about the recovery of Italy, and in 535 Belisarius landed in Sicily with a small but picked army, and in less than six months had the whole island in his hands. By the time Belisarius was ready to march from Sicily into the

St Agapetus.
(535-536).

Peninsula on his work of reconquest, Agapetus was Pope. He revoked a solemn anathema which Boniface, his predecessor, had pronounced against his rival, Dioscorus. Boniface had ordered the record of it to be kept in the Roman archives, but Agapetus ordered it to be burned.

No doubt he wanted to blot out as far as possible the memory of these rivalries. Meanwhile King Athalaric was dead, and though Theodotus had succeeded him, all minds were filled with the tidings that Belisarius was advancing. Pope Agapetus was forcibly sent to Constantinople, albeit under the outward show of honour, together with five other bishops, to dissuade Justinian, if possible, from the expedition into Italy. But the young sovereign was not to be turned from his purpose, though he received the Pope with every mark of respect. He had a good pretext in the murder of Amalasuntha, and a great imperial purpose behind it. So Belisarius went to Africa, from Africa to Sicily, and he was to go on to Italy and Rome. Still the papal visit brought considerable results from an ecclesiastical point of view. Agapetus found the Eutychian heretic, Anthemius, intruded into the See of Constantinople by the influence of the Empress Theodora. Receiving the complaints of the Catholic leaders, Agapetus bade Anthemius sign an orthodox Profession of Faith, and when he refused, shut him out from all communion with the Holy See. Justinian, at first misled by his wife, was angry, and threatened the Pope with prison, but Agapetus boldly replied: "With eager longing I have come to gaze on the most Christian Emperor Justinian; in his place I find a Diocletian." To his credit be it said, the emperor took the rebuke in good part, and better informed on the case, raised no objection to the deposition and suspension of Anthemius by the Pope, or to the unexampled step of the consecration of Mennas as patriarch by Agapetus in person. These events made a great impression at Constantinople, and Agapetus is venerated as a saint by East as well as by West. His short reign of ten months was a glorious one, and dying at Constantinople, his remains were brought to Rome and laid in the Vatican Basilica.

Vigilius, whom Boniface II. would have nominated as his successor, was in Constantinople as Apocrisarius when Agapetus died, and Theodora believed that with him as Pope her wishes about Anthemius and the Eutychians might yet be carried out; hence she supported his election. Nevertheless, Theodotus the Goth anticipated this by proposing the Roman sub-deacon Silverius, son of Pope Hormisdas, who had

Silverius
(536-537)
and
Vigilius.
(537-555).

been married earlier in life. And this choice seems to have been accepted by the Roman Church. But Theodora was persistent, and tried to gain over Silverius to her side. The latter, however, would make no promises, and Theodora determined to accomplish his ruin. Through Belisarius and his wife Antonina, who by this time had occupied Rome with Justinian's army and resided there in regal state, a charge of treachery, based on a forged letter, was brought against him, and without trial he was stripped of his robes and exiled to Patara in the East. Vigilius was consecrated in his stead. Silverius indeed pleaded his cause with Justinian, and was allowed to return to Italy. However, Vigilius took him into custody, and he was sent to the Island of Palmaria, where he died through the ill-treatment he had received, and was buried there, where his remains still lie. Vigilius was now generally recognised as Pope, but Theodora was again disappointed, for Vigilius, once Pope, refused to be the tool of her intrigues, and declined to reinstate Anthemius. Her ambition was again foiled.

We have indicated above, in speaking of St Silverius, how from Sicily Belisarius passed on to the mainland, and taking Rhegium and Naples with but **Belisarius** little opposition, had pressed on to Rome, **in Italy.** whence the Gothic garrison fled without striking a blow, leaving Belisarius master of the capital with but five thousand men. But, though captured for the empire, Rome had to be defended, for as soon as the Goths had recovered from their panic, their king, Witiges, with a large army advanced to the city, and laying siege to it, gave Belisarius the opportunity for one of the greatest exploits in military history. For more than a year he held with his handful of men the large city against the Gothic host, and neither force nor stratagem availed to win the city, until at last the Goths raised the siege at the end of 538. As soon as he felt strong enough in men Belisarius carried the war to the North, taking city after city, until the climax was reached by the siege of Witiges in Ravenna. This was the Gothic capital, and when it surrendered in 540, the Roman general returned in triumph to Constantinople, carrying with him Witiges as a prisoner, and all the Gothic treasures he had taken in Ravenna. And he was only just in time to defend the empire on the opposite

border. War had again broken out with Chosroes, King of Persia, and the great disaster of the capture and plunder of Antioch had shaken the Roman world. Justinian, however, dealt with the matter with the greatest energy, gathering the first army he could find, and entrusting it to Belisarius, his best leader; and the result was that slowly but surely the tide of war turned, and Chosroes at length consented to treat for peace in 545.

Justinian was the Byzantine builder by excellence, and it is hard to estimate too highly his share in all that is noblest in that Christian style of architecture. He used the treasures accumulated by Anastasius, and aided by capable artists, inaugurated a style of building which was an advance both on the Roman basilica and on the circular temples such as the Pantheon. Doubtless, his greatest achievement was the Cathedral of Sta Sophia, which still stands as one of the noblest buildings in the world. Constantine's church had been burned down in the great riot when Justinian began to reign, and he laboured to restore it on a scale of surpassing magnificence. How well he succeeded is still to be seen by the Eastern traveller even now in the days of its humiliation under the Moslem, and is enshrined in his fabled cry of victory: "Solomon, I have beaten thee." But Sta Sophia did not stand alone. Constantinople was renewed in its churches and palaces, and even so far afield as Jerusalem in the East, and Ravenna in the West, great churches rose in obedience to his will. St Apollinare and St Vitale at Ravenna are the finest monuments preserved in that city. And all over the empire, churches, halls, forts, monasteries, forums are still to be found, for the most part in ruins, yet bearing witness that cannot be disputed to the architectural work of the great Byzantine.

Dante in his *Paradiso* declares: "I saw that spirit singing on whom the double lustre is combined," viz. of emperor and legislator, for to Dante, as to all the mediæval jurists, the Eastern emperor was the greatest of all human law-givers. But even if we cannot endorse to the full this supreme praise, enough remains by common consent to form a most notable achievement. It was nothing else than the codification of that mass of laws, precedents,

**Justinian's
buildings.**

**Laws of
Justinian.**

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decisions and rescripts which had grown up into a tangled mass during the centuries before him. He employed the legal skill of Trebonian and a commission of lawyers to work for him, and at last the great enterprise was completed. In the *Institutes* we have the principles of the Old Roman Law reduced to system, and in the *Pandects* we have a collection of legal decisions and precedents in fifty books; in the *Codex* is found an abridgment of the Code of Theodosius, and in the *Novellae* a collection of legal decisions given in Justinian's own time. So that this four-fold work is a colossal monument of Roman Law—the summary of all worth remembering up to Justinian's own time, and the starting-point and foundation for all knowledge of the Roman civil law in the future.

Less fortunate and less justifiable were the emperor's attempts to legislate in the province of Christian doctrine.

Justinian and theology.

In intention there is no doubt that Justinian was an orthodox Catholic, but even as such he interfered in the government of the Church, and besides was much influenced by Theodora, who just as surely favoured the Eutychian heresy. Probably also Justinian as a statesman was anxious to stretch every point to reconcile the dissident elements, such as the Acephali. Hence he was led by the disciples of Origen, notably by Demetrius of Ancyra and Ascidas of Cæsarea, to publish an *Edict of Union*, condemning three books by Theodore of Mopsuestia,

Justinian's Edict. (544).

Theodoret of Cyr, and Ibas of Edessa respectively, known in history as the Three Chapters, on the pretext that they gave support to the heresy of Nestorius, which was the opposite extreme to Eutychianism. Notwithstanding the power of the emperor, the edict was protested against by the Western bishops, and Vigilius journeyed to Constantinople to strengthen the opposition. It was held that this condemnation compromised the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, and though, when Vigilius issued his *Judicatum* in 548 condemning in turn the Three Chapters, he put in the clause, "saving the honour of the Council of Chalcedon," the Western opposition continued. No doubt both Vigilius and Justinian were anxious for a general reconciliation, and as the best means

of securing this Vigilius withdrew the *Judicatum*, and co-operated in the summoning of a General Council. This met in 553 and is known as the

FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The fathers met at first without the Pope or any representative from him, as there were some vexatious points in dispute with the emperor still unsettled. And the council, which at its maximum counted one hundred and sixty-four bishops, went on with its work on the emperor's authority. The West was only represented by eight

Fifth Ecumenical Council.
(553).

African bishops. The four Ecumenical Councils were confirmed, a list of heretics, comprising Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and also Origen, were anathematised, and the Three Chapters condemned. During the progress of the council repeated pressure was put on Vigilius to make him attend the sessions, but in vain. Inasmuch as the condemnation of the Three Chapters was not in itself heretical, he several times, both verbally and in writing, endorsed the condemnation on his own part, but declined to take part in a council which he had not called or agreed to. At the seventh session Justinian procured a decree from the council that the name of Vigilius should be removed from the diptyches, though with the saving proviso, "without prejudice to communion with the Apostolic See." After pronouncing fourteen anathemas against the heretics in its eighth and last session, the council separated, and its acts were duly confirmed by the emperor and then promulgated. Vigilius and his friends seem to have been banished to some island in the Propontis or elsewhere. Meanwhile the Pope, who in his first *Constitution*, or written explanation of his position, had condemned the book of Theodore only, not condemning the others, put forth a second *Constitution*, condemning the Three Chapters almost in the language of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The end of Vigilius came long before the end of the controversy. The course of the war in Italy between the imperial troops and the Goths had dragged on slowly and with varied success, since Belisarius left Italy, but when Narses, his chief successor, entered Rome in triumph in 555, the Romans petitioned him to ask the emperor for the restoration of

Vigilius. To this Justinian agreed on condition that he would confirm the Council of Constantinople. Vigilius, who knew it was no question of heretical decrees, but of expediency and of the honour of both the Holy See and the Council of Chalcedon, did so, and thereupon set out on his return journey to Rome after an absence of eight years. On the way, however, he fell ill and died in Sicily. His body was brought to the Church of San Marcello in Rome. But neither council nor Pope could gain acceptance for the decrees from the majority of the bishops in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venetia. A schism was begun which neither Pelagius I. nor Gregory the Great could entirely heal. It only died out gradually through the compelling force of general union with the See of Rome.

The Glory of Justinian's reign was much clouded over before he died. The burden of taxation which he had laid upon his subjects had been a grievous one, and had been harshly collected, so that signs of discontent appeared on many sides. And then his empire was subjected to a very severe visitation of the plague. In Constantinople the mortality was frightful. The emperor himself fell ill, and though he recovered, never seems to have been the same man again. And when his wife Theodora died in 548 his gloom increased. Narses and his other generals barely held their own against the Goths, who besieged and took Rome under Totila, though Totila was at last beaten and slain by Narses. And Belisarius was not trusted by his master. Only when a sudden irruption of Huns in Thrace was followed by their rapid advance threatening danger to the capital, was the veteran commander called out of his retirement, and entrusted with the supreme command against them. With undiminished skill, gathering what troops he could find, Belisarius fell upon the barbarians, and routed them, thus saving Constantinople. Even then he was suspected of treachery, and kept under guard. It was only for the last two years of his life that he was proved innocent and restored to favour. Belisarius died early in 565, and before that year was ended the great Byzantine, who had been such a hard master to him and to the empire, also breathed his last.

But while Goths and Romans were contending with

chequered fortunes for dominion over Italy, a pious recluse was laying the foundations of a mighty institute, and showing the way to a manner of life which was to work marvellous results within the Church of God. This was St Benedict, the patriarch of the Western monks. He was born at Nursia in Umbria about the year 480, but his work was done mainly during Justinian's long reign. Having been sent to Rome to be educated, he was so shocked at the licentious manner of living of the youth of the city that he fled away into solitude, and built himself a little hermitage in the desert of Subiaco in one of the last years of the fifth century. Here he lived far from the distractions of the world, and by his mortification and constant prayer gained a high degree of virtue, which shone abroad, however much he strove to hide it, so that gradually many souls desirous of a higher life came out from the cities and settled round him, to copy his virtues, and be guided by his counsels. He strove to escape from the fame and honour which this brought, and at one time was chosen abbot of a neighbouring monastery which had fallen into relaxation, that under his guidance fervour might be restored. But though his coming was welcomed, the strictness of his rule at last proved irksome to those false monks, and the legend is that some of them tried to poison him. Escaping death by a miracle, he felt that he could do no more good amid such treacherous brethren, and returned to Subiaco. Here the concourse of disciples gradually increased, so that St Benedict was able to found round the little hermitage in which he continued to dwell, no fewer than twelve houses, and to fill them with monks. In 528 he passed from Subiaco to Monte Cassino in the kingdom of Naples, and there made the beginning of another centre of monastic life and virtue. He lived there till 543, when he peacefully passed away. St Benedict is the father and founder of one of the greatest religious families that the Church contains—a true “patrician” gens more glorious and noble than the highest of the Roman aristocracy. Not to speak of those immediately around him: his sister, St Scholastica, who inaugurated an order for women somewhat parallel to that of her brother for men; the two graceful children, St Maurus and St Placidus, who

came to him so young, and lived to spread his order in Gaul and Sicily respectively; a countless array of popes, bishops, abbots, scholars, and ecclesiastics of all ranks lovingly look back to him as their model. The wise prescriptions of his rule, marked with the Roman qualities of firmness and moderation, enabled it to satisfy the religious cravings of generous souls in nearly all the countries of Europe. And in no country are the marks of the Benedictine spirit pressed deeper, or its works more glorious, than in mediaeval England. The monks of St Benedict by their patient toil cleared the land, by their laborious work in the Scriptorium preserved the learning of the ancients, by their educational work trained the mediaeval youth, so that one of the foremost places among the civilising agencies of Europe belongs by right to them.

CHAPTER VIII.

INVASION OF THE LOMBARDS.

(565-590).

It was only three years after the death of Justinian (565) when the Lombards—barbarians still—made a descent upon Italy under their king, Alboin, bringing with them their wives and children and flocks. In fact it was more a migration than a military expedition. But the Lombards were fierce and uncivilised beyond all the nations round them. And they brought in their company a miscellaneous levy of German tribes, allied or tributary to them. There were none to offer any effective resistance, and town after town fell into their hands. Installing his nephew Gisulf as Duke of Friuli, and thus barring the way to other northern invaders, Alboin was in Milan by 569. Pavia was the only stronghold that offered a determined resistance, and here the siege lasted for three years. Strange coincidence, or perhaps consequence, that this city once taken became the capital of the Lombard realm. But life was short for Alboin, after his rapid victories. Before coming to Italy he had carried off Rosamond, daughter of Cunimund, king of the Gepidae, and made her his queen. Having slain Cunimund in battle, he made a drinking-cup out of his skull, and after drinking heavily at a feast in Verona in 572, he bade Rosamond also drink out of her father's skull. She did so, but vowed vengeance, and succeeded in having Alboin assassinated by his chamberlain, and then fled with the murderer. The Lombard warriors met at Pavia, and chose Cleph as king, but he in his turn was murdered after a reign of only eighteen months, and this time, instead of electing a king, the thirty-six chief nobles, who are known as the "Lombard Dukes," agreed to divide the power among themselves, so that an interregnum of some ten years resulted. Finally in 584 Autharis, the son of Cleph, was chosen king.

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Even before Pavia had fallen, the Lombard leaders went on extending their domination until nearly all the high lands of Northern and Central Italy were in their hands. As each of the chief towns and cities fell into their power, it became the seat of a feudal or semi-independent chieftain, who was usually called a duke. These Lombard duchies, over thirty in number, gave quite a special character to the Lombard domination, and even influenced the political division of mediæval Italy. The duchy of Rome kept its independence, and the Byzantine exarch held Ravenna and the coastland around it. And there were four greater duchies far surpassing the others in size and power, namely Trent, Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento. Among the rest there was an indefinite variety of importance and magnitude. We have in this system at least the shadow of that division of Italy into a number of independent states, which has subsisted almost to our own days.

Thus there was an interregnum after the death of Cleph in the Lombard sovereignty, and though the allied dukes could not make very much way in permanent conquests, the fear of them was over all the land. After having taken and plundered Monte Cassino, they proceeded to blockade Rome (572). Just at this time Pope John III. died, and amid the consternation of the Lombard advance, which was supposed to be that of a race surpassing all the previous invaders in savagery and cruelty, a sort of paralysis seems to have seized the clergy and people of Rome. An interval of ten months elapsed before Benedict I. (or Bonosus) was elected during the siege (573). The blockade of the city continued year after year. No wonder the fear of the Lombards became the dominant feeling in Rome and Italy. Pope Benedict chose as his archdeacon that illustrious city prefect who afterwards was to follow him on the pontifical throne as Gregory I. His own tenure of the high office was but short, as he died in 577. And then Pelagius II. (577-590) was chosen. Communication with the emperor was cut off, so the consecration of the new Pontiff took place without waiting for his consent. His Apocrisarius in Constantinople was that same Gregory whom Benedict had made his archdeacon, but

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even with him it was almost impossible to correspond. However, by arrangement with Smaragdus the Exarch, the Lombards in 582 agreed to respect the exarchate, and withdraw from Rome, so in this way some little breathing space was won.

The ten years' experience of the oligarchical rule of the Lombard dukes during the interregnum had been an unhappy one. These thirty-six little tyrants had treated the subject Italians with a cruelty which was capricious and galling. Nor did they get on too well with one another, and so it came to pass that in this year (584) they

**Autharis
King of the
Lombards.**
(584-590).

elected by common consent Autharis, the son of the late ruler Cleph, to be their king. An immediate improvement in the state of things was the consequence. Some of the worst of the evils were lightened, the oppression of the dukes had a moderator, and though a patriotic Roman would still look with horror on the barbarian power dominant in the land, these years were brighter and calmer than either those before or those after them. And they were all too short, for soon after Autharis' marriage with Theodelinda, daughter of the duke of the Bavarians, the young king died. Amid so much that was barbarous and dull, it was only natural that the short reign of Autharis should seem to the Lombard mind a brief gleam of romance and glory. And there is a parting ray of the same about the history, which tells us that after the death of Autharis in 590, his widow Theodelinda offered her hand to Agilulf, Duke of Turin, and that thus he in turn became king of the Lombards. Agilulf, who reigned for twenty-five years, **Agilulf.**

was the contemporary of Pope Gregory, and (590-615.) he had many occasions of dealing with that Pontiff. It is on account of this that we shall come across him again.

Justin II., who followed immediately on Justinian as ruler of the Roman world, was a nephew of the late emperor, and had enjoyed high favour at Court. He reigned from 565 to 578, but was a narrow-minded prince even at first, much influenced by his wife Sophia, and for the last four years of his life on the verge of insanity. In 574, when it was clear that he was unequal to the task of governing the vast empire, there was associated with him under the inferior title of

**Justinian's
successors—
Justin II.**
(565-578).

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Cæsar, Tiberius, an official of his Court, who when the weak emperor died in 578, succeeded him as Tiberius II.

Tiberius II. He proved himself an easy-going and generous prince, but only enjoyed the sole power over the empire for four years till

582, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Maurice.

Maurice was a successful general in the unending wars with the Persians, which had now been for several generations the inheritance of the Byzantine rulers.

Maurice. He retained the crown for twenty years (582-602), but ruled like a soldier, and

hence became unpopular with the luxurious Byzantines, and perhaps through the same cause fell into collision with Gregory the Great. They were contemporaries till the assassination of Maurice and the usurpation of Phocas in 602. What happened to the usurper between 602 and 610 we must relate below, for we are now far beyond the chronological order of events. At last, in 610, Byzantium had a great ruler in Heraclius.

To glance again at the Isles of the West, though St Patrick had founded numerous bishoprics, or rather

Monasticism in Ireland. consecrated numerous bishops, he was very far from establishing the Irish Church on a

diocesan or parochial basis. It was rather the opposite. It was chiefly on a monastic basis, bishops and all rightly ordained ministers of religion being attached to the great monasteries, that the people outside might not want for spiritual aid. One of the most celebrated of the Irish monastic centres was that of Benchor, or Bangor, founded by St Comgall about 550. But Bangor was neither the oldest nor the largest of the Irish monasteries. There was Clonard, founded by St Finian (540); there was Clonfert, founded by St Brendan, the Navigator; there was a little later Clonmacnoise, founded by St Kieran. And then there were island saints like St Enda of Arran, and the still better-known galaxy of monks and saints ruled by St Columba at Iona. It is a remarkable thing that the legends of these saints and monastic founders represent them to us as passing at any rate in their early years from one of these homes of learning and piety to another, and then back again. In fact the sea that washes the shores of Ireland was no obstacle to their pilgrimages. St Finian is said to have been partly trained by St David in Wales, and by St

Ninian in Galloway. As to St Brendon, he is stated by tradition to have faced the western ocean, and to have made his way before either Norsemen or Columbus to America. But the fame of St Columba, the Abbot of Iona, has outshone even these saints, and his work left a deeper impress on the future. Descended from the princely line of the O'Donnells and O'Neills, St Columba was trained under St Finian at Moville, and his namesake Finian of Clonard, and for many years led a life of the greatest monastic austerity in his native land. At length in 567 zeal to spread the Gospel led him to cross the sea into Scotland, and make his celebrated foundation in the Isle of Iona. From that centre he began to evangelise the Northern Picts, and for more than thirty years combined the monastic and missionary life in a rare union of prayer and toil. And in the active life he joined a restless energy that carried him right across Scotland, and even many times back to visit Ireland, with a patient perseverance in the toil of transcribing manuscripts which has few rivals in history. His life, written by his disciple Adamnan, is one of the most lively and attractive of all those ages. Adamnan has been identified by the present Bishop of Raphoe with St Eunan, the patron of his ancient diocese. As for Columba, in 597 he felt his end drawing nigh, and retired to his abbey. There he breathed his last before the altar in the church and surrounded by his brethren. He and his Abbey of Iona form a striking instance of the monastic rather than diocesan organisation of the early Celtic Church. The Abbot wielded a wide-reaching jurisdiction, and might have in his community one or several brethren in bishop's orders, yet accepting his authority as the spiritual father of the monastery and of all its outlying colonies. St Columba was in person the Apostle of the Northern Picts, and also indirectly, through the monks trained at Iona or elsewhere, of Northumbria as well. St Columba likewise met St Kentigern, or Mungo, who was simultaneously pursuing his labours for the conversion of the Britons in the valley of the Clyde, and is considered the founder of the See of Glasgow, and the patron of that city. Kentigern cannot be called a disciple of Columba, but it was the monks of Iona who trained St Aidan, Abbot of Lindisfarne, and sent him forth on his Apostolic journeys.

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and with him went other Irish monks, such as St Finian, his successor at Lindisfarne, and others trained by them. Lindisfarne, an island on the Northumbrian coast, became all to the kingdoms of the Angles from Edinburgh to the Humber, that Iona had been to the West of Scotland. From it as a centre St Aidan passed among the tribes of Angles in those kingdoms, leading a life of apostolic poverty and freedom, and winning many souls to Christ. He became the friend of the Northumbrian kings, Edwin and Oswald, and for many years his influence was paramount. Later on we shall speak of his meeting with the Roman missionaries from the south. It belongs by every title to a later date. Later on, too, we shall have to mention the labours of the Irish monks in a still wider missionary field, when St Columban, St Kilian, St Virgil and others carried to the continent of Europe the fervent austerity of their monasticism. But before then St Benedict had appeared on the scene.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE Peace of the Church brought great advantages in its train, and made possible a development that would never have been brought to pass amid persecution. But of course it brought with it some dangers from which the martyrs and their contemporaries were free. Many had now become Christians from mixed motives: for Christianity gradually became the dominant religion in the empire, and paganism, even when not persecuted, tended to become shut out of public life. People had thus all to gain from a temporal standpoint in declaring themselves Christians; though weakness came from those nominal disciples of Christ who were not prepared in their private life to live up to their external professions. Still, there was a wonderful development both in worship and in organisation, and as to doctrine, this is above all the age of the councils, and the age of the doctors.

**Peace and
develop-
ment.**

The centre of Christian worship could not but be as ever the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The Book of the Apostolic Constitutions gives us a very clear picture of the rite and its accompanying prayer as it was in the fourth century. It is there divided into the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful. We are there told how when all were assembled, the Catechumens being separated from the baptised, and also the men from the women, the celebration began with the reading of the Holy Scriptures from the Prophets and Apostles as long as time allowed. Then came the Homily, or sermon by the bishop, often followed or preceded by discourses from other members of the clergy. After this came the dismissal of the Catechumens; and those penitents who were doing public penance also had to

The Mass.

leave. Then began the Mass of the Faithful. There was common prayer sometimes called the Collect, but really a Litany, such as the solemn series of prayers for all sorts and conditions of men which we still have after the Gospel in the Good Friday office. The kiss of peace was also given as a universal salutation of brotherly love. Then the deacons brought the gifts or Offertory to the bishop at the altar, who then began, with the clergy and people round him, a long Eucharistic Prayer, corresponding to our Preface, and ending with the Sanctus. After an explicit commemoration of Our Lord's Passion, and a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost called the Epiclesis, the bishop then proceeded to the Consecration. For this the very words of Our Lord at the Last Supper were used, and it was followed by another long prayer of praise and thanksgiving. To this the people responded by saying Amen, and the Lord's Prayer was recited aloud. Then came the communion of the bishop, priests, clergy and faithful. It was administered with the double formula: "The Body of Christ": "Amen." "The Blood of Christ: the Chalice of Life": "Amen," as the faithful received under both kinds, though Communion was carried to the sick under the form of bread only, and given to infants under the species of wine only. After a prayer of thanksgiving, the bishop gave his blessing to the assembly, and one of the deacons said in a loud voice: "Depart in peace." Part of the Offertory was reserved for the Love Feast, or Agape, which was not finally forbidden till after the fourth century, though it was no longer part of the Liturgy.

Initiation into the Church was of course by baptism, only that as time went on, the abuse of putting off its reception till the hour of death was eliminated, and the baptism of infants became the universal practice of the Church. Besides this the long Catechumenate of early times gradually died out, as the empire became Christian, but there seems to have been a lengthened period of examination and public instruction with many ceremonies and exorcisms, which remain, so to say, summarised in the Roman ritual of to-day. But the administration of baptism, at least in public, was usually restricted to the solemn feasts of Easter and Pentecost in the West, with the addition of the Epiphany for the East.

The oldest Christian festivals were undoubtedly the two so intimately connected with the founding of the Church, namely Easter and Pentecost. In the fourth century we begin to find traces of Christmas being kept as a special feast in the West; in the East it was not observed till the fifth century, but the Greeks had an equivalent in the celebration of the Epiphany, which commemorated for them the Birth of Christ, the Visit of the Magi, and Our Lord's Baptism. About the same time also we find a fast of forty days in preparation for Easter becoming customary, although at first it was kept in such a way as to end at the beginning of Holy Week. Friday was the ancient fast day, observed as such every week, and to this were added in Rome and other places Saturday and Wednesday. These two days were called the Days of the Stations, and while the fast observed on them was only considered a half-fast, it meant nothing less than taking food not earlier than three o'clock in the afternoon.

The freedom afforded by the Edict of Milan gave an opportunity for fuller development of the hierarchy. One of the most important results of the empire becoming Christian was the grouping of episcopal sees into provinces, under metropolitans, who usually had their seat in the chief town of the civil province. The Roman Empire was all divided into provinces, so there was a natural tendency to follow the civil divisions as far as possible, although this was not the universal principle on which the sees were grouped. Nor could it be, as the Roman organisation was older than that of the Church, and the latter had to do its grouping gradually. And then above the grouping into provinces came a higher one still, into exarchies, which more or less corresponded with a grouping of the civil provinces into civil dioceses. There were ecclesiastical exarchs in many of the Eastern chief cities such as Ephesus, Heraclea, Cæsarea, and a somewhat parallel position seems to have been held by the See of Carthage in Africa, and that of Milan in Northern Italy. Then came the patriarchates, which grouped these regions into larger jurisdictions still. Rome was admitted to be first and foremost of these patriarchates, and then came Alexandria

**Feasts and
Fasts.**

**Develop-
ment of
hierarchy.**

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and Antioch. Jerusalem only received patriarchal dignity much later, as it was so clearly a new see, and not that of St James. Constantinople came into the second place, on quite secular and imperial grounds, as being the capital of that empire, which though it had moved to the East, still claimed universal dominion in the civilised world. There were but few metropolitans in the north of Italy, besides Ravenna and Milan. Aquileia and Brescia about exhaust the list. In the south and in the east they were much more numerous.

The life of the clergy, as time went, became more and more drawn after a fixed model. The earlier system of pursuing other avocations, when not engaged in the divine service, gave way to segregation from all secular pursuits, and a looking for support to the alms of the faithful. And as church functions and the number of the Christians became greater, this exclusive devotion to the strictly religious occupations became more and more necessary. But as the empire became Christian, wealth and lands were bestowed upon the Church almost faster than was good for its spiritual advancement. We have seen how the Roman Church became the chief landowner in Italy, and though other churches may not have been so opulent, still it is likely that the clergy were not dependent, at least not wholly, on collection or chance contributions made by the faithful. And with ampler means came also greater honour and power before the world. This was true especially of the bishops. The Christian Empire was very far from having the stability of the Roman institutions of the past, and was in an almost continual struggle against decay within and barbarian inroads from without. Hence it very often happened that the bishop, with those around him, was the only independent representative of law and order in cities a prey to intrigue, faction, plunder, and civil chaos.

With the gradual segregation of the clergy from secular pursuits, came the building up of a special education for them, to fit them for their high duties. Alexandria stands first and foremost as the site of the earliest systematic arrangement of a course of teaching to give the clergy a clearer knowledge of Holy Scripture and Christian doctrine. It is known as the Catechetical

School of Alexandria. But the other great Eastern patriarchate had its rival doctors and lectures, and this is known as the Exegetical School of Antioch. At Athens again there were opportunities of study and the assistance of learned lecturers, which recall better than anything else in those times the modern or mediaeval university. Cardinal Newman has drawn out this view of Athenian life in patristic times in his book on the Scope of Universities. But, when all is said and done, we are very far from the precision and ordered rule either of the monastic school or the Tridentine seminary.

That ascetic life of perfection which, as we have seen in the first period, was led by chosen souls in their own homes, now took a remarkable and striking form in the hermit life which was adopted **Religious life.** by those who left the world, not only in desire but in external act, to live in solitude in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. These were the Fathers of the Desert, the story of whose simple round of labour and prayer has added so many beautiful pages to the annals of Christianity. The first to live in this way of whom we have any record, apart from the solitaries of Mount Carmel, was St Paul of Thebes, who is often called the First Hermit, and is supposed to have fled into the desert at the time of the Decian Persecution (250), but survived far into the next century. And what St Paul and possibly others did in the Decian Persecution, was done on a much larger scale during the still more severe persecution of Diocletian. Thus the deserts of Egypt became peopled by considerable numbers of fervent Christians, led away from society, partly through fear of the pagan sword, but partly also by the interior longing to give up all unnecessary intercourse with the world in order the better to converse with God, and prepare for eternity. The first founder of anything that could be called a religious order was St Anthony (251-356), who is rightly looked up to as the originator of the eremitical life, and is still revered as father by a religious family of hermits called Antonists. Led into the desert more from love of perfection than by fear, Anthony, as we read in St Athanasius' life of him, visited St Paul of Thebes, and afterwards made the Egyptian desert his home, and prayer, labour and austerity his constant

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companions. Disciples gathered round him, longing to live as he lived, and though nestling in the sides of the mountain, out of earshot of him and of one another, yet near enough to make his counsels their guide. The numbers increased, and some years later other colonies of hermits sprang up. St Hilarion (291-371) did in Palestine what St Anthony had done in Egypt. And then came a further development. The honour of beginning the cenobitical life, as St Anthony had begun the eremitical, falls to St Pachomius (340), who ruled a body of ascetics much more like a monastic community than anything hitherto attempted. His example spread, and soon the cenobites of the Thebaid and the Nile valley became a very numerous body indeed. And then there were female recluses, such as the gathering of pious women governed by the sister of St Anthony, or such as St Mary of Egypt, pioneers of those cloistered nuns who later on exercised such an influence on Christian life in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the religious life had its bright examples not only in the Syrian and Egyptian deserts, but also in crowded cities, which for austerity have scarcely any rivals in later times. Perhaps the most striking instances are those of St Simon Stylites (440) and the other Pillar Saints, who, though surrounded by the world, lived as much above it by their high state of contemplation as by their strange aerial abode. We have already had occasion above to allude to the part taken by St Jerome, St Augustine, and above all, St Basil, in the gradual evolution of the monastic life, and we must return to the subject in speaking of the religious life in the Middle Ages.

Meanwhile the life of the main body of the faithful in this period demands our attention no less than that of the chosen souls devoted to perfection, or that of the clergy. Christianity had now got a powerful hold both on public and private life, at least within the Roman Empire, and its standard of morality was the accepted one, at least in theory if not always in practice. It had to be imposed on a refined but decadent civilisation like that of Rome and Constantinople, and on tribes of migratory barbarians like the Goths and the Vandals. Hence the raising up of the usages of society to the level of the inflexible moral code of the Gospel was no easy task. This is illustrated

by what goes on to-day in the evangelisation of Africa and other uncivilised regions. To believe in Christ and to lead the life of a Christian are by no means the same thing. But on the other hand the penitential discipline was severe, much beyond anything in our days, and into the fifth century a public confession of public crimes was practised, and only given up on account of the painful scenes it must sometimes have given rise to. It was one such scene that, as we are told, put an end to the practice at Constantinople. But, in general, the Church took the existing institutions, adopted them, cut off the parts inconsistent with her doctrine, and then blessed and used the rest. The Roman temples were turned into churches, the images of the gods into statues of saints, the lustral water became Holy Water, and even the rites of the pagan marriage ceremonial were incorporated into the Church's blessing of Christian marriage, which though not at first looked on as essential to the Sacrament, soon attained a more or less fixed order. From this pre-Christian source come the bridal veil, the joining of hands, the delivery of the ring and of the dowry, and that coronation of the bride and bridegroom which is still practised in the East. East and West equally admitted that marriage was a Sacrament, though Oriental practice sometimes admitted of divorce, and in fact later on the East indignantly rejected the Protestant view of only admitting two Sacraments. But the West, and above all the Roman Church, always stood forth the inflexible champion of the sanctity and indissolubility of the marriage bond.

BOOK III.

FORMATION OF CHRISTENDOM.

590-800.

CHAPTER I.

ST GREGORY THE GREAT AND HIS WORK.

(590-610).

THERE are few places more impressive to the pilgrim to Rome than the venerable sanctuary which is called St Andrew's on the Coelian. It stands on a sloping eminence looking across to the Coliseum, and beyond to the Palace of the Cæsars and on the left the steep Aventine. **The last of the Romans.** (590-604).

There was once the home, and later on the monastic retreat of that Gregory who, when he became Sovereign Pontiff, earned the title of Father of the Christendom that was to come. And if the pilgrim has come from England double reverence and loving thoughts will fill his soul as he visits the church so antique in its air, the remains of Gregory's abode, and the memorials of him there preserved. For he cannot forget that the Father of Christendom was also called the Apostle of England, and he will imagine to himself that Gregory's wide-sweeping vision from the Roman hill-side was not bounded by the Aventine, or even the distant mountains, but passed on across the sea to the pagan island of the West, for Ireland alone had so far become Christian. St Gregory's father was called Gordian, and his mother's name was Sylvia. Both belonged to the Roman nobility,

so that by descent Gregory belonged to the old classical world that was passing away. It is not quite certain in what year he was born, but it was either in or about A.D. 540. Rome had suffered much from the barbarians, but though its splendour was dimmed in many quarters, the paternal home on the Coelian was an inspiring birth-place, and Gregory passed his youth not far from these scenes. In 573 he was Prefect of Rome, with the care of its public buildings and its corn supply entrusted to him. But he aimed at higher treasures, and as soon as he could tear himself away from worldly honours, he converted his house on the Coelian into a monastery, and became a monk within its walls. He had already founded six monasteries in Sicily with the resources of his ancestral estate. He was, however, soon sought out by the reigning Pope, Benedict I., and made a sort of deacon or arch-deacon to help him in his charge. Pelagius II. sent him to Constantinople, where he remained as Apocrisarius, or Nuncio as we should say, of the Holy See for some six years (579-585). Here he made many acquaintances and some friends. There were the two emperors, Tiberius II. and Maurice; the two patriarchs also: Eutychius, with whom he had a discussion on the resurrection of the body, and John the Faster; Leander, who afterwards had such a great share in the restoration of the Church in Spain; and several members of the imperial family. On his return to Rome, Gregory presided as abbot over the monastery of St Andrew, which he had founded, probably all the time from 585 to 590, and was surprised there by the Roman clergy who came at Pelagius' death clamouring that he should be the new Pope. Gregory long resisted, and wrote a letter to the Emperor Maurice begging him to withhold his consent to his consecration. However, the letter was intercepted, and another substituted by the Prefect of Rome, making earnest petition on the part of both clergy and people that the imperial consent should be given. Meantime a dire pestilence broke out in Rome, and Gregory, though not yet consecrated, took the lead, first in exhorting the faithful to penance, and then in organising a great procession through the city for intercession and reparation. The figure of St Michael, from which Hadrian's mausoleum is called St Angelo, commemorates the traditional vision of an angel of destruction sheathing

ST GREGORY AND HIS WORK 163

his sword, as the procession passed, while heavenly voices taught men the *Regina Coeli*.

During the delay for the emperor's answer Gregory planned to flee, but was stopped, and soon after consecrated in St Peter's. There was now no reasonable doubt that he must shoulder the burden, and give his life and peace for the solicitude of all the Churches. The world

**Gregory
as Pope.**
(590-604).

was in a state of anarchy and distress, as Gregory felt all too keenly. But his greatness came out all the more magnificently in this, that though the old world to which he belonged seemed breaking up into ruins around him, he was able to provide for the future, and plan out a new order of things with great practical ability and highest apostolic aims. By every title he was a Roman patrician, who would have nothing barbarous about him, so that, we are told, even the servants in his palace spoke the latinity, and dressed in the Roman toga of their ancient home. Gregory never learned Greek, but we must remember that even the Court of New Rome now spoke the language of the Old Rome: it was the official tongue. He was a vigorous and ready penman, who cared more for the plain diction that would express his thoughts correctly than for ornament or rhetoric. He kept up a splendid hospitality, and himself would serve the poor, and spend the large revenues of the Roman Church in helping the needy, and relieving the destitute. His health was very poor, and most of his work was done while he was racked with gout, or burnt up with fever, but he wavered not. It is because of all this: his practical mind, his love of his city and her empire, his large-minded balance of judgment, his genius for government, that he deserves far better than either Brutus or Boethius the title of Last of the Romans.

Long before he was chosen Pope, Gregory had wished for the life of a foreign missionary. He had met in the Roman Forum a company of fair-haired Anglo-Saxon slaves for sale in the slave market. And in the language of the well-known story, the Angles were to become angels and the subjects of King Ella were to sing Alleluia. Gregory even started to preach the Gospel to these distant heathens, and was only brought back to Rome at the Pope's command when he had proceeded

**Gregory
and
England.**

three days on his way. But the apostolic spirit was still burning within, and since as Pope he could not preach the Gospel to the ends of the earth, he turned to others to go in his stead. And ancient Roman as he was, it was a complete Roman colony or community of monks that he sent. St Augustine, the prior of his monastery of St Andrew, was the leader of his choice. Discouraged in Gaul by the reports they heard of the fierceness of those islanders, the little band sent Augustine back to tell the Pope, yet Gregory did not recall them, but instead wrote letters of encouragement, and also recommendations to the Queen and to the Primate in Gaul, begging them to help them on their way. In this manner he gave heart to the missionaries to face their task, and accompanied by some Frank interpreters, they landed at Ebbfleet in Thanet in the spring of 597. They were granted an interview with Ethelbert, King of Kent, who had married a Frankish princess, Bertha, a Christian, and advanced to meet him with a silver cross at their head and chanting hymns. They got full liberty to preach the Faith, and so powerful was their word, so winning their lives—and supernatural wonders, as you might expect, came to confirm their message—that it was not so long before the king and several thousands of his people were baptised. Upon this, Augustine, as the Pope had directed, crossed to France, and was consecrated Bishop by the Pope's vicar in Gaul, Virgilius of Arles. He also wrote to St Gregory to tell of his success, and to ask instructions on difficult questions that had to be dealt with. Gregory's answer was not made till 601. Transit was difficult, and he was in ill-health, but when at last he wrote, he sent full instructions on the matters Augustine had asked about, and, better than all, he sent another band of missionaries, and many books and precious things for the service of the altar. There were letters also to Bertha and to King Ethelbert, full of congratulation and fatherly advice. At Ethelbert's death there came a period of reaction and almost loss of hope, but the monks held on their way, their little Rome at Canterbury was their centre, and the cloud passed away. Augustine died Archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded in the primatial chair by no less than four of the missionaries sent by Gregory. Meanwhile Mellitus became the first Bishop of London, and Justus of

Rochester. And yet another of the notable band sent from Rome had a great and distant field of labour assigned to him. At the pope's command Paulinus was consecrated Bishop, and sent north to preach to the Angles north of the Humber, having accompanied Ethelbert's daughter, who was married to King Edwin, the ruler of that part of England. The notable scene in the Stour at Canterbury was repeated in the Ouse at York—the king and hundreds of his subjects were baptised together. Under the stately minster at York are still shown the venerable memorials of that birthday of the Church in the northern counties. But Edwin was beaten in battle and slain by his heathen neighbours, Penda of Mercia and Cadwalla of Wales (633), and the work of the Gospel had to suffer temporary eclipse in Northumbria. Oswald, trained by the Irish monks, came to rekindle the smouldering embers. But long before that the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had received the good tidings. St Felix came to East Anglia from Burgundy about 630, and St Birinus to Wessex about 632, and he fixed his see at Dorchester in Oxfordshire. There only remained Mercia and Sussex, and they received the Gospel somewhat later. We must now pass on to consider how it was faring with the Christian faith in other quarters.

The Visigoths, who took Rome under Alaric in 410, were only in the Italian peninsula as passing invaders and marauders. Under Alaric's successor, Astolf, they passed on to found a more lasting empire in Spain and Southern Gaul.

**Gothic
Spain.**

The soft provincials do not seem to have offered any effective resistance, and Toulouse, which was taken in 416, became the centre of a Gothic power which endured for nearly three centuries. With their civil domination, the Goths imposed the heresy of Arianism on the vanquished, and Spain had to endure a persecution at the hands of the Arian conquerors. The Goths from Northern Spain fought at the side of the Romans and Franks at the battle of Chalons, and contributed thus to the overthrow of Attila (451). But over the south of the peninsula the Gothic rule was only gradually extended. Euric (466) is counted as the first Gothic king of all Spain. Whatever may have been the degree in which the inhabitants already in Spain thus became heretical, the government remained Arian

until the death of Leovigild (590). St Hermenegild, son of this king, was converted to Catholicism by St Leander, the Bishop of Seville, and thus incurred the violent enmity of his Arian father, so that at last he had to choose between death and apostasy. Embracing the former alternative, he suffered martyrdom at the order of his unnatural parent. Leovigild died soon after (590), and was succeeded by his other son, Reccared, who, converted in his turn by St Leander, co-operated with that prelate and with other holy bishops in restoring the Faith throughout Spain. The Byzantine power, restored for a few years under Justinian in the south, was now gone again, and a time of prosperity shone upon the Spanish Church. Saints flourished in a very galaxy of talent and piety. St Leander, who was a friend of St Gregory and appointed by him his vicar in Spain, was followed in the See of Seville by his own brother, St Isidor, who eclipsed him at least in general reputation, being reckoned a doctor of the Church, for his *Etymologies* and other useful writings. Not long after, St Ildephonsus ruled the See of Toledo, and St Braulio and St Fructuosus those of Saragossa and Braganza respectively. Under the guidance of these pillars of the Church quite a series of National Synods, not less than seventeen in number, was held at Toledo, to give light and order to religion. The list of Spanish saints of those days is closed by St Julian, Archbishop of Toledo (688), for, after a few years, strife and disorder came again with the Saracen invasion (711).

There was no individual whose personal relations with the Pope mattered so much as those of the Roman emperors. Gregory had got to know the Court and two of the emperors, when he was Pelagius' Nuncio, and it was Maurice (582-602) who confirmed his election. Once Pope, however, he dealt with the civil power as such, and as early as 592 we find him writing to Maurice to beg him to withdraw a decree he had made that no one holding any civil office should leave it to become a monk or a priest. And his protest was not without its effect. And if he could be bold with an emperor he was equally able to deal with a patriarch. John the Faster, who followed Eutychius at Constantinople, was a man of reputation for his austere life, but

**Gregory
and the
Caesars of
New Rome.**

Gregory found fault with him on another score. It was his assumption of the title of Ecumenical Patriarch that called for the Pope's condemnation. It was not only that it savoured of arrogance and pride, but it was that it involved a subversion of ecclesiastical authority on the part of a see which was not the first in the Church, but which owed its importance to the fact that Constantinople was the capital of civil government. Claiming for himself the humble appellation of "*Servus Servorum Dei*," Gregory fought this assumption by the Universal Patriarch with unwearied energy, for it was not his personal quarrel, and though John the Faster was called to his account, and Cyriacus his successor tried to win his assent by courteous words and the imperial intercession, Gregory stood firm, and would only communicate with him if the title were renounced.

Gregory's youth had been passed with Italy under the sway of Justinian, but then the Lombards had broken in, and he had witnessed the gradual weakening of the Roman power, till the exarch at Ravenna had as much as he could do to hold his own in the exarchate, the so-called Pentapolis; and dukedom after dukedom was set up for the Lombard leaders. There was Spoleto and Benevento and Venetia and Turin and in Lombardy proper many others. On Autharis' death, Agilulf, Duke of Turin, succeeded him as king of the Lombards with what measure of authority he was able to keep, and in 593, after marrying Queen Theodelinda, he threatened to attack Rome. However, whether by letter or by a personal interview, he was persuaded by the Pope to retire, and almost led to make peace, but the emperor would not consent to this, and there was a sharp interchange of letters between Maurice and Gregory. The Pope had to bide his time. At last when a new exarch had been appointed more friendly to the peace, the efforts of the real defender of Rome were crowned with success, and a peace which may be fairly called Gregory's achievement—the Papal Peace—was signed in 599 between the Romans and the Lombards.

Thus Gregory had stepped into the breach, and though without temporal power, in the usual acceptation of the term, and acted as the effective sovereign power in Rome, and for the time saved her from her enemies. But his

**The
Lombard
invaders.**

care was *Urbis et Orbis*. It would be difficult to name a part of the Christian world where his hand was not felt. Now it was an arrangement by which Virgilius was to be Primate of Gaul, and his vicar there. Now it was a letter to the great St Leander, his old friend of Constantinople days, giving him the position of a papal delegate in the Spanish Church. Now it was intervention in the choice of a primate or metropolitan for the African churches. Now it was some affair connected with the prudent administration of the large estates of the Roman Church, either in Sicily or elsewhere. All this and much besides is contained in that remarkable collection of *Epistles*, over eight hundred in number, in which we can see the great Pontiff at his work, guiding, governing, exhorting, rebuking those who needed it, and at the same time making his letters the medium of messages of affection and solicitude towards his friends. They are the daily labour of hand and pen of a Doctor of the Church, but they are very far from being the chief of his writings. It is true Gregory was a man of action, and a practical genius; it is vain to look for the systematic speculations of an Aquinas or a Bonaventure from him. But if we want to know what manner of thoughts were in the mind of this great Pontiff on the religion of which he was called to be visible head, we can see it in his *Homilies*, or in his larger *Moralia* on the Book of Job. If we want to find out what was the ideal that floated before the pastor of souls as to what the true shepherd of the flock should be, we shall find it in his *Regula Pastoralis*. Or if we want to hear him in lighter strain, bringing up reminiscences of simple piety, as it was in his day, touched with the romance of legend and the supernatural air of miracle, it is there for us to read in his *Four Books of Dialogues*. This about exhausts the list of his written compositions. But he was greater than any of them. He was more than pontifex or bridge-maker—he was a kind of living bridge himself, spanning the interval between the classical Rome that was past and gone and that mediaeval Christendom yet to come, which he leaned forward to grasp across the ages.

Gregory had done all his work in the midst of bodily pain, and multiplied ailments, and as time went on the burden of ill-health weighed upon him more and more. Gout was his great enemy, and at the beginning

of 603 it had reduced him to such a pass that he says "his one consolation was the hope of a speedy approach of death." And it went on augmenting in violence, until at last on the 12th of March, 604, he was brought to the end of his mortal pilgrimage. We have no particulars of his last moments, but he is buried beneath the altar of St Andrew in the Basilica of St Peter. Death of
St Gregory.

There is little to be said of his immediate successors. Sabinian (604-606) had been the papal envoy in Constantinople for part of Gregory's reign, but had returned to Rome in 597, being succeeded at the emperor's Court by Anatolius. Hence he was in Rome when Gregory died. But an interval of six months elapsed before his consecration. Probably they were waiting for the emperor's consent to the election. Sabinian is supposed to have replaced the monks in some of the offices entrusted to them by Gregory with secular clergy, and thus to a certain extent reversed his policy, but Rome remained at peace, and by 606 Sabinian was near to death. Boniface III. may have been at Constantinople as Apocrisiarius when Sabinian died; at all events, he had recently filled that office, and his absence would thus account for the fact that he was not consecrated till the following year; 607 saw the beginning and the end of his brief Pontificate. Then came another Boniface, fourth of that name, who is honoured as a saint, and reigned from 608 to 615. But of these years in the See of St Peter there is little to tell. The peace made by St Gregory with the Lombards was periodically confirmed, and thanks to this, Rome was at rest from external attack. Boniface is said to have turned his house into a monastery, and lived in it—much as Gregory had done. As his epitaph declared, "He ever followed Gregory's counsels and example, worthy successor in life and works and ways." The Lombard king, Agilulf, died in the same year (615) and since with Heraclius, and Mohammed, and a new Lombard king, power passed into fresh hands, we here close the story of Gregory with the mention of his worthy follower, Boniface IV., and go back to the new series of events beginning in 610.

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

(610-642).

AND now there was to rise in the East a new and **strange** power: a theocratic and yet most materialistic empire, **Mohammed.** founded by a religious enthusiast, some-
(570-633). times styled by Christians the False

Prophet, the Arab Mohammed, and destined to play a most important part in the history of the world even to the present time. Here was a rival system to both Judaism and Christianity, claiming to supplant them both as being a more perfect divine revelation than either of them; claiming, too, a special commission to destroy polytheism and idolatry in the name of the one true God. Mohammed was an Arab of the tribe of Koreish, tracing the Arabs back to the children of Ishmael and pointing to them as the chosen people of the new revelation, somewhat as the Israelites were the elect race under the Old Dispensation. Mohammed was born about the year 570, his father being named Abdullah, and dying soon after his son's birth. His mother also died while he was a child, and he was thus brought up by an uncle. His youth was spent with the herds and the wandering caravans, and his journeys with them brought him into contact with both the Jewish and Christian religions. There were Christian communities ruled over by Jacobite and Nestorian bishops in Arabia even before his time. At the age of twenty-five he married a rich widow named Kadajah, by whom he had six children, of whom the only one who lived to grow up was his loved daughter Fatima. Mohammed was an imagina-

His
preaching.
(610).

tive but silent character, full of religious enthusiasm, loving prayer and fasting, but subject to epileptic fits. It was in 610, at the age of forty, that he asserted he had had a vision of the archangel Gabriel calling him to the voca-

tion of a Prophet of the Lord, and it was, he said, in obedience to that vision that he forthwith began to preach against idolatry and the worship of false gods. He began with his own people, for the Arabs were most of them idolaters, and the Koreish tribe were the guardians of the Kaaba, a square building in the centre of a temple at Mecca, containing the sacred stone which was surrounded with superstitious veneration. At Mohammed's first preaching he made about forty converts, including his father-in-law, his wife, and his adopted son, Ali. But the prevailing heathenism at Mecca was too strong to be overcome then, and in 622 Mohammed fled from Mecca to

Hegira.
(622).

Medina, and this flight, or Hegira of his, is counted by his followers as the starting point of the Mohammedan Era. At Medina he was acknowledged as a true prophet, and gathering together his adherents, was able to make war on several tribes in the neighbourhood, and subdue them one after another. Grown stronger by these conquests, he returned to Mecca at the head of his men in 630, and entering the city in triumph destroyed all the idols, and then passed on to further victories. It thus came to pass that before his death he was master of nearly the whole of Arabia. In 632 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca at the head of forty thousand followers. But after this he returned to Medina, where he died of fever in 633.

His death.
(633).

Widely different views have been held as to the character of this remarkable man. He has been called a madman, a hypocrite, a schemer, a devil, and by some, not themselves Mohammedans, one of the great teachers of the world. One fact is undoubted, and that is that few mortals have ever influenced so vast a number of their fellow-creatures. Let us now glance at that strange system which must contain features and practices so congenial to human nature as to account for its spreading like wildfire over the earth, and after twelve centuries persisting as a great influence in many regions of the world, and even the dominant one in not a few. The fact is that the system of Mohammed, borrowing, as it did on a large scale, both from Judaism and Christianity, went very far towards satisfying the human craving for natural religion, while it provided on the other hand a liberal,

His system.

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though not unlimited, satisfaction for the strongest passions. Islam, or Trust in God, as it is translated, has no mysteries properly so called, and does not rise to the supernatural. The external reverence of the Moslem, that is the true believer, at prayer, is exemplary, and the natural duty of prayer is urged in very definite fashion, five times a day being assigned to it, but there is no teaching either of sacrifice or interior spirituality. It is in conformity with this that idolatry is the greatest of sins, and that interior religion is neglected. The Koran contains the law given to Mohammed, claiming to be a more perfect revelation than either that bestowed on Moses, or that declared by Christ, and in that was contained all that is necessary for us, all other learning except that law and the explanations of it being held superfluous. Such principles hardly could lead to any development of intellectual life. The government of the Moslem was theocratic, and the caliph was considered to be the vicar of Mohammed. But the propagation of that empire was not to be by the methods of preaching and suffering and self-sacrifice, but by warfare and material conquest. The simple Credo, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is His prophet," was proclaimed as the war-cry of this religious warfare, and such soldiering was held to be the noblest of occupations. The alternative was to accept the Mohammedan religion, or to yield as vanquished foes to its conquering armies. Submission, tribute and surrender were rewarded with some indulgence, even towards those who did not embrace Mohammedanism, but resistance meant war to the knife. The Moslem belief in God carried with it an extreme belief in predestination, which was absolute fatalism, and had its practical effect in paralysing all effort and virtuous conflict. The Moslem had to fast, and a special season of fast called Ramadan was prescribed, but no special kinds of food were selected for abstinence, only indulgence in intoxicating drinks was forbidden. Polygamy was allowed, but was limited to the number of wives a man can support. Slavery also was allowed, and the inferiority of the female sex was strongly insisted on, though it is an exaggeration to state that Mohammedans hold women to have no souls. Almsgiving was highly recommended, and was obligatory on certain occasions, but this and all other exercises of brotherly love were limited

to true believers alone. Mecca is still their holy city, and a pilgrimage to it once in his lifetime is a sacred duty for every Moslem who has the strength and means, while the ceremonies connected therewith are minutely prescribed by the law. A paradise of delights is held out as an everlasting reward to the faithful follower of the prophet, but it is a paradise of material and even sensual pleasures, a mere caricature of the Christian heaven. But even though they have been guilty of great sins, at last the true Moslem will be admitted to Paradise, whereas the damnation of all unbelievers with Eblis, as they call the devil, is irrevocable in hell. And this composite system, with all that is best in it borrowed from the existing religions of the world, though now weakened, was at first able to advance as a formidable rival in all outward seeming to Christianity itself. And still to-day, depraved and corrupted even beyond its original corruptions, it is claimed by one hundred and fifty millions of the human race as the only perfect religion bestowed upon mankind.

After the death of Mohammed in 633 Abu Bekr became caliph, and within the short space of two years before he died (634) completed the conquest of Arabia and Mesopotamia. Omar, Mohammed's cousin, then became the leader of the Moslem advance. The Moslem advance, and in a brief period carried through a remarkable career of victory. Having taken Damascus, the capital of Syria, in 635, he was able to add to this before death overtook him the still more important captures of Jerusalem in 637, and Alexandria in 639. Othman, the next caliph, devoted his energies to war against Persia. Some ten or twelve years of hard fighting brought down that rival power, and the native dynasty of the Sassanidae had gone down before the Arabs, and thus brought a vast increase of power to Islam. Thenceforward the flood of Mohammedan progress swept along with a still more extended range. It poured all over Asia Minor, even up to the gates of Constantinople, which was six times assaulted in six different years, but in vain. Still, as the invaders crossed into Europe, descending on the nearest provinces, the imperial city was left for a time like an island among the hostile waters. But it stood firm, like an invincible bulwark, for eight centuries to come, and perhaps has hardly won

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the recognition that a service like this might justly claim from posterity. But, though baffled at that point, the invading armies of Islam pressed on in the South and the West. After conquering Mauretania, and Numidia, and all North Africa, the Mohammedans, or Moors, as they were called in the West, crossed into Spain in 711, and then after a few years northward into Gaul, and were only checked by the crushing defeat inflicted on them by Charles Martel at Tours in 732. This may be held to mark the turning-point in their career of hitherto constant success. For, though they once took Rome (847), and gained lasting possession of Constantinople in 1453, the former was only a passing raid, and the latter was compensated for elsewhere.

When the Lombards had driven the Roman troops before them out of Italy, that peninsula was never again effectively ruled from Constantinople. The Roman emperors in that city became Greeks in language, and to some extent in policy also. The far-extended dominion, which Justinian attempted to hold, was curtailed for ever more. Still, what was left was great, and rich, and civilised, and capable under a sovereign of ability of being the chief state in the world. Such a leader was found, after the period of weakness that followed Justinian's death, in Heraclius (610-641) who founded a dynasty, and began the Byzantine empire strictly so called. He had to contend with fierce enemies. The Avars were at the very gates of his capital. However, they were beaten off, and the emperor thus felt free to deal with the still more formidable attacks of Chosroes II., King of Persia. This powerful monarch had invaded Palestine and Syria, and having taken Jerusalem, or Elia, as it was called, plundered it, and after great slaughter returned to Persia, carrying off with other treasures the relic of the true Cross. Heraclius, as soon as he could gather an army, marched into Persia, and winning three victories, forced the Persians to conclude a treaty, by which they engaged not to invade the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and to restore the wood of the Cross. Heraclius bore back the sacred relic in triumph to Jerusalem in 629. This event is the one commemorated by the Church on the 14th of September in the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Heraclius devoted the rest of his life to the consolidation of his empire in New Rome and the provinces left to him, and by his administration quite gave it a new lease of life. It was in pursuance of the same object of strengthening and uniting his subjects against the barbarian that he attempted to unite the Monophysite heretics with the Church, but in this he was not so successful. He may be given credit for good intentions, and personally desired to be orthodox, but in 639 by publishing the edict known as the *Ecthesis*, seemed to favour the doctrine which teaches that there is only One Will in Christ, and is hence called Monothelitism. This ill-judged act only shifted the ground of controversy, and began new discussions, as we shall see below, and before the controversy was over Heraclius had died (641). And his last years were clouded by the Moslem advance. One after the other, Damascus, Jerusalem and Syria had fallen into their hands. Even as the emperor lay dying his eldest son Constantine had suffered a crushing defeat at their hands. It was only the war which they undertook against Heraclius' old enemies, the Persians, which gave a brief breathing time to the Romans.

In 651 the Persian Empire went down before the Mohammedan attack, and once more the victors were able to turn their attention to the destruction of the Roman power. But by this time Heraclius was dead. He had given the empire at Constantinople a new vigour, and even when the clash of arms again resounded between Rome and its infidel adversary, something of the obstinate resistance which the Christian Empire was able to make must be put down to the credit of this valiant soldier, who fought somewhat in the spirit of the Crusaders of the Middle Ages. But the men who fought by his side were scarcely the equals of the chivalrous knights who rode out against the Saracen under Richard Cœur de Lion and St Louis. And therefore, even before Heraclius was dead there were signs that a great part of the Christian empire at the very least would go down before the warlike infidel.

**Fall of
Persia.**
(651).

Meanwhile things did not go well in old Rome, thus permanently abandoned by the Byzantine Cæsars. The pontiffs who followed St Gregory have been already mentioned: Sabinian (604-606), Boniface III. (607), and

St Boniface IV. (608-615), but none of these have left any notable mark on the history of the times. And we have to say the same of Deusdedit (615-618) and Boniface V. (619-625). The name of the next Pope is a well-known one: Honorius I. (625-638). But this is not so much for any great deeds accomplished by him, as for the unfortunate part he took at the end of his reign in the Monothelite controversy, which was just then beginning. The controversy first arose out of the long-spun-out dissensions between the Nestorians in Chaldea, supported by the Persian monarch, and the so-called Jacobite Church of Antioch, favoured by the Byzantines. It was in order to make peace between these that Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, proposed the formula: "There is only one operation in Christ, which is a Theandric Act." Two of the Eastern patriarchs, Cyrus of Alexandria and Athanasius of Antioch, accepted this, but Sophronius of Jerusalem opposed it, and both parties appealed to Rome. Pope Honorius thereupon sent his celebrated letter to Sergius in reply. The gist of the Pope's letter was that he condemned the assertion of two *contrary* wills in Christ, and imposed silence for the future on the disputants. This, which was going as far as truth allowed, and perhaps further than straightforwardness would suggest, though in the interests of peace, was accepted by Sergius. Thereupon the Emperor Heraclius, aiming on his part also at religious peace, published the decree called the *Ecthesis* (639), which made the decision in Honorius' letter a law of the empire. This was to overstep the limits of a civil ruler, and Honorius being in the meantime dead, his successor, Pope Severinus (639-640) refused to sign the *Ecthesis*. His refusal led to such friction with the imperial Court that Severinus' election was neither confirmed by the emperor, nor was he consecrated for eighteen months, and another year after this brought him to the end of his life (640). John IV. (640-642) had not to wait for consecration as his predecessor had, and at once proceeded to condemn the *Ecthesis* and Monothelitism in a synod at Rome. When this was communicated to Heraclius, who in intention was always orthodox, he wrote to the Pope, disowning the *Ecthesis*, and ascribing its promulgation to the patriarch Sergius. Thus Heraclius died in friendship

with the Holy See, and was succeeded by his sons Heracleonas and Constantine III. These were only half-brothers, as their father had married twice, and jealousies broke out between the two young princes; open hostilities were only stopped by the death of Constantine in the following year (642). Heracleonas was now forced to share the empire with the son of Constantine, known as Constans II. This young emperor got the upper hand before the year was out, forcing Heracleonas and his mother into banishment. John IV. died in the same year, but not before he had time to write what is known as the *Apology for Honorius*. In this he denied that Honorius had any intention of countenancing the Monothelite heresy. This letter was addressed to the emperor, and again asked for the final withdrawal of the *Ecthesis*. Constans II. was already reigning alone, having disposed of Heracleonas, and he wrote back to Rome assuring the Pope that he had burned the *Ecthesis*. By this time John IV. was dead, but in spite of his efforts for a settlement, the controversy was to go on for another generation, for Constans II., contrary to his professions, gradually fell under the influence of the Monothelites.

**Death of
Heraclius.**
(641).

CHAPTER III.

MONOTHELITE STRUGGLES.

(642-682).

THE troubles of the Monothelite controversy seemed to gain fresh life with the new personalities who came to the head of affairs about the year 642. There was a new pope, and a new emperor, and a new patriarch in the Eastern capital. Pope Theodore I. (642-649) was a Greek, and his election was formally confirmed at once.

**Second
generation
of Mono-
thelites.**

The new patriarch at Constantinople was Paul, whose predecessor Pyrrhus had fled on suspicion of being implicated in the death of the last emperor. Constans II. was now ruler, and he had already burned the *Ecthesis* as we have seen above, and written submissively on the matter to Pope John IV. But the new patriarch Paul, in spite of his lowly words to the Pontiff, seems to have been a Monothelite all the time, and his influence with the Emperor Constans grew very great indeed. He it was who drew up a new formula of faith, which was clearly Monothelite, and this he then got the emperor to publish for the whole empire. This is the formula known as the *Type* (649). As soon as this heretical document became known in the West, it was rejected, and Pope Theodore without delay decreed the deposition of Paul. But Constans had now fairly thrown in his lot with him and the Monothelites, and the imperial influence prevented the deposition from taking effect. Theodore died in the same year, and his successor, Martin I. (649-654) was consecrated without awaiting the imperial consent. He had a synod at once in the Lateran, rejecting anew the *Type*, and condemning Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul. Constans then flew to actual violence against the new Pontiff. A Byzantine exarch

Martin I.
(649-654).

was sent to Italy with instructions to make all sign the Type, not excepting the Pope himself. This officer came upon Martin when he had his bishops around him and failed in all his attempts to gain the Pontiff by diplomacy. He then laid a plot to slay him just as he was giving Holy Communion, but the sword-bearer who was named to do the deed could not see the Pope at the moment agreed on, either that some supernatural power made him invisible, or that some other providential accident shielded him. The wonderful event struck the exarch Olympius to the heart; he confessed to the Pontiff himself his wicked attempt, and then left Rome with an army to fight the Saracens. But even now the emperor did not desist. Instead of Olympius he found another persecuting exarch, by name Calliopas, to do his will. This man went to the Lateran with his soldiers, and forcibly took Martin away from among the clergy who were with him. He told him that the emperor looked on him as an intruder, and would have him a captive in Constantinople. In spite of the ailments from which he was suffering, Martin was then hurried on to a ship, and made to take the voyage, which was intentionally prolonged, to the capital. Including a stay at Naxos, it was a year and three months before the Pontiff reached Constantinople (654). Then came three months in prison, then an insolent trial before the Imperial Treasurer, then the public degradation of being stripped of his robes, as though guilty, then another three months in prison, and lastly exile to the Tauric Chersonese. Here, worn out with his sufferings and ill-treatment, St Martin died a victim for the Faith (6th September, 655). It is impossible to know in detail what happened at Rome after St Martin had been seized, but after about a year we find Eugenius I. (654-657) elected, probably on the presumed consent of St Martin, who was still alive. But neither Eugenius nor the Romans would be in communion with Constantinople so long as the Type was the basis of union. The next Pope, Vitalian (657-672), who received handsome presents from Constans in reply to his announcement of his accession, after some delay saw a change of policy begun. A reaction had set in. As Constans gradually gained external tranquillity for the empire in the East, and the Saracen advance was stayed, he took the rather wild and

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unpractical determination of making another attempt to restore the Byzantine empire in the West. But the times had changed since Justinian sent Belisarius on this errand, and the empire at Constantinople had taken several steps downward since that great emperor's reign. Still, without minding the unpopularity of the step, Constans set out in 662, and, after touching at Athens, landed at Taranto. In that part of Italy the Eastern Cæsars had even yet loyal subjects, so the starting-point was well chosen. But when he pushed on to attack the Lombard Duchy of Benevento, and laid siege to that city, the Lombard king, Grimwald, came to the assistance of his countrymen, and, in a pitched battle at Forino, Grimwald overcame the troops whom Constans had detached to meet him. Thereupon the emperor seems to have come to the conclusion that he could accomplish nothing against that warlike race, and turned his steps towards Rome. Considering his action towards the Pope and Catholic truth while at Constantinople, his coming must have caused misgiving in the city, but the emperor was met by Vitalian and his clergy, six miles outside the walls, and at any rate at first behaved most reverentially in the churches which he visited. There was Solemn High Mass in St Peter's with the nave crowded with Greek soldiers; there was a state banquet, and then after twelve days Pope and emperor parted, and the restless Byzantine left for the South. From Naples he passed into Sicily, and there the remaining years of his life were spent. Probably he meant to make it a basis of operations against the Saracens. At all events he seems to have plundered and oppressed the inhabitants, and in 668 was assassinated in his bath at Syracuse.

Constantine Pogonatus, or the Bearded, the son of Constans, now became emperor, and reigned from 668 to 685. He was a good Catholic, and a doughty warrior to boot, and on him fell the task of resisting the flood of Moslem attack on his capital. Moavia, the first of the Ommiad caliphs, was now established on his throne, and having conquered his enemies in the East, girt himself for a determined attack on the centre of the Byzantine empire. In 673 an immense expedition was prepared under Abderrahman, which having beaten back the imperial fleets, proceeded to lay siege to Constantinople.

For four years the assault was kept up, but was always beaten off by the valour of the emperor and the skill of the Byzantine captains. At last in 676, after a crushing defeat on land, in which Abderrahman and thirty thousand men were slain, the Moslem fell back.

And now the last stage of the Monothelite controversy was reached. Pope Vitalian died in 672, and was followed in turn by Adeodatus, or Deusdedit (672-676), and Donus (676-678). St Agatho, the next Pope (678-681), is held as a saint by both East and West, and under him the final blow at the heresy of the One

**Sixth
General
Council.**
(680).

Will in Christ was struck. Constantine Pogonatus, having at last beaten off the Saracens after their obstinate attacks, and having likewise repelled the Avars, took advantage of the ensuing tranquillity to work for religious peace and unity. He proposed to the Pope a council at Constantinople, and begged the Pope's approval of this plan. St Agatho, having held a synod of one hundred and twenty-five bishops at Rome, and having caused other Western synods to be held likewise, sent his legates to Constantinople. Meanwhile the emperor had caused the patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople to summon the bishops under their respective jurisdictions, and as soon as the papal legates arrived, they were received with all due honour, and on the 7th of November, 680, the

SIXTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF CONSTANTINOPLE (680)

held its first session, presided over by the legates, and attended by a number of prelates varying from forty-three to one hundred and fifty-seven. Even Photius admitted that this council was virtually called by the Pope. It gave Monothelitism its death-blow.

After what they suffered from Byzantine Cæsars and exarchs, and disputatious Oriental Churchmen, it must have been a relief to the pontiffs of this period to turn and superintend the growth of the Church in distant England. As

**Progress in
Britain.**

noted above, a serious set-back took place in the South after the death of King Ethelbert, and in the North after that of Edwin. It seemed as if the apostolate both of Augustine and of Paulinus might be robbed of its fruits. But it was not so. After some years Oswald, a kinsman of Edwin, who had fled from the pagan reaction to the

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Irish monks of Iona, was able to come back from exile, and bringing with him the zealous missionary, St Aidan, by his means won back the kingdom of Northumbria to Christianity. Aidan was born in Ireland, where he is said to have been for some time Bishop of Clogher, but later he joined the Iona community. This was quite in accordance with the custom of the place, which was ruled by an abbot, who had even bishops among his subjects. And Aidan was the one sent forth from Iona at Oswald's desire to reconquer the land for Christ. He fixed his see on the Isle of Lindisfarne (635), and from there passed on in true apostolic fashion over the mainland, preaching the Gospel in poverty and freedom of spirit. But this progress did not go on for more than nine years before it was checked for the moment by the death of King Oswald, who died, like Edwin, fighting for his people against the heathen Penda of Mercia.

The second impulse to the progress of Christianity came directly from Rome. At the death of Archbishop Deusdedit, St Augustine's fifth successor, the first band of missionaries must have quite died out. Wighard, who had been trained by these apostolic men, was sent to Rome to be consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury. But it so turned out that in the following year Wighard himself was carried off by disease at Rome, and the Pope had not immediately a suitable candidate to put in his place. At last in 668 his choice fell on a Greek Basilian monk in Rome, who was famed both for his knowledge and piety. Pope Vitalian consecrated this man, who was named Theodore of Tarsus, and sent him into England as Primate over all Britain, to advance the cause of the Church and to organise the hierarchy according to the needs of the day. Theodore, who had with him the Roman abbot Adrian, grappled with his task with much energy and sagacity, and succeeded so far in organising the Anglo-Saxon Church that he is almost a second founder of the hierarchy. He must have been over sixty years of age when he began his career in England, and his episcopate of twenty-two years was enough to put a new complexion on the government of the English Church. He subdivided the sees which had so far been usually one for each kingdom of the heptarchy, and after consecrating St Chad for Lichfield, passed on to the north.

and consecrated St Cuthbert for Lindisfarne (685). He held a national synod at Hertford in 673, which was a type and model both for Church councils and civil parliaments. His four-fold division of Northumbria brought him into collision with the great St Wilfrid. They both appealed to Rome, and though he was held to have acted in a somewhat high-handed manner when he made the division, in the end this division was upheld. And before death he was at peace with St Wilfrid, breathing his last when he was nearly ninety.

The mention of St Wilfrid a few lines above makes this the place to deal with that energetic genius, who, if not the first Englishman, was the first **St Wilfrid.** of that race to carry out on a large stage (634-709). a career worthy of all its best qualities.

Born about 634, he spent his youth among those holy Celtic monks at Lindisfarne, whose influence over his native Northumbria was so great. But his lofty ideas of the Universal Church led him to Rome in Pope Eugenius' time, and he came back an Apostle of Roman ways and Roman discipline. His position as tutor of Alfrid, King Oswys' son, soon brought him into collision with the Celtic monks over the Easter question. It was settled at the Synod of Whitby (664) as far as Northumbria was concerned, and in the Roman sense, mainly by Wilfrid's efforts. Being chosen Bishop of Northumbria, he went to Paris to be consecrated. But finding on his return a monk of the Celtic party installed as bishop at York, he retired to Ripon, which he had founded. Theodore of Tarsus, when he first came to England, took his part, and restored him to York, but later on in pursuance of his policy of dividing the sees, incurred Wilfrid's displeasure. In the appeal mentioned above Wilfrid went to Rome himself. He arrived in 679, and Pope St Agatho gathered a synod of some fifty bishops and priests to examine the affair. Wilfrid pleaded his cause so well, and showed such a hearty spirit of submission to the Holy See, that as the result of the synod he was to go back to England restored to his see with the bishops appointed by Theodore removed, and with an injunction to Theodore to choose such bishops as coadjutors to Wilfrid as he himself would approve. With this Wilfrid took his leave of Rome and the Pope. But the Northumbrian King Egfrid proved hostile, and in fact

for a time imprisoned the holy bishop (681), and, when the imprisonment was commuted into banishment from the realm, Wilfrid betook himself to Sussex, and thus became the Apostle of that still pagan part of the country. In 686 Alfrid, his old pupil, restored him to York. Still, under the influence of his Celtic opponents, quarrels arose between Wilfrid and the king, and in 691 he was again in exile. Archbishop Theodore indeed, before he died, acknowledged how ill he had treated Wilfrid, but his successor, Brithwald (693-731), now became hostile, and once more the undaunted Wilfrid appealed to Peter, once more taking the long, weary way to Rome. Pope John VI. was now (704) in the apostolic chair, and called a council which in seventy sessions went into the whole of Wilfrid's case. The fathers were surprised to find that this was the same Wilfrid who twenty-four years before had taken part in a Roman council, and they having cleared him of all the charges, the Pope sent him home victorious. It was long before the king gave way, but Brithwald, in accordance with the Pope's direction, called a synod in the vale of the Nidd, which restored to Wilfrid his two monastic houses at Ripon and Hexham, together with the See of Hexham. Four years of peace at Hexham brought Wilfrid to the end of his stormy career in 709, after more than forty years of episcopate.

But while these noble spirits were contending in their zeal to advance the Kingdom of God in their native land, Irish missionaries had passed beyond the seas to evangelise the still pagan inhabitants of the continent of Europe. St Kilian and St Colman in 685 came into Franconia, and began to preach there, and before long they determined to get the pontifical approbation on their labours. They presented themselves before Pope Conon, who consecrated Kilian Bishop, but without giving him any fixed see of residence, and then sent him back with his companions to continue their missionary labours. Among St Kilian's converts was the Duke of Franconia, Gusburt. But the saint having persuaded him to renounce an unlawful marriage with his brother's wife, Kilian was murdered in 688 at the instigation of this woman. St Fridolin was another illustrious Irish labourer for the Gospel. In his case there are no trustworthy dates to be given, but he certainly worked at the conversion of the Alle-

manni in the south-eastern parts of Germany, and then retiring to a monastery on the upper Rhine, near Basle, spent the end of his life in seclusion and prayer. Yet another Irishman, St Cataldus, the disciple of St Carthage of Lismore, went on a still more distant mission, even to the south of Italy, and now is venerated as the Patron of Taranto in Apulia. By these missions and many others, too numerous to be detailed here, the children of St Patrick did service on a large scale in the work of spreading the Gospel and extending the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COUNCIL IN TRULLO.

(682-715).

ST LEO II. (682-683) was not consecrated for eighteen months after St Agatho's death, probably because the business of the General Council at Constantinople was still incomplete, and after consecration he only survived for ten months more. But he confirmed the decrees of this council, and published it in the West. Then came another eleven months' interval, before Benedict II. (684-685) was consecrated, and his reign was still shorter than Leo's, for he died 26th March, 685. Then came John V. for a year (685-686), and then for another year Conon (686-687), and after this came a disputed election. At last, willingly or unwillingly, both candidates gave way, whereupon Sergius (687-701) was acknowledged as Pontiff, and he enjoyed the relatively long reign of fourteen years. And in the course of these years there had been great changes at the seat of civil government in New Rome. Constantine the Bearded was dead (685), and his son, Justinian II., seemed at first likely to enjoy the succession unopposed. But he was a mere youth, and headstrong and callous in character. War with the Bulgarians was followed by war with the Saracens, and at Sebastopolis the Roman army was defeated by the Moslem with great slaughter. This was made more disastrous by two subsequent campaigns in favour of the Saracens, and these fierce enemies encroached on the empire more and more. At Constantinople itself, however, there was still quiet and energy enough for religious discussions, and in 692 Justinian II. called together a council of two hundred and eleven bishops with the avowed object of supplementing the decrees of the Sixth General Council, which were mainly doctrinal, by a body of

disciplinary laws which might complete its work as well as that of the Fifth General Council. This was the celebrated Council in Trullo (692), so called from the shell-shaped hall in which it met. It is also known as the Quini-Sext Council, as being a supplement to both the Fifth and Sixth, and its decrees went far to strengthen the separation between East and West. As far as numbers went, it was a greater council than the Ecumenical Sixth Council, but the papal legates were not there, and the Pope had not approved of its being called. The nuncios to the court of the emperor were there, and seem to have subscribed the decrees, but Justinian knew well that it was vital to have the papal confirmation, and on his part Sergius boldly refused to confirm. Thereupon the reckless young emperor broke out into open violence, and sent an officer to bring the Pope to Constantinople. But the people rose in his defence, and drove the officer ignominiously from the city. Was it a Nemesis for this that caused Justinian soon after to lose his throne for a time through the revolt of Leontius, who professed to be acting in self-defence? Be this as it may, Justinian was sent as an exile to the Chersonesus in 695, with his nose slit, and the surname of Rhinotmetus, or Cut Nose, fixed upon him unto future ages. It only needed two years to bring upon the usurper Leontius the fate he had brought upon Justinian, namely dethronement and the mutilation of his nose, but it was done at the bidding of another military usurper, Tiberius Apsimar, who managed to maintain himself in power until 705, when Justinian unexpectedly came back from exile at the head of a Bulgarian army, and with but little trouble gained possession of the capital, and of the persons of both usurpers. After being literally trampled under foot by the revengeful conqueror, they were both executed, and Justinian II. held undisputed sway for six years (711).

And while usurpers fought for New Rome, in Old Rome a succession of ephemeral pontiffs sat in Peter's chair. Sergius died in 701, and was succeeded by John VI. (701-705), who in turn was followed by John VII. (705-707), and both of these were Greeks. Then came a Syrian, by name Sisinnius (708); and he only held the papacy for twenty days. Surely these must

Pope Constantine in Constantinople's city.

have been very old men, chosen perhaps partly on account of their age, or else it is hard to see how such feeble, dying men could have been elected one after the other. Constantine (708-715) was another Syrian, and beyond one striking event, little is known of his reign. This one point of historical renown was his journey to the imperial city. The summons came from Justinian II., who hoped no doubt in this way to end all dispute as to the decrees of the Council in Trullo. But how great the contrast presented by this progress with the disgraceful seizure and deportation of Martin I.! The emperor sent an order that wherever on his voyage the Pontiff touched land he should be met with royal honours. So, from Otranto he sailed on towards the capital. On his arrival he was lodged in the imperial palace at old Byzantium, and from there advanced to meet Justinian at Nicomedia. The emperor fell on the ground before the Pope and kissed his feet; then they embraced. Justinian was a cruel tyrant, but he made no difficulty about giving the Pontiff his full meed of honour when he had come at his request and to serve him. On the following Sunday, after the emperor had received Holy Communion from the Pope's hand, he renewed the grant of all the privileges of the Church. They then conferred together, and it appears that Constantine confirmed all the decrees of the council which were not opposed to faith or morals, or the decrees of the Roman Church. And, with this limitation, there was little or nothing to object to. Many of the decrees were excellent, and if others were imprudent or partial, at any rate they were not against either faith or morals. Of course the decrees as to the life and government of the clergy would not bind the West. Very likely they were not meant to; the council had been composed of Easterns, and they were thinking of themselves only. There were no heretical or schismatical decrees. Even in the thirty-sixth canon, which arrogates to Constantinople equal rights and greatness with Old Rome, it clearly calls it the *second after it*. But what the decrees really did, especially the thirteenth canon, allowing priests and deacons to keep their wives, was to crystallise the differences between East and West, while claiming for the Church *within* the empire a universality which it did not possess. The Church had passed these bounds long ago. The council was not really

Ecumenical. Perhaps the strange name Quini-Sext after all expresses best the real function of the assembly—a supplement to both Fifth and Sixth General Councils—only from a purely Oriental point of view.

Justinian II. was not to enjoy his recovered throne for very long, but was assassinated in 711, when Philippicus, or Bardanes, an officer who had had a hand in his death, became emperor in his stead. Both military and civil affairs had gradually fallen into a state of disorganisation, and Philippicus was not the man to right them. However the world had not to wait more than a brief period for his disappearance from the scene. In the space of two years a conspiracy in the army hurled him from power, replacing him by his own secretary, Artemius Anastasius. Anastasius was not a Catholic, and by an attempt to revive the Monothelite controversy only added to the confusion and distress of the State. It was faction against faction, and in less than another two years circumstances gave the crown to Theodosius III., an obscure commissioner of taxes.

Meanwhile the state of things in the Eastern Empire was not unknown to her enemies, and the Saracen Caliph judged that the hour had arrived to capture the prize which had so long defied the Mohammedan arms. Fortress after fortress was besieged and taken, and at last the Grand Vizier Suleiman succeeded in August, 717, in laying siege to the imperial city by land, and at the same time blockading it by sea. Nevertheless in that very year a new force came on to the battle-ground in the person of Leo the Isaurian. He was engaged in the war in Phrygia when he saw his opportunity, and hastening towards the capital with an army, overthrew the troops who remained faithful to Anastasius, and then after his victory secured the abdication of Theodosius III. The

**Anarchy
at Con-
stantinople.**
(711-717).

patriarch, senate and officers of the army then offered the crown to Leo, and he thus became emperor early in 717. He at once energetically grappled with the task of beating off the Moslem. They held on to the siege all through the winter of 717, though harassed by sorties on sea and land. But when the summer of 718 arrived, Leo took the offensive. He attacked the Saracens first at sea, and then on the Bithynian coast, while the Bulgarians on their side

**Leo the
Isaurian.**
(717).

defeated the Saracen army at Adrianople. After this, pinched by hunger, Suleiman gave the signal to retreat, but only a small part of the Moslem army ever reached home. It was centuries before the Mohammedans again attacked New Rome.

These same years that saw the Moslem thus set back in the East, also saw the Standard of the Cross carried

Evangelisation of the Teutonic Races.

farther north and west by devoted missionaries. The most notable advance made in these years was that led by St Willibrord, who is called the Apostle of the Netherlands. In his youth he had been a disciple of St Wilfrid at Ripon, but then went with some companions to join the Saxon St Egbert, who had passed from England into Ireland. It was while living there that the intense desire grew within him to give his life to preaching the Gospel to the heathen. He crossed the sea with his companion St Swithbert and ten other English monks, and landed at the mouth of the Rhine. The Frisians who inhabited those regions had defended their liberty against the Romans best of all the Germanic tribes, but they had been subdued, at least on their southern borders, by Pippin of Herstal, the Frankish leader descended from Clovis. And it was in the part of the Frisian land which was under the domination of the Franks that St Willibrord first settled, while the Franks, who were Catholics, seconded his labours as well as they could. Sent to Rome by Pippin to see the Pope, St Willibrord was there consecrated Bishop in 695, and his see fixed at Utrecht, which had been given to him by the Franks as a possession of the Church. The Pope changed his name to Clement, and sent him back to the Low Countries loaded with presents, relics, and favours. And now armed with episcopal and even legatine powers, he pursued his work for the conversion of the Netherlands with even greater success than before. Besides the cathedral at Utrecht he founded an abbey at Echternach in Luxemburg. When Venerable Bede wrote his history, Willibrord was still alive and at work. And by the time he died most of the Frisians had been converted to Christianity, though in the remote western and northern district there still remained not a few whom the Gospel had not yet reached.

St Willibrord.
(660-738).

It was in an effort to gain these that St Willibrord offered his life; yet, though some of his companion missionaries gained the martyr's crown, this happy lot never fell to Willibrord, and he went back to the monastery he had founded. He there spent the last remaining years of his life, dying full of labours and years in 738 or thereabouts.

To return to the land whence the Apostle of the Netherlands came, it had no son among those who were his contemporaries so famous as Venerable

Bede. His master was Benet Biscop, a Benedictine monk, who was among the companions of Theodore of Tarsus when he was sent to reorganise the Anglo-Saxon

**The
Benedictine
Doctor.**
(672-735).

Church. Benet had travelled from his native England to Rome, there to study Roman ways and Roman science. On Theodore's arrival in England he had set Benet as Abbot over the Abbey of St Peter at Canterbury. Nevertheless, after a brief period he gave up his office, and again undertook the long journey to Rome. Probably he was preparing for his new foundation in the distant north-land, and he gathered relics, paintings and books while there to furnish forth his house. He then returned to England, and proceeded to Northumbria. It was in 674 that he founded on the bank of the River Wear that Abbey of St Peter at Monkwearmouth which was only eclipsed in celebrity by the twin foundation he began in 682 in honour of St Paul at Jarrow-on-Tyne. The old Norman tower of St Peter's at Wearmouth, in which probably has been incorporated some of the yet earlier Saxon work, still weathers the storm, and recalls the memory of its first Abbot, Benet Biscop. It was in this home of the religious life that Bede the Venerable received his careful monastic training. It was here that he served under St Benet, and then under his successor, Ceolfrid. But when the foundation of Jarrow gave St Paul his monastery as well as St Peter, it was in the younger house that St Bede made his home (682-735). His was a peaceful and laborious life, lived according to the Benedictine ideal. Bede seems occasionally to have visited bishops and other friends beyond the bounds of his monastery, but with this exception his life was a constant round of labour, study, and prayer. "I have counted it sweet to be ever learning, or teaching, or writing"—that was his noble, industrious aim in life.

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The works of St Bede, and especially his expositions of Holy Scripture, have sunk deep into the mind and heart of the Church. An almost unrivalled number of lessons in the Roman Breviary are from his pen. But, besides all this, he wrote on science, on chronology, on logic, on music, and on a host of other subjects. He exceeded all his contemporaries in learning, and his Latin, though simple, is singularly pure and free from false ornament. His death was as grandly simple as his life; for, dictating up to the last his translation of St John's Gospel, he had just finished it when the summons came, and then with the final doxology: "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," he breathed his last with his religious brethren around him.

CHAPTER V.

FRANKS AND SARACENS.

(715-741).

THE next Roman Pontiff was a not unworthy peer of that great Gregory whose deeds stand at the head of this period. And in various circumstances of note, there is an uncommon parallel between their external achievements. Both dedicated their ancestral homes to the service of religion as monasteries: that of Gregory II. becoming the house and church of St Agatha in Suburra. Both were Roman patricians. Both had to struggle against the domination of the Lombards. Both had to deal with Byzantine Cæsars and to suffer at their hands; and if the one sent Augustine to England and shares with him the title of Apostle of this land, the other sent Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, to still greater deeds, and to a still more remarkable career.

And this brings us to speak of the Franks and their saint, now that they were pre-eminent among Germanic tribes as the bulwark of the Church against the Saracen attacks. St Boniface, or Winfrid as he was first called, was born at Crediton in Devonshire in 680, and passed his early years in the seclusion of St Aldhelm's foundation at Sherborne; but, being fired with zeal for the conversion of the heathen, he got leave to make himself an exile for Christ's sake, and to labour for the evangelisation of the Germans. The Franks were already the foremost among them, and the best fitted for the reception of the Gospel. Not but that the Faith had already been preached in parts of Germany long before this time. For were not the Franks of the West to whom St Remy preached really Germans? Furthermore St Fridolin had

come from Ireland, and preached in Wirtemberg, and St Columbanus in Suabia. So, too, St Rupert had laboured in Bavaria and St Emmeran in Upper Germany. Still, the labours of St Boniface surpassed them all. He first went to Rome, reaching the city to gain the blessing and special commission of the Pope in 719. He received these favours, and, moreover, letters of recommendation from Gregory II. Thus fortified, he began his career, and worked earnestly at the evangelisation of Thuringia, Hesse and Saxony for three years. In 722 the Pope, hearing glowing accounts of what had been accomplished by his means, summoned him again to come to him. This time, having made his solemn profession of faith, Boniface was consecrated Bishop by the hand of Gregory himself, and soon after sent back to his wide field of labour with a letter to Charles Martel, at that time the all-powerful Mayor of the Palace at the Court of King Chilperic. Here he was greeted with high honours, and when he left, it was with another letter in which Charles commends him to all the officials he may meet in the Frankish dominions. Thus doubly supported, Boniface resumed his preaching, and with marvellous success. Churches, flocks of the faithful and even monasteries sprang up on all sides. When Boniface visited Rome for a third time in 737, it was with a goodly company of his friends and converts, and he stayed there for over a year. In 739 he went to Bavaria and occupied himself in regulating the affairs of that country, already in part Christian. But he ever kept in close touch with the Holy See, writing to consult Pope Zachary, and making the Roman journey repeatedly when need was. It was Boniface who presided as papal delegate at the First General Synod of Germany. Other synods came later in different places, and in this way he did almost as much for the reform of the Christian Franks as for the conversion of the pagans. He it was also who crowned King Pippin. He fixed his primatial see at Mayence (748), and founded the famous Abbey of Fulda (750). But as old age came on, he longed for the martyr's crown, and passing again into the land of the Frisians, where there were pagans still, it was at their hands that he gained the glorious martyr's palm in 755. Thus in rare collocation the three titles are indubitably his of Apostle, Martyr, Primate.

In the year 711 the Mohammedans poured into Spain. The Gothic kingdom there had fallen from its vigour into effeminacy and decay. King Roderic had injured one of his nobles, and he it was, according to all accounts, who invited the Moors over from their African possessions. Tarik and Tarik led on the Moslem hosts, and they were met by King Roderic at the battle of Guadalete (711). The Christians suffered an overwhelming defeat, and Roderic either perished or fled. The tide of invasion rolled on, and henceforth no effective resistance was made to the conquerors. Many of the Spaniards settled down under Moslem rule, and were known as the Mozarabic Christians; the rest fled north to the mountains of Asturias, Navarre and Aragon, where they kept up some sort of independence. The Moors did not violently persecute the Mozarabs, who accepted their dominion, and under their Emirs, who admitted the sovereignty of the Caliph of Damascus, allowed them to live and practise their religion in toleration. But they embarked all the same on a career of conquest. Even the limits of Spain did not suffice them; they penetrated into Gaul, and Abderrahman, the best known of these Emirs of the Caliph, gathered a vast army, and marched against the Franks in the north of Gaul. They had indeed sustained a repulse at Toulouse from the Duke of Aquitaine, but the bloody and decisive victory won by the Frankish duke, Charles Martel at Tours, proved one of the turning-points in the history of the world (732). Never again did the Mohammedan power advance so far in Western Europe. The slaughter was frightful and almost unexampled. Henceforward the Mohammedan Moors of the West confined themselves to Spain, where, however, they remained firmly rooted for seven centuries. Mohammedan advance had been decisively checked at the battle of Tours by Charles Martel, but within the extreme limits then marked out to their career of conquest, they had been strengthening their power both in the East and in the West, and soon succeeded in reaching, though but in a passing way, Rome, the very centre of the Christian world. As to the West, they had consolidated their dominion in Spain. Under Almanzor they had transferred the seat of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad, but before this happened Abderrahman the Omniad

**Saracens in
the West.**

had escaped from Damascus to Spain, and there established an independent empire instead of the former one dependent on the Eastern caliphs. As Abderrahman I. he established a powerful Mohammedan State, though in his capital at Cordova he was still content with the subordinate title of Emir. In 786, the famous Mosque of Cordova, now the cathedral, was begun, and as long as this Emir lived there was no persecution of the Christians, who possessed five churches in Cordova itself, and many others in different parts of the Moorish dominions. But Abderrahman II. changed this policy for one of oppression and violent persecution. This era, namely from 850 to 860, was the period of martyrdoms for the Mozarabic Christians. St Eulogius, the well-known writer, was one of the most illustrious sufferers under the Mohammedan rulers in the West.

Meanwhile in the East, beaten off from Constantinople, they had to find other outlets, The Caliphate, which had had its seat in Damascus (661-755), was moved to Baghdad under Almanzor (754-775). and there after some time Haroun al Raschid (787-809) reigned in great splendour, being succeeded in turn by his three sons up to 842. Haroun al Raschid was a kind of Oriental and Moslem Charlemagne, and his reign marks the zenith of the empire of the Abbasides, or descendants of Abbas, at Baghdad. But the Caliphate continued to have its chief seat there for the space of four hundred years. Another Caliphate, distinct both from that of Baghdad and from the practically independent Moorish empire in Spain, was set up by the descendants of Fatima at Cairo; and at Fez in Morocco the family of Ali kept up a Caliphate of their own. The Mohammedan domination in India began in 1001 with the conquest of Afghanistan, though the Mogul sovereignty only commenced about 1530. The Great Mogul reigned at Delhi till the nineteenth century. Warfare was their life and their gospel, so long as there was any vitality in their system; they were sure to turn when repulsed in one direction, to try and meet better fortune in another. At first the Moslem power had been exclusively used on land; but after some time, when they had found their way to the coast, they began to carry on their depredations by sea as well, and became so skilful and so daring that the fear of Moham-

medan corsairs in all parts of the Mediterranean was scarcely surpassed by that caused by the Norse and Danish sea-kings in the regions of the North. Still, it was not till the next century that they were able to make a piratical descent on the capital of Christendom, and thus give a rude shock to those who thought the city safe from their inroads. Until then their chief inroads were made by land, but they were winning their way in many overlooked and neglected quarters.

The glad news of the great victory of Tours was sent to the Pope in a special letter from the Christian leaders, and must have rejoiced his heart.

He had sent a blessing to the Christian forces before the campaign began. Not many years were to pass before the next

**The Pope
and the
Saracens.**

Pope would turn to that same Frankish leader, who drove back the Saracens, with an appeal for protection against the hostility of the Lombards, and also against a new persecution of the Church which the Byzantine emperors had undertaken.

We have already seen how gallantly the new Emperor Leo III., surnamed the Isaurian, had driven back the Saracens from the gates of Constantinople.

It was evident that in him a new personality had come to the front, but unhappily he

**The
Iconoclasts.**

used his powers to begin a cruel persecution of the Church. He was able to do much good, and need not have stained it with evil deeds that sometimes make his successes forgotten or unheeded. Having got rid of his Moslem enemies, he attacked the mass of disorganisation and inefficiency which was sapping the empire from within. The financial crisis was met by a better system of taxation, while to improve the administration of the law, a new summary was made of the Byzantine Code, called the Eclogues, and this made the application of the older code easier. However, the energy of Leo the Isaurian was not satisfied with that, but following the besetting sin of his predecessors, he undertook to meddle with matters ecclesiastical, and selected for point of attack the sacred images, the use of which played a considerable part in the popular religious life of Constantinople. It is not too clear what spurred on the emperor to this unexpected outbreak. Perhaps it may have been the wish to conciliate as far as he could the wishes of his

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fanatical neighbour, Yezid, Caliph of Damascus, who in 722 had ordered the destruction of all Christian images. Anyhow, in 726 a decree was published by the rough, uneducated Isaurian, forbidding the use of sacred images altogether. A beginning of this destruction was made with a famous crucifix over the gate of the imperial palace, and though the officer sent to destroy it lost his life in the popular riot which was occasioned by his action, the opposition was stamped out, and the work of ruin went on. But there were parts of the empire less amenable to a tyrannical decree of this kind than Constantinople, and when it was published in Italy in the following year, it was uncompromisingly rejected both by Gregory II. and the people. In vain imperial officers were dispatched to coerce the Pope; they were slain by the infuriated populace. It is true that a similar protest to that of the Pope had already been made at Constantinople itself by the holy patriarch, St Germanus. He, however, was not in the same position of independence, and was cast out from his see. An Iconoclast named Anastasius was intruded into his place. A popular rising in favour of the images gained such proportions that the imperial city itself was assailed by the rebels. But a capable leader like Leo found little difficulty in beating them, and in resuming his Iconoclastic career. Gregory II. addressed two very stiff letters to the emperor, laying down the Catholic doctrine as he had every right to do, and vigorously recalling Leo to his duty. In all temporal matters the Pope was still ready to yield submission to Cæsar, and even urged the same on others. But nothing could be bolder than his tone now that it was a question of defending the Catholic faith and the devotion of the faithful. While these events were in process of development Gregory II. died, but John the Syrian was chosen to succeed him without much delay, and being soon after consecrated, is known as St Gregory III. (731-741). He immediately addressed a remonstrance to the emperor in the same spirit as his predecessor; and when this was only met by the infliction of banishment on the papal envoy, he went on to summon a council at Rome, which, as soon as it met, excommunicated Leo the Isaurian and all obstinate Iconoclasts. Meanwhile the persecution at Constantinople only waxed more violent. Death was the

fate of many, among whom are prominent the Twelve Librarians, St Andrew of Crete, and St Peter Stylites. But a great champion came forward to defend the true Catholic doctrine: this was St John Damascene.

Simultaneously with the persecution which was going on in the Byzantine empire, the movement against sacred images, began by Yezid II., Caliph of Damascus, also pursued its course. In fact there seems some reason for the theory that the original impetus was given from Damascus and not from Constantinople. St John was at that time in the service of the Caliph as a revenue officer, but abandoned this to enter the monastic state before 730. He retired to the monastery of St Sabas at Jerusalem, and after spending some years there in prayer and study, was ordained priest by the patriarch John V. Though the rest of his life was nearly all spent in this secluded retreat, his writings bind his name for ever more to the Iconoclastic controversy. But he did not fall into the power of the emperor; the labours of the pen were to be his, martyrdom and confessorship were to be the lot of others. And it was by his mighty pen that he became the Doctor of the Sacred Images. Yet he was far more than that. Sometimes he is called the last of the Greek Fathers, and even if it is not to be granted that this title suits his work, it cannot be denied that he, more than any other, gathered and systematised the teaching of those orthodox fathers both in philosophy and theology. His book on the *Orthodox Faith*, or more correctly the *Fountain of Wisdom*, has no equal in the East. It is rather akin to those methodical *summae* in which the mediaeval schoolmen digested the whole cycle of Christian doctrine. In fact in translations, and as a source from which they freely borrowed, the obligations of these Western scholastics to St John Damascene are very considerable, while his work is a storehouse of the real traditions of the Catholic Church in the East. Besides this, St John wrote ascetical, exegetical and homiletic works, and his never-to-be-forgotten polemical treatises against the Iconoclasts. Some liturgical poetry also survives as a monument of his devotion. It was only when Leo XIII. declared him Doctor of the Church that his great position in the Church's literature was generally acknowledged.

**St John
Damascene.**
(676-754).

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But the Isaurian emperor and his supporters were to find that they had another opponent even mightier than the learned Damascene. Their fury was to dash in vain against St Peter's rock.

Gregory III. resists Iconoclasm. Gregory III., as we have seen above, had in his Roman Synod excommunicated Leo (731-741). and all his abettors. The reply of the emperor was to confiscate all such revenue of the Roman See as he could lay his hands on, and to decree the transfer of the jurisdiction over the churches of Calabria, Sicily and Illyria to Constantinople, thus endeavouring to make the Patriarchate conterminous with the Byzantine empire. But many thousands of Greeks, clergy and laity, escaped out of the clutches of the persecutor and settled in Italy. Meantime, the Eastern emperor was not the only foe that Gregory III. had to contend with. Knowing that the Lombards would come against him again, the Pope repaired the walls of Rome, and also fortified the town of Centumcellae. And he had not long to wait for a renewed attack. Falling upon the lands of two of his dukes who would not side with him in his attack on Rome, the redoubtable Liutprand soon advanced into the Roman duchy. He first took Spoleto, and then encamped within sight of Rome itself. There was no one to whom the Pontiff could turn for help but the valiant Frank, Charles Martel, who had shown his prowess against the Saracens, and seemed to be disposed towards friendship with the Church. So ambassadors were sent to him by sea, and received a promise of aid. A return embassy from him brought presents, but for the moment no material assistance. In fact the Frankish warrior was nearing the end of his career. Still, as soon as it was evident that eventually no army from Frankland would come to support Gregory III., the Lombard king renewed his hostile action in all its force both against Rome and against the Exarchate of Ravenna. Gregory III. died on the 29th of November, 741, without having come to terms with him. The same year saw the death of Charles Martel, who was succeeded by his two sons, Pippin and Carloman, and also that of Leo the Isaurian, who was succeeded in the Byzantine dominions by his son, Constantine Copronymus, whose long reign lasted from 741 to 775.

CHAPTER VI.

RISE OF THE TEMPORAL POWER.

(741-768).

It is in the papal dealings with the Franks, and especially in the period spoken of in this chapter, that we must seek the origin of the temporal power of the Holy See, in the strict sense of sovereign sway over territory marked off by definite boundaries. Yet at the beginning of this time things did not look too promising with regard to the future of the Pope's dominion. Zachary (741-752) found the Lombard king, Liutprand, still the chief ruler in Italy, and he was at war with Rome and the Romans. But St Zachary went out to meet him in the hope that he might be able to arrange a peace for his people; and now there was no longer any question of the emperor at Constantinople or of his authority. It is Pope and Lombard face to face; and in the end Liutprand agreed to give back the cities he had taken, though not to the Roman Empire, but "to Blessed Peter," and he made peace or a truce with the Duchy of Rome for twenty years. Yet another time did Zachary go forth to meet the Lombard king (743), and now it was in favour of Ravenna, where the Byzantine exarch still ruled, and once again he was successful, and Ravenna was restored. Soon after this the formidable Liutprand died (744) in full communion with the Church, and the Lombards chose Rachis, Duke of Friuli, as king in his stead. But he was elected into the midst of a turmoil of intrigue and dissension, so that in 749 he was fain to resign the crown to his brother Astolf, going to seek the quiet of a monastic life at Monte Cassino. By a curious coincidence, Carloman, the brother of Pippin, the Frankish

**Pope St
Zachary.**
(741-752).

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king, had given him the example two years previously by resigning his share in the royal heritage, and embracing the religious life at an abbey on Mount Soracte.

It fell to Pope Zachary to take a still more important step forward in the direction of the temporal power by

The his intervention in the affairs of the Frank-
Carlovingian ish kingdom. Though he found the de-
dynasty. scendants of Clovis, called the Merovingians,

still nominally kings, all real power had passed into the family of the Mayors of the Palace, the sons of Charles Martel. It seemed to the nobles that the time had come for the deposition of Chilperic, the last Merovingian, and the choosing of Pippin, son of Charles, as king of the Franks. But, in order to be sure they were right, an appeal was made to the Pope to tell them what to do. The momentous action taken by Zachary was, that he sent a formal letter to the Franks, declaring that it was for the good of the nation that he who had the power of king should also have the name, and ordering them by his apostolic authority to make Pippin king.

It was consequent upon this that St Boniface crowned him in 752 after he had been raised on the great shield of Soissons to typify the popular choice. The deposed Chilperic was tonsured and shut up in a monastery, while other monasteries were made the safe-keeping of his wife and son. King Pippin was again anointed two years later by Pope Stephen II. or III. in 754. The great Greek

Stephen II. Zachary, who was the last of that nationality
and III. to mount the pontifical throne, had already
(752-757). passed away in 752, and Stephen II., who

was a Roman priest elected to succeed him at once, was struck by apoplexy on the third day after his election, and died before he was even consecrated. This has led to confusion in the Lists of Popes as to the numbering of the Stephens, for another Stephen, a deacon this time, was the choice of the people, and reigned for five years (752-757). If the former Stephen is to be counted as Pope, this Pontiff is Stephen III., but the doubt as to whether the three days of the other, without consecration, were a real Pontificate, has caused the latter to be sometimes called Stephen II. The Lombard Astolf attacked the Pentapolis with unrelenting vigour, and Ravenna (752) fell into his hands. This was the end of the power of the Byzantine exarch in Italy. The Pope

attempted to buy off the hostility of King Astolf with presents, and in fact Astolf made, or affected to make, peace for forty years. Yet four months had hardly elapsed before he was once more on the warpath with fresh demands. And it was only when all hope of a peaceful settlement was at an end that Stephen sent messengers to King Pippin informing him of the danger to Rome from the Lombard advance, and begging him to come to the rescue. Apparently all that he definitely asked in the first instance was a safe conduct to come to him in France. Pippin sent St Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, with an officer to conduct the Pope on his journey. First, Stephen betook himself to the Lombard king, Astolf, begging him to restore to everyone his own, but his appeals won nothing. So, conducted by the Frankish ambassadors, Stephen passed on into France, where he met the king at Ponthiou in Champagne. He was received with every mark of honour, the king bowing to the ground and leading the Pope's horse, and then at Stephen's urgent request Pippin bound himself by oath to take up the papal cause. After passing the winter at the Abbey of St Denys, Stephen crowned Pippin and his two sons as kings of the Franks and Patricians of the Romans, a title which the Byzantine exarchs had borne (754), and a little later attended a general assembly of the nobles at Quiercy sur Oise, where King Pippin executed in writing a document making over to the Pope a number of territories won from the Lombards, or to be won from them. This is the first really documentary evidence defining the so-called States of the Church. It is not that any of the original writings have been preserved, but careful deductions made by historians from the sources at our disposal give a fairly clear account of the extent of the donation then made by King Pippin. Marching into Italy in the summer of the same year, the Frankish king soon forced King Astolf to sue for peace. He engaged to restore all he had taken in the Duchy of Rome, as well as the Pentapolis and Exarchate. Pippin's deed, handing over the Exarchate and Pentapolis to the Holy See, is known as the Donation of 754. But as soon as ever Pippin and his army had returned to France, the Lombard king broke faith, and commenced hostilities anew. He laid waste papal territories, carried off all the treasures he could, and then encamped outside Rome, and proceeded

to lay siege to the city (756). Two urgent letters from the Pope brought the Frankish king and his army again into Italy in the defence of the Holy See. He was met by envoys from Constantinople, imploring him to give back the Exarchate to the Eastern Empire, but the Frank declared he would never alienate it from Blessed Peter, for whose sake he had won it back from the Lombards. He then laid siege to Pavia, and before his superior power the Lombard soon came once more suing for peace. To obtain it he had to become tributary to the Frankish monarch, to pay an indemnity, and besides this, to draw up in writing a list of all the cities which were to be possessed for ever by the See of Rome. This list, together with the keys of the cities, including Ravenna, was deposited at the Confession in St Peter's Church in the presence of the Frank and Lombard envoys. This donation made the Pope sovereign over a large part of the richest lands and cities of Italy, the Duchy of Rome, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and much besides. Astolf lost his life in a hunting accident before the end of the same year (756) and Desiderius, Duke of Istria, proclaimed himself king, and though for a while Rachis, Astolf's brother, came out of his monastery and disputed the succession, in the course of the following year Desiderius was very generally recognised as king of the Lombards (757).

Though some of the clergy favoured the election of the Archdeacon Theophylact when Stephen III. died, a much stronger party supported Stephen's brother Paul, who thereupon took possession of the see with but little opposition.

Paul I.
(757-767).

And whatever may be thought of the dangerous precedent of brother succeeding brother, the character of Paul was a very attractive and virtuous one. Wherever there was wrong to be redressed, or the oil of mercy to be poured into gaping wounds, there was the Pope at hand, all kindness and charity. The Iconoclastic persecution was still going on in the Eastern Empire, and the Pope could do no more than protest, and exhort Constantine Copronymus to cease troubling the Church with this matter, but he was not listened to, and things remained in their evil state. Before the end of his reign, however, he was able to some extent to influence the controversy from the West. In 767 a council was

called at Gentilly in France, and to this council the Pope sent envoys. The Greek emperor also had envoys in France at this time, and these were they who first objected to the introduction of the Filioque into the Creed. It had first been introduced at the Council of Toledo, and from thence had passed to the Franks. It was not yet in use in Rome. Beyond knowing that it discussed the image controversy, we know nothing of the Gentilly Council or its results, and soon after it Pope Paul died (767), at the monastery of St Paul's outside the walls of Rome.

**Council of
Gentilly.**
(767).

His death and the election of a successor gave occasion to prolonged scenes of turbulence and wild disorder. A layman named Constantine was brought into the Lateran Palace by armed force, and installed as Pope by his partisans, who then at the point of the sword forced George, Bishop of Palestrina, to consecrate him, and as Stephen was outside Rome, where he had attended Pope Paul's death-bed, the usurper continued to keep possession of the see for a year. To strengthen his position he wrote to Pippin and to Constantinople. But Sergius, the Treasurer of the Roman Church, and others who had fled from the usurpation of Constantine, invoked the aid of the Lombards, and with an army sent by King Desiderius, Constantine and his friends were seized and imprisoned; Sergius, however, instead of healing the trouble, now proclaimed a priest named Philip as Pope, and gained for him some amount of support. But Christopher, another refugee from the usurpation, now arrived before the gates with an army, and pronounced for a free election shared in by all. It was the result of this election that put Stephen IV. on the pontifical throne with the consent of all. The antipope Constantine and his adherents were punished with great cruelty, and stern measures taken to reduce them to submission, but when it came to dealing with mightier opponents than these, it does not seem as though Stephen gave any proof of strength of character. He seems to have been much under the influence of the party that had been instrumental in his election, until they were removed by the contrary influence of Desiderius, king of the Lombards. He also failed, as we shall see below, in prevent-

Stephen IV.
(767-772).

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ing the divorce of Charlemagne, the son of Pippin, from his wife, and his subsequent marriage with the daughter of Desiderius. Stephen's short but troubled Pontificate came to an end on the 1st of February, 772, and he was buried in St Peter's.

The Iconoclastic persecution was still going on in the East, and in fact reached its worst period under Constantine Copronymus, who far exceeded his father, Leo the Isaurian, in the persistency and barbarity with which he followed up the orthodox party. Considering that the monks were his strongest opponents in his violent Iconoclastic policy, he imported into the controversy also a persecution of the Religious State. Monks were no longer to receive novices, and then monastery after monastery was closed, and the unhappy monks flogged, put into prison, and in some cases done to death. Moreover, the emperor summoned a large council which was attended by three hundred and thirty-eight Eastern bishops at Constantinople in 753, which condemned the use of images. Of course, this was not approved by the Pope, and its decrees were of no avail. But the persecution went on for the rest of Constantine's reign, until he died in 775. In fact the Iconoclastic party was in the ascendant during the short reign of Leo IV. (775-780), but though Leo was himself of that party, his measures were less violent than those of his father. And the influence of his Athenian wife, the Empress Irene, was on the side of orthodoxy. And after a few short years death removed Leo IV. Irene was then instrumental in effecting an orthodox settlement of the controversy.

CHAPTER VII.

FOUNDING OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

(768-800).

PIPPIN, king of the Franks, who had done so much for the temporal power of the Holy See, and for whom the Holy See had done so much in return, died **King Pippin's sons.** at St Denys in 768, and left his extensive dominions divided between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, who had both been already crowned in their father's lifetime. Trouble began almost at once, as the Lombard king, Desiderius, and the Queen-Mother, Bertha, had made an arrangement for the marriage of Desiderata, daughter of the King, to one of those Frankish princes, though both of them were already married. Pope Stephen promptly wrote to them that the thing was impossible, adding at the same time temporal considerations to deter them from any such union with one of the detested Lombard race. But Queen Bertha persisted in the plan, and came in person to take Desiderata to Frankland. Thus, in spite of the Pope's opposition, Charles divorced Himiltrude, his lawful wife in conscience, if not in Frankish law, and married Desiderata. But the unlawful alliance did not last long, for within a year Desiderata was put away, and then instead of going back to Himiltrude, Charlemagne espoused a fair Suabian named Hildegarde. Carloman had died in 771 before there had been any grave trouble between the royal brothers, and in the following year, 772, Stephen IV. also died. He seems not to have been strong enough to make head successfully against the masterful passions of the Frank and Lombard kings, though there are some who defend him even from this point of view.

At any rate a striking contrast was placed before the

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public eye by the career of Adrian I., who was unanimously chosen to succeed the late Pontiff almost before the

Adrian I. breath was out of his body. He was already Deacon of the Roman Church, born and (772-795).

trained in its bosom, while his descent from the nobility of the city gave him an advantage which he utilised to the full. His life, too, had been pious, and his deeds of charity were known to the people all round. His reign was longer than that of any other pope for centuries both before and after him, and those years were full of striking events. The Mediaeval Empire was in process of formation, and Adrian filled successfully his great part in that development. The Carolingian theory of empire gave a lofty eminence to the Roman Pontiff, and it was a blessing that the wearer of this dignity just then should be so worthy of it. Immediately after his consecration, he succeeded in bringing to justice the papal chamberlain, Paul of Afiarta, who was considered to have been responsible for the murder of Sergius, and though he wished to save his life that he might do penance, Paul was executed at the orders of the Archbishop of Ravenna. Adrian did not fail to reprimand the Archbishop for this summary way of acting, and in general let it clearly appear that there was to be no more of letting things go as they would, or of helpless gazing at evil. He soon had his hands full of trouble, for King Desiderius was no more reliable than his forefathers had been, and being angered by the repudiation of his daughter by Charlemagne, tried to wreak vengeance instead on the papal territories. He ravaged and burned and slew all through the Exarchate, and even within the Duchy of Rome. At first the Pope made his protest by letter, but in vain; so when he found that the Lombard was already in hostile array, marching on Rome, he appealed for aid to the king of the Franks. Charlemagne's answer was to pass over the Alps at the head of a powerful army, and to proceed against Desiderius, who, finding himself unequal to a pitched battle, shut himself up in Pavia (773). The Franks besieged, or rather blockaded the place, but after six months Charlemagne, leaving a sufficient army to keep up the siege, resolved himself to visit Rome.

It was an historic occasion when Pope Adrian sent

forth officials and the insignia of his Court eight leagues from Rome to meet the Frankish king and welcome him. The Frank then formally asked the Pope's leave to enter the city, and gave and received mutual oaths of fidelity. At St Peter's Adrian himself received him in State on Easter Eve, 774, and, after embracing, both Pope and king entered the basilica to the sound of the traditional: "Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord." After a solemn thanksgiving for the Frankish victories, and several days spent in religious celebrations, Adrian had an important conference with his powerful guest. Charlemagne on this occasion renewed the donation made to the papacy by his father, Pippin, at Quiercy sur Oise, and had the donation copied out in a formal document, which he signed. Much historical discussion has taken place over this document, but the authenticity of the donation has been established by the best authorities. Nothing new was given, but the donation already made was ratified and confirmed with more solemn circumstances of time and place. As observed by a careful writer on this period, if the Pope had actually held all the places mentioned, he would have been lord of nearly two-thirds of Italy. It included, besides the Exarchate of Ravenna, Venetia and Istria, the Island of Corsica, Parma, Reggio the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Charlemagne's secretary, Eginhard, sums up by saying that his master restored to the Romans all that had been taken from them: "And all that had been forcibly seized by the Lombard kings was restored to Adrian, ruler of the Roman Church."

**Charlemagne
in Rome.**
(774).

Charlemagne now returned to the siege of Pavia, which was unconditionally surrendered in June, 774. This meant the fall of the Lombard kingdom, for the Frank now assumed to himself the title of King of the Lombards, and carried off the deposed monarch with his consort into France. Some space being thus secured to him for penance, Desiderius is said to have had a quiet and holy death at the Abbey of Corbie. But it could not be expected that the turbulent Lombard dukes would make no effort to regain their lost supremacy; and Arichis of Benevento headed a movement for this purpose. After some years of inconclusive fighting, Charle-

**Overthrow
of the
Lombards.**
(774).

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magne came again to Rome in person in 781. He brought with him his wife and his two sons. One of these was baptised by the Pope, being then named Pippin in memory of Charlemagne's father; and both he and his brother Louis were consecrated as kings: Pippin of Italy, and Louis of Aquitaine. There came at this time an embassy from the Empress Irene to ask for the hand of

**Constantine
Porphyro-
genitus.**

Charlemagne's daughter in marriage for her young son, and the espousals were arranged. Charlemagne now went home, and there was an interval of peace in Italy. It was not till 787 that Charlemagne had to take the field anew against a coalition between Arichis the Lombard, the Neapolitans, and the Eastern Empire. The engagement between Constantine and the daughter of the Frankish king was at once broken off, and Charlemagne appeared with lightning speed in the midst of his enemies. He came to Rome, and passed on to the South, but leaving the war in the hands of competent generals, did not remain to finish it in person. However, during the following year, 788, the Franks were completely successful, and the allied forces broke up.

A great change had come over the Byzantine policy by this time. Through the early death of Leo IV. in 780, the crown fell to his infant son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the widowed Empress Irene became Regent (780-802).

**Irene at Con-
stantinople.**
(780-802).

She was an ambitious and aspiring woman, but orthodox in religion, so that her accession to power meant the triumph of the Catholic party—at least for the time. There were wars with the Saracens which had to take precedence even of the religious troubles. But when these were ended, the patriarch Paul resigned, and, by the influence of the empress, St Tarasius, a holy and learned Catholic, was chosen to succeed him. He conditioned his acceptance of the Patriarchate by a demand for a true Ecumenical Council to pronounce on the dispute. As his terms were accepted he, hitherto a layman, was consecrated (784), and immediately wrote to the Pope asking for legates to preside at a General Council. Irene also wrote to Adrian in terms of the highest respect, begging him to come in person to the council, or if that was impossible, to send suitable legates. The Pope replied to both in suitable terms, and sent two legates to the East to take part in the council.

The council was summoned in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople, and the fathers assembled there on the 17th of August, 786, but the imperial body-guard created such a disturbance, rushing in upon the prelates with drawn swords, and shouting that they would have no change made in the decrees of the late Emperor Constantine, that out of prudence the council was broken up for the time. But the Empress Irene transferred the guards to another station, and quartered other troops on whom she could depend in the neighbourhood. She then gave a second summons for the fathers to meet at Nicaea in Bithynia. Here in fact the council was opened on the 28th of September, 787, and is known as the

**Second
Council of
Nicaea.**
(787).

SEVENTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF NICAEA.

The Pope's legates, whose names singularly enough were identical, both being called Peter, presided, though neither of them were bishops. This leadership is shown by their signatures preceding all others, even that of the patriarch Tarasius, and those of the legates from Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. The number of fathers was in all about three hundred and fifty. The practical direction of the proceedings naturally fell to St Tarasius, and after Adrian's letters to him and to Irene had been read, these were agreed to by all with a full acknowledgment of the Pontiff's authority. The synod called by Constantine Copronymus in 753 was then condemned, the worship of images solemnly approved, and the Iconoclasts anathematised. Finally, the acts of the former six Ecumenical Councils were confirmed. In a last session in the imperial palace, in presence of Irene and Constantine, the bishops gave a summary of all they had decreed, and legates, princes, the patriarch, and all the bishops signed the acts.

Thus, for a time at least, peace was restored to the Eastern Church on the image question but the council awoke a considerable echo of the noise of the dispute among the bishops of the West. Though on account of a minor difficulty Adrian sent no formal confirmation of the decrees of Nicaea to Constantinople, he ordered them to be translated into Latin, and the work was very badly done. No account was made of the distinction between absolute and relative worship, though the council had

**Council of
Frankfort.**
(794).

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distinguished them by the two words, *Latria* and *Proskunesis*, and thus the council seemed, to those who read this version, to have lapsed into an approbation of idolatry. It is true that for political reasons there was a predisposition on the part of Charlemagne and the bishops around him to judge the Eastern Church harshly. But at any rate, in 790, there appeared a refutation by

Caroline Books.

unknown hands of the decrees of Nicaea in four books, known in history as the Caroline Books, which contained a violent attack on the Council of Nicaea, written without due knowledge or accuracy. The honour due to the Pope is expressly excepted, but the Council of Constantinople for condemning images, and the Council of Nicaea for approving their adoration, are equally condemned. Charlemagne gathered a large council of Frankish bishops at Frankfort in 794, and here Iconolatry, as they called it, and the Council of Nicaea were both condemned by the fathers. Many of the propositions in the Caroline Books were sent by Charlemagne to the Pope Adrian, and Adrian sent a very long reply, explaining the true sense of the decrees of Nicaea, and with this to clear the air matters calmed down.

The Council of Frankfort had before it a question which had been giving trouble in Spain, and had grown into a heresy, and needed the voice of the Pope and the condemnation of the assembled episcopate to strike it to the ground.

Adoptionism.

Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, which city was now in the power of the Moors, and Felix, bishop of Urgel, in the Frankish mark of Spain, taught that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, not by nature, but by adoption, thus in effect denying His Divinity in the orthodox sense. There were complaints sent to Adrian against this teaching, and the Pope in reply wrote a circular to all the Spanish bishops condemning this language, and explaining the true Catholic Faith. Felix came to Rome, and solemnly retracted his errors. But he relapsed into them again when he was home in Spain, and by his learning and cleverness formed the chief support of Elipandus. The Council of Frankfort then was called to condemn the error. Legates from the Pope were present, and a large number, some say three hundred, of the bishops from Charlemagne's vast empire. Two refutations of the error were

drawn up, one by the Frankish, and one by the Italian bishops, and these, together with another letter from Pope Adrian, were sent by Charlemagne to Elipandus and the Spaniards. The error did not at once die out, Felix again writing in his own defence; but when these apologies were sent by the emperor to Rome, Adrian was already dead. Hence it fell to Leo III. to deal with these matters. He held a council in Rome of one hundred and fifty-seven bishops in the year 799. Adoptionism was again condemned, and Felix of Urgel again retracted. No more was heard of the matter, as Charlemagne sent a mission into the Spanish march to explain the true doctrine to the people.

Pope Adrian died on the 25th or 26th of December, 795, after a long reign, during the whole of which he had been united on the terms of closest friendship with the Frankish king. The latter mourned for him as a son for his beloved father, and sent alms for his soul even beyond the far-reaching bounds of his kingdom. He himself, perhaps with Alcuin's help, composed his epitaph, still to be seen in St Peter's at Rome: "Here the Father of the Church, the Glory of Rome, the illustrious author Adrian, the blessed Pope lies buried. Born of noble parents, he was still nobler by his virtues. You were my dear love, you do I now mourn. I join our names together: Adrian and Charles; I the king, you the father. . . . With the saints of God may your dear soul be in bliss."

**Death and
merits of
Adrian I.
(795).**

Adrian indeed had deserved well, both of his friend and of the whole Church of God. His long and relatively prosperous reign had enabled him to restore and to build anew in Rome and around it. He built up the walls, and restored the churches, he planted farm colonies over the almost deserted Campagna, and renovated the aqueducts on which Rome depended for her water supply. He decorated also, where opportunity occurred, though still more in this direction was done by his successor, it having been rendered possible by Adrian's attention to the more necessary and fundamental work of structural repairs. But it is in his place as co-founder with Charlemagne of the temporal power of the Roman See that there will always be a tribute due to Adrian from all those who recognise what a fortress of refuge that power became,

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amid violence and material force, for those higher principles and wider outlook which the papacy represented to the whole of Christendom.

Just as Adrian was contemporary with the career of Charlemagne as king of the Franks, so was an equally great Pontiff his contemporary for those later years, when he had attained the dignity of Roman Emperor. This was **St Leo III.** (795-816), who was chosen as Adrian's successor on the very day of his funeral, and consecrated on the following day. He immediately informed the king of the Franks of his election, sending him letters, presents, the Standard of Rome, and the key of the tomb of St Peter. No doubt the underlying idea of these presents was to secure that Charlemagne should remain what he had been officially declared, Patrician and Defender of the Roman Church. In reply to this, Charlemagne sent his chaplain, Angilbert, with presents and letters to the new Pontiff, in which he exhorts him to live worthy of the lofty station to which he had been raised, and subscribes himself Patrician of the Romans. Though for two years Leo III. seems to have enjoyed quiet and prosperous times, there must all along have been a faction opposed to him. In no other way can we explain the sudden and outrageous attack on him in 799, when he was set upon by a body of armed men while he was on his way through Rome in the solemn procession of St Mark's Day, and so ill-treated that it is thought by some that his eyes and tongue were both removed. However this may be, he almost fell into a fatal illness, but recovered not only his general health, but the use of his sight and speech, so that those who think that he was actually deprived of the organs of these senses hold his recovery to have been a real miracle. Leo left Rome, and fled to Paderborn in Westphalia, where Charlemagne then was. The king was exceedingly angry to hear of the foul outrage, and promising to come himself to Rome very shortly, had the Pope escorted back with all honour to his see. At the Lateran Palace, where Leo took up his abode, the enemies of the Pope were examined by the envoys whom the king had sent, and then sent under safe custody to France. Before Christmas the Frankish monarch himself arrived. He was met by Leo at Mentana, some fifteen miles from the city, and intro-

duced in solemn procession to the capital. Next day in St Peter's, Pope and king being enthroned side by side, the circumstances of the charges against the Pope and the outrage on him were again gone into. All the clergy present professed their incompetency to try a pope, but Leo voluntarily offered to purge himself on oath of the charges made against him. And to this both king and assembly consented. On the following day, therefore, Leo mounted the pulpit in St Peter's, and there with the Book of Gospels in his hand affirmed on oath his innocence of the charges made against him. When he had finished, the assembled congregation burst forth into a loud *Te Deum*. Only two days were to pass, and in that same place a still more striking scene was to take place when the coronation of Charlemagne gave the seal to the inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire.

Charlemagne had now come to the summit of his power and glory. His career had already been a long one, and he was nearly sixty years of age. Counting from that now far-off day, when, a child of twelve, to the joys of his parents, Pippin and Bertha, he had been crowned by Stephen IV. at St Denys in 754, he had been king for nearly half a century. He had been his father's companion in his many wars, and had seen at close quarters, while it was building, the vast empire he was to inherit. And soon after Pippin's death it all came under his sceptre. Carloman's children had, according to Frankish law, no ground to object to Charlemagne's election by the lords of their father's dominions, and so they fled to the Lombards. No doubt they were welcomed by Desiderius, who was already disposed to hostility towards Charlemagne on account of his daughter being repudiated by him. But, first of all, Charles had wars to wage against the Saxons and the Frisians, who were in turn defeated and subdued. Nevertheless, 773 had not come to an end before the Frankish hero was ready to wage war against the Lombards, and crossed the Alps, as we have seen, at the imploring request of the Pope. After taking Pavia, he had assumed the title of King of the Lombards as well as of the Franks. Then came twenty years of continual warfare, comprising no fewer than fifty-three campaigns, the majority of which were conducted in his official capacity as Patrician or Defender of the Roman Church. Now it was the Avars.

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now it was the Saxons, now it was the Lombards again. Now it was an expedition into far-off Spain, where he defeated the Moors and took Pampeluna. Now it was the Saxons again, whose king, Witikind, after defeat, received baptism with Charlemagne as his godfather. It was in this way that the road was paved for the public and official act by which the coping-stone was placed on the edifice of the Middle Ages.

BOOK IV.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

(800-1048).

CHAPTER I.

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.

(800-843).

HIGH MASS on Christmas day 800 in St Peter's at Rome is the point both of space and time which saw the fabric of Christendom, as it was understood in the Middle Ages, consecrated by the blessing of the Head of the Church. Then it was that the great Frank was crowned with the imperial crown by the reigning Pontiff, Leo III. Charlemagne had long claimed to be the official defender of the Roman See, but the tone of a letter of his to St Leo shows that by this time a more definite theory as to the due relations between Church and State had developed in his mind. "It is ours," he says, "to defend the Holy Church without, yours to help our war-like endeavours with your prayers." It seems that there was now before his eyes with more or less of definiteness the ideal conception of a universal State and a universal Church, co-ordinate with one another, and in closest relation, each with a supreme head in its own sphere. This was his theory of the Holy Roman Empire. And the coronation in St Peter's at Christmas 800 was the proclamation of this in the face of the nations. The shrine of the Apostles, which had attained its maximum of splendour through the munificent work of decoration

The
Emperor
of the West.
(800).

carried on by Adrian and Leo, was a fitting frame to the gorgeous scene. Clothed in the Roman garb of patrician, and attended by an imposing throng of the Frankish nobles and soldiers, Charlemagne proceeded in solemn state to hear the Pope's Mass, and then after the Gospel the Pontiff placed a golden crown on his head, and the acclamations burst forth: "To Charles, most pious Augustus, crowned by God, our great and peaceful emperor, life and victory." Then was he "adored," as it was called, by Pope and nobles, in sign of homage, and after this anointed by the Pontiff. After Mass great presents were offered by the new emperor and his family to the basilicas of Rome. There were silver tables, and precious chalices, and a processional cross studded with gems. Then once more the order of march was re-formed, and the stately procession passed away. It passed away, but not so the effect of what had been done, and Charlemagne ever after ascribed his imperial dignity to the divine intervention made known by the action of the Pope. In fact, personally, he seems to have been averse to the title of emperor, not because he wanted to receive it from the election of the Franks, for they knew not this rank, nor yet that he wished to be indebted for it to the Senate, which had shrunk to the level of a city corporation, contemptible as a world power, but rather as knowing that though Rome might rejoice, Constantinople would be angered, for *there* dwelt any depositary of Roman imperialism which decay had spared. In his wide range of mind and statesmanship, he could take all that in. But he bowed to the logic of events, and to the Will of Providence declared by the Vicar of Christ. He addressed the Byzantine ruler on equal terms. He certainly considered that he was the feudal overlord even of the Pope in temporal matters, but he did not wish to take away the temporal dominion of the Pontiff, which he had already confirmed to him, any more than he did that of any king or prince in the whole circle of that world-wide Christendom which was his ideal. His favourite reading was St Augustine on the City of God, with Alcuin at his side to interpret and consult, and it was thence he caught the sublime idea which he tried to translate into fact. It was his duty, he thought, to bring all the pagans of Western Europe within the pale of his empire and of the Christian Church. But this

universal empire did not destroy the sovereignty of the Pope over the states of the Church, only he had to do homage to his temporal overlord like any other prince. On the other hand, the emperor took the oath of faithfulness to the Pope as Head of the Church, whose devoted defender and humble servant he called himself. Both had divine authority, and were to co-operate on parallel lines for the common good.

The last years of the new emperor were less full of striking events than the year before them. But he lived long enough to realise for a brief period that grand ideal of Church and State which was to be soon shattered through human weakness. He remained in Rome until Easter

Old age of Charlemagne.

801, and then returned to the north. In the following years, either spontaneously or at the Pope's suggestion, Charlemagne sent envoys to try and negotiate a marriage between himself and Irene, Empress of the East. Had this bold plan been carried out, it would have given a still wider range to Charlemagne's Christendom, but the embassy miscarried, and in that same year Irene was hurled from power. Still, even without winning the hand of Irene, Charles' matrimonial alliances were only too numerous, and it is in this region of his life that there is the most shadow to deplore. If we include Himiltrude and Desiderata, who were both repudiated, we shall find that no fewer than ten wives, lawful and unlawful, are recorded as having been mated with him at different parts of his long career. If we wish to avoid condemning him for this blot on his heroic life, we must plead for a judgment, making allowances for the undeveloped Christian standards of his day. He was an affectionate father to his children, loving to have them around him, and sharing their sports even to old age.

The genius of Charlemagne was shown not merely by the number of subjects he had won or the width of territory he had subdued, but also by his zeal for the internal development of the empire, above all, in the matter of education. He gathered round him a cycle of scholars who were meant to be the tutors of his rough subjects, and he himself was the noblest and most enthusiastic pupil of them all. The English scholar, Alcuin (735-804) was above all his mentor and counsellor: a man of varied learning, whose

The School of the Palace.

works, deep for that uncultured age, still stand side by side with those of Bede and others in the Latin Patrology. Alcuin had been trained in the School of York established by Egbert, second metropolitan of that see, and had besides this gone to Rome, where he drank deeply of the traditions of the Church. He was the Master of the Palace School of the Frankish monarch, and was able to train scholars who afterwards filled high places in Church and State. There was Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, the most skilful writer of his time both in verse and prose, whose Palm Sunday hymn, *Gloria Laus et Honor*, is still resounding all over the Western Church. There was Eginhard, Charlemagne's secretary and clerk of the works, whose life of his imperial patron is the chief source of our knowledge of him, and who was entrusted by him with the supervision of his new cathedral and palaces at Aachen and elsewhere. There were others, too, on whom the emperor relied to impart to the people that culture which he valued so highly but did not himself possess. In 806, the emperor divided his dominions among his three sons, but Charles and Pippin died before their father, so in the last year of his life, Louis, known in history as Louis the Mild, was assumed to share the empire with him. Thus the succession at his death was prepared by easy stages. It was at Aachen in 814 that the founder of the Holy Roman Empire breathed his last at the age of seventy-two. He was buried in the cathedral which he himself had founded in what he considered the centre of his dominions. "Carlo Magno" is the simple epitaph that marks the place. There is a legend that the Emperor Otho III. had the tomb opened in the year 1000, and then beheld in awe the body of the heroic warrior still seated, as he was interred, on a throne of gold, with his pilgrim's girdle round him, his sword at his side and the Gospel book on his knees. Fair emblem—whatever be thought of the legend—of what he was to his contemporaries and to the Europe that was to come.

St Leo III. survived the Frankish emperor by about two years, dying only in 816, and not before another conspiracy against his life had been hatched and discovered, and its authors executed as the penalty of their treason. We may feel sure that the relations between Leo and Charlemagne were close and friendly to the last, and we

**Death of
Leo III.
(816).**

know that the Pope paid him a visit in Germany three years after his coronation. And even if the Frankish monarch now claimed a temporal overlordship, which he had not claimed in Pope Adrian's time, this only made their union in public all the closer than it was under the former system, and was acquiesced in by the Pope. The coinage of Leo III. shows the Pope's image on the one side and that of the emperor on the other, whereas the coins of Adrian I. show no effigy of the temporal ruler at all. And this is a significant difference. The remains of Leo III. repose with those of his predecessors, Leo I. and Leo II., and those of his successor, Leo IV., under the altar of Our Lady of the Column in the right transept of St Peter's.

The papal election was brief, and Stephen, called the son of Marinus, was the choice of the Roman clergy and people. He had been carefully brought up in the Lateran Palace by Adrian I., and had been made first sub-deacon and then deacon by Leo III. He was at once consecrated, and is known in history as Pope Stephen (IV.) V. (816-817). He only survived until the following year (817), and the only event of his Pontificate that need find place here is his visit to the new emperor, Louis the Mild, and his coronation of him. Having made the Roman people swear fealty to the emperor, and having notified him of his own consecration, expressing at the same time a wish to meet him, Stephen set out for Frankland in August, 816, accompanied by the emperor's nephew, Bernard, feudal king of Italy, and a large retinue. Stephen and Louis met at Rheims, both dismounted, and then the emperor prostrated himself before St Peter's successor, and having embraced him, brought him amid shouts of "Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord," to the cathedral of St Remy. Some days later in the same place there was a grand function, when the Pope crowned Louis once more with the imperial crown, though he had been already crowned in his father's lifetime, albeit not by the Pope, nor with the same splendid diadem. Queen Irmingarde was now likewise crowned at her husband's side. Louis showed his pleasure at the Pontiff's action by loading him with material gifts and confirming him in the possession of other privileges. The solemn pact between the supreme spiritual and the

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supreme temporal powers was renewed, and then having bestowed the pallium of a metropolitan on Theodulf of Orleans, Stephen wended his way back to Rome before the year was over. The new Pontiff had hardly begun to reign before he died (January the 27th), and was buried in St Peter's.

Paschal was the name of the new Pope, chosen on the very day after Stephen had died. He wrote to the emperor notifying his election, and humbly declaring his own unworthiness of it. The papal ambassador received a document to take back with him, which was formal confirmation of the grant to the Holy See of the Duchy of Rome, the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, Sicily and all the lands granted by Pippin and Charlemagne. Louis the Mild was equally desirous to preserve the union of the empire in itself, and its close bonds of friendship and common action with the Popes. It was to promote the former end that after consultation with his nobles he crowned his son Lothair as co-emperor at Aachen in 817, ordaining that after his death his younger sons should share the empire in due subjection to Lothair as feudal lord. Pippin was to have the Western portion, Louis the Eastern, while his nephew Bernard was to retain, what he already held, Italy. But dissension broke out among them almost immediately. Bernard was dissatisfied with his share. He flew to arms, but being attacked by the emperor, eventually surrendered. He was made to lose his eyes in punishment, and soon after this, died. Lothair was now appointed King of Italy, and proceeded to take possession of his kingdom. He furthermore went to Rome, and was there consecrated Emperor by the Pope at the express wish of his father Louis, in 823. After the Emperor Lothair left Rome there was a violent outbreak of partisan quarrelling among the clergy and nobles of Rome, and the Pope's chief counsellor, Theodore, was beheaded. Paschal was accused of conniving at this, and the emperor sent envoys to inquire into the matter. Paschal cleared himself on oath, but the whole incident seems to have told adversely on his health, and within a few months he was dead (824).

Meanwhile in the Eastern Church there had been a second Iconoclastic persecution. Leo the Armenian, a

successful general against the Bulgarians, usurped the crown in 813, and in 815 he began a persecution of the orthodox Catholics. He forced the patriarch Nicephorus to abdicate, and intruded Theodorus into the see. In fact the patriarchal chair was in the hands of a succession of Iconoclasts till 842. A synod at Constantinople condemned the decrees of the Seventh General Council, and while the images in the churches were broken, those who honoured them were visited with stripes, imprisonment, and even death itself. St Theodore the Studite was scourged and banished, and then from his exile in concert with four other abbots he wrote to the Pope, informing him of the distress that the Eastern Catholics were in. Paschal answered with words of encouragement, and then wrote also to the emperor, blaming his evil conduct towards the monks, and defending the use of images. In 820 a conspiracy made a violent end of Leo the Armenian; he was attacked and slain in church on Christmas Day, and another favourite general of the army known as Michael the Stammerer (820-829) succeeded in mounting the throne. For the nine years of his reign there was a comparative lull in the persecution, as the new usurper wished to hold the balance between the two parties, but his son, Theophilus (829-842), fanned the embers of Iconoclastic fury once more, and aided by the patriarch John Grammaticus, inflicted banishment, scourging, and prison on all sides, stopping short of the death penalty alone. It was the Empress Theodora to whom the Eastern Church was indebted for final peace over the question. Chosen by Theophilus at a beauty party assembled by his mother Euphrosyne to provide him with a lovely consort, she used her influence during his life-time against the heretical party, and when Theophilus died still young in 842, leaving his son an infant, she proceeded to undo the evil policy of her late husband. Peace was announced, the monks were recalled, and the heretical patriarch John Grammaticus was deposed. St Methodius was the new patriarch: a synod met, and the Feast of Orthodoxy was established, to be kept on the first Sunday of Lent. This feast, which is still kept, now commemorates the victory of the Church over all heresies rather

**End of
Iconoclasm.**

**The Empress
Theodora.**

(842).

than this one successful contest with the Iconoclast heretics. And now the controversy came to an end. But it was not a complete triumph, as far as the Eastern Church was concerned. For though the images or Eikons had been vindicated, and are still honoured with almost passionate devotion, a strange inconsistency brands with the Greeks all raised images or statues as leading to idolatry. And this attachment to painted Eikons, not in relief, as exclusive of statuary, may still be one of the obstacles that keep East and West apart.

The spirit of faction was waxing strong at Rome, and it was the party of the nobles that carried the next election, and seated **Eugenius II.** in the papal chair. A notification of the papal election was made to the Emperor Louis, who was at that time engaged in war, and as though he knew how restless were the nobles at Rome, he sent his son Lothair in his name, to repress those who had caused dissension, and to make regulations to assure, if possible, the future tranquillity of Rome. Lothair meant to secure the predominance of the imperial authority, and had a constitution drawn up and signed which secured for the Pope the allegiance of his fellow-citizens, but also had to be confirmed on oath, by the Romans swearing fidelity to Louis and Lothair, saving their allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff. Lothair then left the city. Eugenius was now able to hold a council, which was attended by fifty bishops, in which various matters of ecclesiastical discipline were dealt with, though there is reason to think that the Pope was already in failing health. He died next year (827), and though the Roman Archdeacon Valentine was immediately elected, and at once enthroned, within forty days, even before his consecration, he was gathered to his forefathers.

The next Pope had a long reign, albeit it fell upon sad and disastrous times, embracing the period of strife between the weak Emperor Louis the Mild and his sons. Louis' first wife, Irmingarde, died in 818, and in the following year he married Judith, daughter of Welf, Duke of Bavaria. The new empress, who did not enjoy the best reputation for morality, was an imperious and ambitious woman, and soon gained the upper hand with her placid

Gregory IV. (827-844).

husband. The Constitution made in 817 for the future inheritance of the empire was disturbed at her instance in order to provide a kingdom for Charles the Bald, her son who enjoyed more favour with Louis than any of his half-brothers. Charles was to receive Alsace, Suabia and Switzerland. But this angered Louis' other sons so much that in 830 they broke out into open rebellion. By the promptitude with which they gained possession of their father's person, while Judith was forced to take the veil in a religious house, they gained from him a declaration at the Diet of Compiègne that he would stand by the arrangement of 817. Still, as time went on, a reaction set in, and Louis found himself able to assert himself, take back Judith from her enforced enclosure, and punish Lothair by removing him from his share in the imperial dignity; while Pippin had to give up his kingdom in favour of Judith's son Charles. These arrangements were of course calculated to fan the flame of revolt, and by 833 all three brothers were engaged in a second great rebellion against their father. Gregory IV. seems to have thought that Louis the Emperor was greatly to blame for his weakness and partiality, and was easily induced by Lothair to accompany him to the camp at Colmar, where the united armies of the three brothers were drawn up against their father. Gregory did this solely in the hope that he might be peacemaker between them, but his presence in the rebels' camp set Louis and the bishops who sided with him against him. So, refusing to meet the Pope in conference, when summoned by him, they went so far as to threaten him with excommunication and deposition. This elicited from him a dignified rebuke. Gregory now proceeded to the emperor's camp to try and arrange a peace, but he met with a cold and scarcely respectful reception. He convinced Louis of his impartiality, but returned to Lothair without having accomplished much. However, the emperor was deserted by his army, and thus once more became a prisoner. Lothair, encouraged by the Pope's opinion that Louis had proved himself unworthy to rule, again seized the reins of power, and a Diet at Compiègne condemned Louis, who laid aside the imperial garb and appeared as a penitent. But the contest was not yet at an end. A quarrel among the supporters of Lothair gave Louis his chance once more, and he was solemnly rein-

**Diet of
Compiègne.
(833).**

vested with the imperial power at St Denys in 834. Lothair and his brothers had to be content with their father's forgiveness. The few remaining years of Louis the Mild were occupied in a series of further quarrels with his sons, and it was in the act of marching against Lewis the German that the unhappy emperor died in 840. He sent the insignia of empire to Lothair, but the latter's attempt to be sole ruler was resisted by Charles and Louis, and the two hosts met in pitched battle at Fontenay next year (841). Lothair was defeated, and there was great slaughter on both sides. The result of the battle was a break-up of all union in the Carolingian empire, and by the Treaty of Verdun (843) a partition was agreed to, by which Lothair received Italy and the belt of country, part of which preserves his name as Lorraine, Charles the Bald got France, and Lewis the German everything east of Lothair's domain.

The High Germans had restored the Roman Empire, and the Low Germans in England and Holland had produced saints and doctors before the conversion of the third branch of the Teutons had more than begun. Scandinavia was the home of those sturdy Northmen who, as Danes, or Swedes, or Norwegians, were to come forth from their own stern coasts and sweep round the west side of Europe in wave after wave of invasion. France, England, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Sicily marked the stages of the sea-borne storm, till they imposed their rule as Norman kings even as far as the land of the Greeks and distant Jerusalem. Charlemagne's contemporaries would ask: "Will the Danes ever be converted?" but it was only in the reign of Louis the Mild that their evangelisation was attempted. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, went to Rome and got a papal commission from Pope Paschal (822) to carry forward the banner of the Cross among this heathen race. Ebbo crossed the Eider, and baptised many idolators, but then, for some reason unexplained to us, gave up the work and returned home to France. Harold, king of Denmark, had to flee from his realm, and it was while in Frankland that he was baptised, and returned to Denmark resolved with the emperor's aid to recover his kingdom, and to make it a Christian land. Oscar, or Anscar, went with him as envoy from the emperor and with letters from Pope Eugenius (827). At first there was some success; Harold built a church and pulled down the

The Apostle of the North.
(826-865).

heathen shrines, but after a while the heathen party got the upper hand, and both Oscar and Harold had to flee. Oscar passed into Sweden (829), and having surveyed the prospects there, returned to the Emperor Louis to report. As a centre for missionary work in the North, the emperor now founded the Archbishopric of Hamburg, and Oscar was the first to fill the see. He got the pallium from Gregory IV. in 832, and with it the powers of "Papal Legate among the Swedes, Danes, Slavs and other Northern nations." Hamburg was burnt in 845 by the Northmen, and many were the vicissitudes of Oscar's missionary labours, but he felt he could not recede; he held on heroically at his post. Pope Nicholas united the See of Bremen to his Archbishopric of Hamburg, and lived to send the pallium to Rembert, his companion and successor (865). Oscar died in 865, having won by thirty-eight years of devoted labour the proud title of Apostle of the North.

While Oscar and Charlemagne, each in his own way, were enlarging the bounds of Christendom in the North and East, a long battle was going on in the land of Spain to win back from the Moors that fair land over which they were ruling as masters. This long conflict is known as the Reconquest. It will not be possible to trace it step by step in each generation. It began with the Gothic kingdom of Asturias, never subdued by the Moors, whose first king, Pelayo, beat the Moslem at Covadonga in 718. It was only complete at the Conquest of Granada in 1492. And out of this long period there were weary years in which no progress was made. When the Moors were united, and the Christians divided, little way was made, but sometimes there were dissensions in the Moslem State, and the Christians joined together for some great effort. Such were the days of Alfonso I., son-in-law of Pelayo. Such, too, were the days of Alfonso the "Batallador," and Ferdinand the Great, who united, for a time at least, the independent kingdoms of Leon and Castile (1037). His son, Alfonso VI., by the Conquest of Toledo (1085) made the Christian share of Spain predominate over the Moslem part. The romantic story of the Cid has always made the reign of Alfonso VI. a favourite part of the Reconquest for description and interesting narrative. About this time also the united efforts of this king and of

Reconquest in Spain.

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Gregory VII.'s legate, Cardinal Richard, were exerted to replace the old Mozarabic Rite by the Roman. Much opposition was naturally provoked by this, but little by little the Roman Rite won its way, until the Mozarabic liturgy was confined to the cathedral of Toledo, where it is still preserved as an interesting monument of the past. The union between Leon and Castile was broken (1157-1230) for some time. But the two were permanently united under St Ferdinand (1198-1252), who was a most determined crusader against the Moors, and aided by military orders of Alcantara, Calatrava and Santiago, won from them in turn Cordova, Seville and Cadiz. This was about the limit to which the Reconquest reached until the Conquest of Granada, though James of Aragon, called the "Conquistador," won Valencia from the Moors at about the same time. The next two centuries (1252-1468) were times of trouble, and almost continual civil strife. Little or no advance was made. The Moorish kingdom of Granada continued to live and flourish. We shall come back to tell of its fall when the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella gave Spanish Catholics the necessary united force to complete the Reconquest of their country.

CHAPTER II.

SCHISM IN THE CHURCH AND STRIFE IN THE EMPIRE.

(843-887).

THE faction of the nobles now again made itself felt, and this time with disastrous results. The election of Sergius II. was their work, and a few years of distressing weakness followed. The chosen Pontiff seems to have been one who turned aside from the arduous duties of his office to feasting and sloth, leaving the conduct of public affairs to his brother Benedict. And this man abused the power that fell into his hands. He acted like an absolute ruler, usurped the Bishopric of Albano, though all unworthy, as being a man of profligate life, and oppressed both clergy and people. When the Emperor Lothair heard of Sergius' consecration, he was very angry, and sent his son Louis to Rome at the head of an army to insist on the imperial rights. No doubt he was contending not against the Holy See so much as against the turbulent nobles, who aimed at independence, and whose nominee Sergius was. The visit of Louis passed off, however, better than might have been expected. Though Sergius would not let the Romans take an oath of fealty to Louis as king of Italy, both he and the nobles swore fidelity to Lothair, the emperor, and the Pope crowned Louis king of the Lombards (844). The papal election itself seems to have been made the subject of an inquiry and a council; as doubtless both Louis and Drogo, Archbishop of Metz, had been instructed by the emperor to examine that matter, which may well have seemed to him by no means sure. However unworthy Sergius was of the dignity, they found that no fault was discoverable in the election, and so it was confirmed, and Sergius was safe.

A Nemesis, if so it may be called, for the spirit of

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faction and its unfortunate results was at hand from another and unexpected quarter. Hitherto the Saracens had

The Saracens at Rome.
(846).

only appeared occasionally in the Mediterranean, making sudden piratical descents on the sea-coast, and then retiring to their strongholds in Barbary or some other part of their dominions. A change began with the conquest they effected in Sicily, where they founded a permanent power in 826. But even then it was not thought they would venture so far as Rome. Hence it came as a thunderclap when the Marquis of Tuscany brought the news that a large Saracen fleet with eleven thousand men on board was in full sail for Rome. Still, even then the warning did not lead to any effective measure of defence, and the Saracen fleet anchored in due time at the mouth of the Tiber. After a feeble resistance both Ostia and Porto fell into their hands. They then pushed on towards the city. Several bands of defenders tried to stop their progress, yet they succeeded in penetrating to St Peter's and St Paul's, though the city on the other side of the river was not taken by them. But both these churches were plundered of their treasures, and the Saracens hastened off with all the booty they could carry. Off the Sicilian coast a tempest overtook them, and all suffered shipwreck, their plunder being lost in the sea. Nevertheless, the effect of this terrifying raid on the minds of men was great. It drew attention to the defenceless state of Rome, and filled the Christian lands with shame and anger that infidel corsairs could so rapidly and unpunished work destruction in the centre-point of Christendom.

Death carried off Sergius very shortly after the Saracen raid in the beginning of 847, and that catastrophe combined with the Pope's sudden death to put **St Leo IV.** the Romans in a very chastened mood for (847-855). receiving a successor. Leo, son of Rodoald, was priest of the "Quatuor Coronati" church, and of high repute among the clergy of the city. With one accord clergy and people now approached him, and saluted him as Pope. There was a moment's hesitation as to whether it would be safe to consecrate him without the imperial confirmation. At last this was done, and he assumed the name of Leo IV. (847-855), but notification was sent both to Lothair and Louis that in acting in this way they did not intend to infringe in any degree upon

the fidelity they owed to the emperor or upon his privileges. Leo felt himself to be raised to the Pontificate above all to oppose the Saracens, whose inroad still filled men's minds, and daunted their courage. In (848.)

848 he began the work of repairing the city walls; but it was the new work undertaken across the Tiber which is always associated with his name, and this was the building of the Leonine city. It meant that St Peter's and the whole Vatican Mount was to be encircled with a wall. It was a work of considerable magnitude. No doubt the plundering of St Peter's by the Saracens in 846 had shown the necessity of some permanent defence for the Transtiberine region, and Lothair, the emperor, if he did not suggest, at any rate encouraged the enterprise. Corsican exiles were welcomed by the Pope, and encouraged to settle within the new enclosure—a great deal of which was then open land outside the boundaries of Old Rome. Those who know the Vatican Observatory will be able to judge how solidly and well the Pope built, for that occupies one of the towers which strengthened it as a fortress. It was not till 852 that the firm set stone walls and towers were ready for the solemn dedication service with which Leo IV. celebrated the accomplishment of his task.

The Leonine City.
(852).

And, meanwhile, the Saracens had come down upon the city again; but the Pope, being this time reinforced by a Greek fleet, went forth to meet them. At Ostia they were totally defeated, and while many were slain, the rest were brought to Rome and forced to labour at the work that was to safeguard the city against similar descents in the future. Before the battle, at the request of the Greeks, the Pope had said Mass before them all, and given them Holy Communion. Then the Pope went on with his other works of restoration. Centumcellae was rebuilt, and Porto restored, and two years later the dedication of Centumcellae took place with like rites to those used for the Leonine City.

It was in the year 850 that Louis II., the son of Lothair, came to Rome to be consecrated; and with elaborate ceremonial Leo IV. crowned him Emperor, his father being still alive. The Peace of Verdun had put an end to a united Christendom under a Carolingian prince, but

The Consecration of kings.

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Lothair would not have Louis less an emperor than he had been. In reality he was indeed both less and more. For, when Lothair died in 855, his share of the empire was still more subdivided, his three sons receiving: Louis, Italy: Charles, Provence: and Lothair II. that middle region which association with him and with another of the same name stamped as Lotharingia or Lorraine. Thus five descendants of Charlemagne had simultaneously a monarchy in their great grandfather's mighty empire. But though not the lord of Christendom, Louis II. was more Roman than any of them, for during his reign of twenty-five years Rome and Italy were his home, and his sphere of action.

The only English king ever crowned in Rome came there in Leo's reign. He was that Alfred who lives in

Alfred the Great. (871-901.) the memory of his countrymen as Alfred the Great, the popular hero and darling of the Anglo-Saxon realm. He was taken to Rome

by his father Ethelwulf in 853, and both crowned by the Pope and adopted by him as his godson. He had long to wait for his turn on the throne, and the times were very evil for Saxons in England. His three brothers, Ethelbald, Ethelbert and Ethelred, kings in turn, were to strive in vain against their Danish enemy; and then when things were at their worst and his brothers all dead, young Alfred was to gather the scattered forces of the kingdom, fight against the Danes, conquer them repeatedly in battle, win their chieftain Guthrum and many of his men to Christianity, and then by means of the self-denying Peace of Wedmore accept them as neighbours with a share of England made over to them, and thus lay the foundations of greater strength for his country in the future. Alfred did not die till 901, and will ever be the Anglo-Saxon hero, scholar and almost saint.

Leo IV. and Lothair both died in 855, and there was a disputed election for the papacy. Arsenius, Bishop of

Benedict III. (855-858). Horta, making out that such was the emperor's wish, tried to gain the Holy See

for his son Anastasius the Librarian, who had been made Cardinal by Leo IV., but the Roman clergy and people preferred Benedict, and though Anastasius had him seized by the imperial officials, the Romans resisted the intrusion, and Benedict being liber-

ated was duly consecrated, and is known as Benedict III. (855-858). As for Anastasius, he was pardoned for his share in the tumult, and Benedict both admitted him to lay Communion, and gave him, as a layman, the Abbey of St Maria in Trastevere.

The Abbot of St Mark was the first choice of the electors at Benedict's death, but he still refused, and then Nicholas, a prelate who had been often employed by his predecessor in weighty charges, was elected and consecrated as Nicholas I. (858-867). The Emperor Louis came to Rome during the vacancy of the Holy See, but there is no evidence that he interfered. Though Pope for only nine years, Nicholas deservedly shares with Leo I. and Gregory I. alone of the long line of pontiffs, the popular surname of the Great. Inspired with a high ideal, he certainly carried the external dignity and position of St Peter's successor up to a higher stage of development. If, as some think, he was the first pope to be crowned with a crown, that figurative act would well show forth the royal position he took up, as befitting the spiritual head of Christendom. When he went to greet the Emperor Louis at his first halting-place on his way from Rome, some glimpse of how he would be treated appeared when Louis guided the bridle of the Pope's horse to the appointed place of farewell. It was not the modern idea of a sovereign's place, but it was in accord both with the consistent theory and the best practice of the world of the Middle Ages.

But the greatest field of St Nicholas' action and of his combats was the Eastern Church. During his reign, *i.e.*

891, the most influential of the Eastern schisms took place. It was not final, but did more towards finality than any other attempt. **Photius.** (815-891).

This was the schism of Photius; and the man whose name it bears was a more remarkable character than any other schismatic leader before or since. Moreover, his claim to be thought the most learned man of his time is firmly established by his *Bibliotheca*. Photius was Secretary of State when Theodora ruled as Regent, and the young Michael III. was being brought up under the sinister control of his uncle Bardas, who had the title of Patrician. As he was living in adultery, Bardas was refused Communion by the patriarch St Ignatius, and was bent on vengeance.

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When Michael III. grew a little older, Bardas persuaded him that the time was come for him to reign without his mother as Regent, so Theodora was shut up in a monastery of nuns, St Ignatius driven into exile, and Photius intruded into the see (858). Photius at once notified his elevation to Pope Nicholas in the hope of winning him over. But Nicholas was not deceived, and threatened him with excommunication, sending two bishops, Rodoald and Zachary, as legates with his letter. After months of cajolery and ill-treatment these two legates were won over by Photius, and consented to attend a council of three hundred and eighteen bishops in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, where in the presence of the Emperor Michael and many senators, the case of St Ignatius was professedly gone into a second time, though not honestly. Photius falsified the Pope's letters which he read, and St Ignatius was again condemned, though he appealed from the council to the Pope's own decision, which was recognised both by him and the council as final. Photius wrote a very able and deceitful letter to Nicholas, explaining what had been done, and trying by the most artful pleading to gain Nicholas' consent. But as soon as the Pope knew the unfairness of the proceedings and the yielding of his legates, he wrote to the whole East to condemn the council as well as the deposition of Ignatius. Meanwhile Ignatius was subjected to imprisonment, and even to torture, to force him to abdicate, but in vain. He wrote to the Pope by a trusty messenger, giving a fuller account than Nicholas had yet received of what had happened. Thereupon the Pope called a council at Rome (863). The weak legate, Rodoald, was tried for his want of fidelity, and Photius was condemned, his acts as patriarch being annulled. Meanwhile, Michael III. had broken with his uncle Bardas, whom he caused to be killed, and associated with himself in the empire his former equerry, Basil the Macedonian (866). In 867 Photius held a council at Constantinople wherein in the presence of Michael III. the Pope was excommunicated and deposed. More than a thousand signatures were appended to this, but it is known that most of them were forgeries on the part of Photius. That of the emperor, it was hinted, was obtained when he was drunk. But Michael III. had come to the end of his career;

he was assassinated in the same year by Basil the Macedonian, and thus the first part of Photius' history also ended. For Basil exiled Photius and reinstated St Ignatius, and notified this to the Pope; but Nicholas was already dead, having passed away also in 867.

In the West the care of Pope Nicholas was given before anything else to the disgraceful marriage affairs of Lothair II. Though already married to Teutberga, the licentious king was carrying on adulterous intercourse with Waldrada, and wished to repudiate Teutberga altogether, and marry Waldrada. By false representations he induced the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, and a council of bishops, to yield to his wishes, and declare him free to marry again (862). But when it came to dealing with the Pope, it was quite another matter. Nicholas called a synod at Rome, which annulled the decision of the Frankish council, and deposed the two archbishops. However, these latter, instead of submitting, appealed to the emperor, and he, taking up their cause, proceeded to Rome with an army, in order to try and force the Pope's hand. Scenes of violence were enacted in the city, but they did not move the inflexible Pontiff, and then when illness and disaster seemed to be threatening him, the emperor at last came to terms, withdrawing his troops, and sending away the deposed archbishops. Lothair, then, left to himself, and fearing his brothers might unite in depriving him of his kingdom, gave in, sent away Waldrada, and took back Teutberga. He gave her indeed a sorry life, so that she herself was fain to ask the Pope to annul the marriage. But instead of this Nicholas exhorted the king to treat her with more affection, and excommunicated Waldrada and all her abettors. The long dispute went on into Pope Adrian's time. Lothair went to Rome to try and win him over. He received Communion from the Pope's hands at Monte Cassino, protesting his innocence from adultery since the excommunication of Waldrada, and was promised another inquiry and final sentence, but before this was ever pronounced Lothair died of fever at Piacenza (869), and Waldrada and Teutberga both entered convents. The firmness of Nicholas, and of Adrian also, had saved Christendom from weakly yielding to the passion of a licentious monarch.

The greatest ecclesiastic in the Frankish kingdoms in the time of Nicholas was Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims.

Hincmar of Rheims. From 845, when he received the pallium from Leo IV., for nearly forty years he was the paramount influence in Church and State at the centre of West Frank government.

He was a constant and powerful supporter of Charles the Bald, both against Lewis the German, and against Lothair II. But his imperious and masterful character led him into various quarrels with other clergy, notably with Wulfhad, Archbishop of Bourges, and his suffragan, Rothad, Bishop of Soissons. In the latter case the suffragan appealed to Pope Nicholas, and this brought Hincmar into collision with the Holy See. However, in reality he acknowledged the rights and respected the person of the Pope, and Rothad was confirmed in his see by the papal authority. Once again he was in opposition, namely when he refused to admit the commission of Ansegis as Vicar of the Holy See in Gaul and Germany. Still, he ever strove for the good of the Frankish realms, which seemed in a state of decay. It was an invasion of the Northmen which forced him to fly from his see to Epernay, where he died in 882. He was a learned and energetic writer, and his works have been incorporated in the body of the Latin Patrology.

It was granted to St Nicholas to give a great impetus to the Propagation of the Faith among the Bulgarians.

Moravian and Bulgarian Christians.

The Croats seem to have been the earliest Slavs to embrace Christianity. Porga, their king, with many of his people, accepted the Faith in the seventh century. The Slavs of Carinthia were evangelised in the eighth century; and now in the ninth came a much wider development through the evangelisation both of the Moravians and of the Bulgarians. With regard to the latter, some progress had already been made. Greek captives, and notably Manuel, Archbishop of Adrianople, had brought the Faith into their midst at least by the eighth century, but the turning-point was the reign of their king, Boris (852-888), who was baptised either by a Byzantine bishop or by a Roman priest. Photius at any rate sent him a long catechetical instruction, but from some cause or other, not being satisfied with this, Boris sent an embassy to Rome to ask for

missionaries from the Pope, and to bear presents to the Pontiff. Nicholas received them with joy, and sent a reply, or response, to his questions with two bishops, Paul of Populonia and Formosus of Porto, afterwards to be Pope. Boris then sent home the Greek missionaries, and asked the Pope for a Bulgarian archbishop, to which the Pontiff answered by sending him two other bishops to choose from, but recalling Formosus. Eventually the Bulgarian Church fell under the control of Constantinople.

We have seen how it was in 867 that Nicholas the Great passed away. He had raised the prerogatives of his see by acting up to the position always claimed, but not always asserted with, success by the occupants of the See of St Peter. In East and West almost equally he had made his authority felt in a way that could not be mistaken, and though he was opposed at the time, both East and West combine to honour his memory, and common consent has bestowed on him the honourable appellation—Nicholas the Great.

The assassination of Michael the Drunkard had given the throne of New Rome to Basil the Macedonian, who proved an able administrator and founder of a dynasty which lasted longer than any other in that city. But he had come to the throne with an evil record, and by the means of various and multiplied crimes. Morally, he was depraved and sensual. To propitiate the Emperor Michael, whose favour he had won as one of the imperial grooms, he had divorced his wife, and married the emperor's concubine, and then having disposed of his rivals by treachery and murder, deliberately planned and carried out the assassination of his imperial benefactor. However, once seated on the throne, he wielded his power with skill and cautious discrimination. He supported the orthodox patriarch, Ignatius, heaped contumely on the dead Iconoclasts, even going the length of disinterring the remains of Leo V., and kept on good terms with the Pope—sending an embassy to Rome to put the best construction he could on his policy, and to ask that legates might be sent to Constantinople. With this embassy went also envoys from Ignatius and from Photius, though the representative of the last never

**The Macedonian
Dynasty at
Constantinople.
(867-1057).**

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reached the city, for he was shipwrecked on his journey. And when the imperial ambassadors arrived, they found Nicholas dead and Adrian II. reigning in his stead.

As Cardinal of St Mark's, Adrian II. had twice refused the pontifical dignity before; on the death of St Nicholas

Adrian II. he was elected unanimously, and the election having been approved by the emperor, (867-872).

was consecrated in December, 867. He meant to follow in the footsteps of Pope Nicholas, but showed himself somewhat more conciliatory to those in opposition. So was it with Lothair, and so also with Hincmar. The dissolute emperor was allowed to come to Rome to plead for a new hearing of his divorce case with reference to Waldrada, and actually did come in 869, though Formosus, Bishop of Porto, and others strongly opposed any less uncompromising line with the emperor than Nicholas had taken, but in the same year Lothair died, so there was no need to go further into the matter. Charles the Bald and Lewis the German agreed to divide the inheritance of Lothair, leaving little but Italy to the young emperor, Louis II., but the Pope supported the emperor's rights, and refused to recognise the usurpation which his uncles had agreed upon. Hincmar supported the pretensions of Charles the Bald, writing to the Pontiff in a vigorous and hardly respectful tone, and whatever may have been Louis' rights, Charles the Bald seems to have maintained himself in possession of the Western part of the empire. The Emperor Louis came to Rome, where he was crowned by Adrian in 872, and then he went forth to do battle against the Saracens, who were still raiding Calabria, and making all South Italy insecure and desolate.

But by far the most absorbing events of Adrian's reign were those that took place at Constantinople and

Eighth General Council. around it. St Ignatius, the lawful patriarch, was now back again in possession of his see. But Photius was far too powerful and resourceful a man to give up his cause (869).

as hopeless without another struggle. The envoys who had been sent to Pope Nicholas only arrived the year after his death, and they were received by Adrian. They represented Basil, Ignatius and Photius respectively, and narrated what had been done, the expulsion of Photius, the restoration of Ignatius, and

the imperial and also the patriarchal acknowledgment of the papal supremacy. At a synod in St Peter's the letters of Nicholas were read, the false council called by Photius condemned, and the document forged by him publicly burnt. Adrian then sent his legates to Constantinople, the two bishops, Donatus of Ostia and Stephen of Nepi, and the deacon, Marinus. After a weary journey, they were received in state by the emperor, the patriarch and the whole Court with its magnificent paraphernalia. At the request of the Pope, contained in the letters they brought, the emperor summoned a council to meet at Constantinople on the 5th of October. Inasmuch as those prelates who had not signed a renunciation of Photius were not suffered to take part in it, it was made up at first of the three legates, of representatives of the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, the patriarch St Ignatius, and twelve bishops who had been faithful to him, together with the envoys of the emperor. But through the papal confirmation of its acts, this council has been acknowledged as ecumenical, and is known as the

EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL, OF CONSTANTINOPLE (869).

At the first session the legates were asked for the credentials on the strength of which they presided, and they produced them. The Deed of Renunciation of Photius, copied in great part from the formula of Hormisdas, was then read and signed by all. Then at the third session the bishops who had sided with Photius were allowed to take their seats after signature of the Deed of Renunciation. Henceforward the number of fathers increased, till at the tenth session there were one hundred and two bishops, besides the legates and envoys. Photius was anathematised, the false acts of the former councils burnt, Iconoclasm again condemned, and ambassadors from the Bulgarians admitted, who asked for a settlement of the question whether they were under the jurisdiction of the Greeks or the Latins. Bulgaria was adjudged to the Roman Patriarchate, and yet with some inconsistency a Greek archbishop and priests were sent to them by St Ignatius. At the last session were also present envoys from Louis II., notably Anastasius the Librarian. They had come to the East to arrange a marriage between

Louis' daughter and Basil's son, but were allowed to be present at the final session of the Ecumenical Council.

Adrian II. died towards the end of 872, and was succeeded by John VIII., who had long filled the office of

John VIII. Archdeacon of the Roman Church. His election and his subsequent action as Pontiff were opposed by a faction at home,

prominent among whose leaders were Gregory the Primicerius, and Formosus, Bishop of Porto. After the death of the Emperor Louis, who had been favourable to some of these leaders, John asserted his authority uncompromisingly against them. They were summoned for trial before the Pope, but fled, and some were excommunicated, while Formosus had to sign a promise never to return to Rome. This energetic action was but a sample of all Pope John's government. He was in fact a man of determination and of statesman-like diplomacy. The death of the Emperor Louis II. had left the empire vacant, though not unsought for. There were rival claimants in Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, his two uncles (875). John VIII. pronounced in favour of the latter. Charles the Bald for a while got the upper hand, and advancing to Rome was there crowned Emperor by the Pope on Christmas Day, 875. But his rival did not yield so easily to the prestige thus conferred, and when he invaded the Western part of the empire, Charles had to hasten back to oppose him. In the following year Lewis the German died, having already divided his states between his three sons, Carloman, Louis III., and Charles the Fat. And when Charles the Bald marched against them to seize what he could of these dominions, he met a crushing defeat at Andernach, which he never recovered from till his death in the year 877.

Meanwhile another danger threatened Rome and the papal dominions on the part of the Saracens. It seemed

John and his navy. as if Rome itself might fall into their hands again. John VIII. sent messengers to explain the situation, and to ask for help

both from the Western emperor and from the Greeks. But help was slow in coming, and the Pontiff felt there was danger in delay. A fleet was the first necessity, if the infidels were to be effectually kept off. So the Pope took in hand the task of beginning a navy. As soon as his war vessels and Dromons, as they were called, were

ready, John VIII. put to sea with them, and overtook the whole Saracen squadron at Circe. The doughty old Pope gained a complete victory, eighteen of the enemy's vessels being sunk, and hundreds of Christian captives set free. John is rightly held to be the founder of the papal navy, and probably the only Pope to take part in person in a naval engagement.

John VIII. had to decide between rival claimants to the empire, and the first to ask for the imperial dignity was Carloman, son of Lewis the German. He advanced towards Rome to enforce his claim in person, but the Pontiff fled to France, and while there crowned Louis the Stammerer as King of France (878), and he appears to have likewise favoured the claim of Boso, the emperor Louis' son-in-law, to the kingdom of Provence. As to the empire, after a period of hesitation, he seems to have decided in favour of Charles the Fat, who accordingly came to Rome in 881, and was there crowned in state. By the death of his two brothers, and that of the King of France, Charles the Fat came into possession at least for a brief period of practically the whole vast domains of Charlemagne, but the burden was too great for his mediocre abilities, and trouble soon broke out. He was in a constant state of warfare and conflict, until he was formally deposed by the nobles of the empire in 887. Soon after the accession of Charles the Fat, Pope John VIII. came to the end of his troubled career. He was evidently not the effeminate shadow that some historians have pretended, but a man of energy and ability. The times were rough, and the Pontiff was rough with them. Alone he struggled with usurpers, defeated the infidel, and is proved by his correspondence to have wielded a power that reached into all the various quarters of the Christian world. And now while the emperor, Charles the Fat, was endeavouring in vain to retain united the immense possessions of his ancestors, several short-lived popes succeeded one another at Rome. Marinus I. (882-884) was the first of these. As legate of Adrian II. he had presided at the Eighth General Council (870), and it is not surprising that he should have been elected by a unanimous vote, but he was to have only a short reign. No man was better qualified to hold firm against Photius, though in another matter he reversed his predecessor's

**Charles
the Fat.**
(881-887).

action. Formosus, Bishop of Porto, was looked on by John VIII. as one of the leaders of a faction opposed to his authority, and he had sternly exacted from him a promise never to set foot in Rome. From this he was absolved by Marinus, and once more Formosus was in his see and in touch with his neighbours at Rome. Whether he had acted wisely or not, Marinus was not spared to see, for in 884 he died, and was buried in St Peter's. The next Pope, Adrian III. (884-885), is of doubtful origin, probably a Roman. We know little of his deeds. He is said to have had one of the turbulent leaders in Rome blinded, and another whipped through the city, but we have to take these statements for what they are worth, and details are wanting. Stephen (V.) VI. (885-891) seems to have been chosen with enthusiasm by clergy and people, but the emperor was offended that his confirmation of the choice had not been asked. He was appeased when he was shown how unanimous the choice had been. Charles the Fat himself could not boast of equal popularity, and the action of the Diet of Tribur, which deposed him (887), only registered the general opinion of his incompetency and weakness. Still, this was the signal for still greater anarchy, and Stephen could do little to restore order. He crowned Guy of Spoleto as emperor, but *he* was not master even of Italy. In the midst of this confusion of warring and ambitious rivals, Stephen VI. was brought to his grave in 891.

CHAPTER III.

THE IRON AGE.

(887-962).

WITH the deposition (887) and death (888) of Charles the Fat, the Empire of the Carlovingians came to an end. It was not that the lofty ideal which Charlemagne had set before Europe was forgotten, but that for the present it became impossible of even an approach to realisation. And when it could next be seen in the region of fact, it was revived in favour of the Saxon dukes, descendants of Henry the Fowler. Meanwhile, if titles could do anything, there came forward emperors enough and to spare. But they were really Italian princes, powerless and almost unknown outside of the Peninsula. Guy, Duke of Spoleto, was the first of these to claim the empire (891). Then came Lambert, and close after him, Berengarius. Arnulf had a brief span of supremacy (896), and when he died Louis of Provence and Berengarius disputed the title with one another. All these were called emperors, all of them were crowned by popes, but they were as far from being masters of Charlemagne's Christendom as a stage king would be.

Alongside of this break-up of the imperial power we must remark also a descent in public life almost everywhere, from the rough struggles and sometimes noble efforts of the ninth century to a lower level. The Iron Age begins now. It is sometimes identified with the tenth century, but in reality embraces a period of about one hundred and sixty years, from the deposition of Charles the Fat to the accession of Pope St Leo IX. It was not that heresy or schism was rampant. The Faith was accepted, and East and West kept some semblance of union. But East and West, nay North and South as well, were covered with a cloud of ignorance, barbarism and corruption which almost seemed to envelop everything. The

noble exceptions were few. And out of the darkness we have to make out what we are able of the persons or things that appear by the aid of the few and by no means unimpeachable historians who lived in the period.

The general barbarism and violence of the age told very disastrously on the position of the Holy See, and on the character of its occupants. Never was there a time when its subjection to the secular powers around it was so oppressive,

Papacy in bondage.

and so never has there been a time when so many unworthy pontiffs have made their way to Peter's chair. It was as if Divine Providence would furnish an object lesson of what the consequences would be if the Pope were anything but free, sovereign and independent. The

Formosus.

two things seem inseparably interlocked. Formosus (891-896), the first Pope to be

chosen after the death of Charles the Fat, held the papacy for five years. As we have already seen, he was already Bishop of Porto, and so had not to be consecrated, and the election was unopposed. Charges have been levelled in abundance against the conduct and morals of Formosus, but there is nothing very sure or definite in them, except the blame attached to him for being transferred from the See of Porto to that of Rome. But, granted that at that time such translation was regarded as uncanonical, it might still perhaps be justified by grave necessity. And at all events the rule in question had none of the inflexible and everlasting character of a great Catholic principle. If it had been adhered to all through the centuries it would have deprived the Holy See of many of its brightest ornaments, saints, sages, and men of genius, who in lesser episcopal charges had proved the qualities that afterwards enabled them to rule worthily in the See of Peter. Boniface VI. (896) was carried off by gout after fifteen days, and a good deal of doubt is thrown both on the validity of his election and on the deservedness of the black mark affixed to his memory by the council at Rome which pronounced him not to have been a canonical pope. The council declares that he had

Stephen VII.

already been ejected from the priesthood (896-897).

as unworthy. Stephen (VI.) VII. survived long enough to witness the turn of the year, and that was all. He, like Formosus, was a Bishop already, having

held the See of Anagni, and he it was who disgraced himself by his conduct towards his deceased predecessor, whose case was so like his own, except that he was in favour with the opposite faction. In fact, Lambert, mentioned above as one of the titular emperors of the period, was in Rome at the time with his mother, and he may have to share some of the responsibility for the act of impotent vengeance. But, either at his instigation, or without it, in either case in a spirit of barbaric cruelty, Stephen called a synod in Rome in 897, and had the body of Formosus disinterred and carried before the assembled clergy. Robed as Pontiff, the corpse was seated in the midst and a deacon appointed to defend him, and then the mock trial proceeded. At the end Formosus was condemned, and all his ordinations pronounced null and void. Then the body was roughly stripped of the pontifical robes, two fingers of the right hand chopped off, and then he was buried in the strangers' burying place. After this, proceeding to carry out the decrees of the synod, Stephen made all the prelates consecrated by Formosus sign a resignation of their offices. Apparently for a while the opposing faction got the upper hand, for Stephen was seized before 897 came to an end, chained, imprisoned and then strangled, thus putting a swift end to his turbulent career.

Romanus (897) and Theodore II. (897) both flit across the stage of history as popes before another year began, and the only thing we can record of them is that Theodore had the body of Formosus **Passing shadows.** again buried, this time with solemn rites, and in St Peter's basilica. John IX. (898-900) was the next Pope, though the date both of his election and of death is subject of controversy. The election was not unanimous, for the friends of Sergius, who afterwards became a lawful pope, chose him in opposition to John. However, at this time Sergius and his friends were excommunicated and driven from Rome, and John duly acknowledged. John held several synods at Rome which were mainly occupied with restoring the good name of Formosus, and with trying to remedy the prevailing disorders. The reigning emperor, Lambert, was killed while hunting, and this gave occasion to a violent contest for the crown of Italy between Louis of Provence and Berengarius. In the midst of this turmoil Pope

John died. Benedict IV. (900-903) crowned Louis of Provence as emperor in 901, but the tide of fortune turned, and this prince fell into the hands of his rival Berengarius, who put out his eyes and banished him from Italy. Leo V. (903) and also Christopher (903-904) now appear in the Papal Catalogues. Christopher is supposed to have deposed Leo and imprisoned him, but as his title is more than doubtful it is most likely that Christopher should be regarded as an antipope. Sergius III., who had been made bishop by Formosus, perhaps in order to keep him at a distance from Rome, now, after being put in opposition to John IX. in 898, appears as the **Sergius III.** legitimate Pontiff. He was an opponent of (904-911). Formosus and his friends, and at a synod

in Rome once more rejected the ordinations and nominees of Formosus, and thereby lighted anew the flame of controversy over his memory. And in the discussions which ensued, the power of deposition, the power to nullify the proceedings of a former pope, the validity of those proceedings, were all in turn the subject of heated contention. Sergius seems to have been a man of determined character, but he was a party man, and hence unable to reunite all in the bonds of peace. He was Pope for seven years (904-911), and rebuilt the Lateran Basilica which had fallen into ruin in the days of Stephen VI. It was in his time that the great power wielded by the house of Theophylact in Rome took its first rise. Theophylact was an official who attained the dignity of Senator of Rome, and married Theodora. And this woman by her masterful character gained an ascendancy in Rome which was perpetuated in her family for long years to come. She had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora II., and these followed in their mother's footsteps. It was fully sixty years before Rome and the popes could shake off the tyranny and humiliating dependence which this powerful family inflicted upon both alike. Sergius died in 911 after a life of varied vicissitudes. An uncanonical election, and then an exile from Rome which lasted seven years, and then seven years of possession of the Holy See undisputed, but hampered by temporal constraint, leaves him with a reputation doubtfully clear, and doubtfully assailed, but at any rate a troubled and unenviable career.

Of his two successors, Anastasius III. (911-913), and

then Lando for some six months of the year (913-914), nothing is known. The pious chronicler Frodoard says they were good popes, and the sharp tongue of the hostile Liutprand has nothing to say against them, and at that we must leave it. But when we come to **John X.** (914-928) we approach more debatable ground. In his case we are in the midst of accusations and serious charges, albeit made by far from unbiassed writers. He no doubt owed his elevation to the influence of Theodora and her family. He had been Archbishop of Ravenna, and his translation from that see to Rome at the bidding of a noble family would be quite enough to explain the epithet of intruder given him by more than one writer of the time. No sooner was he Pope than he was called upon to face the ever-advancing arms of the victorious Saracens. Calling for aid both from the Byzantine empire and from Berengarius, and gathering the troops of Count Alberic, Marozia's first husband, John took the field in person against the infidel, and at the battle of the Gargigliano inflicted on them a signal defeat (915). It was as the counterpart of this victory, and some sort of a reward for his part in securing it, that Berengarius was crowned in Rome by the Pope later on in the same year, when he confirmed all former grants to the Apostolic See. But he found even the small share of the empire remaining in his power more than he could defend. A party opposed to him called into Italy the Duke of Burgundy, and in the warfare which followed Berengarius steadily lost ground, until he was assassinated in 924. In 925 Alberic I. died, and Marozia, his widow, married Guy of Tuscany. This meant a break between Marozia and John. There were several years of conflict and confusion, but in 928 Guy forced his way into the Lateran Palace, slew the Pope's brother, and having seized the Pontiff, threw him into prison, where he died that year or the next. Some think he was smothered in prison, but it is at least as likely that he died a natural death. Leo VI. (928) and Stephen VII. or VIII. (929-930) are little more than names. "They lived in peace, and were buried in St Peter's" is all that is recorded of either of them. There is only the one captious charge made against Stephen by a Greek writer, that he was the first pope who was "shameless"

enough to shave himself, and to order the clergy to do likewise.

John XI. came to the pontifical throne in 931. On the word of Liutprand and the *Liber Pontificalis*, he was held by older authority to be the son of **John XI.** Sergius III. and Marozia, but later investigation (931-935). has made more recent historians doubtful about this. He was the son of Marozia, but he is simply called by Frodoard the brother of Alberic II., hence it seems quite probable that he was the son of Alberic I. and Marozia. At all events Marozia possessed sufficient power in Rome in 931 to secure the election of her son, and John XI. assumed the pontifical office, being still a young man of perhaps five-and-twenty. Marozia now married a third time, and her new husband was her brother-in-law, Hugh, Count of Provence, who was invited to Rome to strengthen still further Marozia's power. However, her son Alberic, being insulted by the new bridegroom of his mother, headed a rising against them both, which was so far successful that both Marozia and Pope John were incarcerated, while Hugh had to flee from the city. Hugh tried twice to seize Rome, laying siege to it in 933, and again in 936, but in vain. The power of Alberic was firmly established. As for the unfortunate puppet of a pope, his reign which he began as the nominee and tool of his mother, he ended as the captive of his brother, whose rule developed into a veritable tyranny both against the Pontiff and against the Roman people. The death of John XI. is assigned to the end of 935.

Alberic II. was still lord supreme over Rome, and his will seems to have been law in the papal election. Leo VII., a Roman and probably a monk, was chosen in January, 936, and is described by Frodoard as a gentle and peace-loving man, whose whole mind was set on spiritual things. Hugh of Provence lay encamped with his army before the walls, and Alberic held the city within. In order to make peace between them Leo's hopes were centred on **St Odo of** (878-942), the holy reforming Abbot of Cluny, whom he knew to be acceptable to the Burgundian prince. So St Odo was sent for to Rome, and then as the Pope's envoy, sought out Hugh in his camp. He had to pass backwards and forwards

more than once between the rivals before his mission was crowned with success. But at last a matrimonial alliance between Alberic and Hugh's daughter led the latter to agree to peace. The siege of Rome was raised, and Odo of Cluny could go back to his work of monastic reform. Leo gave him a letter to Frederic, Archbishop of Mayence, appointing him his vicar for a like reform in Germany, but he was a Pontiff who had little connection with the political movements of his day, and has left little enough mark on history. In July, 939, he died.

Stephen (VIII.) IX., who next filled the papal chair, is asserted by one chronicler to have been a German, but earlier writers say that he was a Roman cleric attached to the Church of San **Stephen IX.** (939-904).

Martino. It is conjectured that he was put forward by the party of Hugh of Provence, and was disliked by Alberic's partisans. Hugh again laid siege to Rome and a plot was concocted against Alberic, but it was discovered and Alberic, triumphant, seized the person of the Pope, kept him in dependence, and it may be cut off his nose. Thus he remained a virtual prisoner till his death in 942. This time Marinus II. (942-946), a nominee in all probability of Alberic, was raised to the Pontificate, but there is little recorded of him that is reliable. There is a coin of his time extant bearing his name on the one side and that of "Alberic, Prince of Rome," on the other. It seems to illustrate the dependent position of the Holy See in those dark days. Neither is there any biography of Agapetus II. (946-955), though his reign extended to nearly ten years, and important events happened while he was Pope. Berengarius of Ivrea, grandson of the Berengarius who was nominally emperor from 896, assailed the power of Hugh of Provence, who had now been king in Italy for some years, and Hugh abdicated in favour of his son Lothair. But he could hand over little beyond the empty title of king. The arms of Berengarius were so successful that the real domination, at least in the north of Italy, fell into his hands, and as soon as Lothair was dead, he attempted to marry his son Adalbert to the widow Adelaide. She, however, would not agree to this, and when on her refusal she was shut up in the castle of Canossa, she managed to escape, sending messengers to stir up enemies to Berengarius at Rome and elsewhere. Pope

Agapetus seems to have taken up her cause, and invited Otho, king of Germany, son of Henry the Fowler, to come to Italy and make order among the contending factions. Otho seems to have gladly accepted this invitation, and collecting a powerful army, marched down into the Peninsula, routed the troops of Berengarius, and then having rescued Adelaide, himself married her at

Otho I. in Italy.
(951).

Pavia, thus accomplishing with dramatic suddenness a transformation in the political outlook of Italian affairs. However, he could come no further at the time, as a new outbreak of disturbance in Germany made his return there a necessity. But he dispatched envoys to the Pope, the Bishops of Mayence and Coire. Fearing their coming might be prejudicial to his authority, Alberic refused to admit them into the city, and managed to keep the chief power until his death, which happened in 954. But when he felt that his last hour was coming near, he gathered the Roman clergy around him, and exacted from them a solemn oath on St Peter's tomb, that at the death of Agapetus they would choose for Pope Alberic's own son, the youthful Octavian. It was December, 955, before Agapetus died, but then the promise was kept.

The low level both of knowledge and morality which we have to record as prevailing at Rome in this time of subjection and degradation of the Holy See was only a counterpart of what prevailed almost everywhere in Western Christendom. To take England as an example, though Alfred the Great had maintained on the whole a successful struggle against the Danes, after his death the inroads were renewed. And both clergy and laity seem to have fallen to a low level of Christian life. There was need of a great reformer, and such a one appeared. No Churchman ever wielded power in England for such a long period as St Dunstan, and very few ever

St Dunstan.
(900-988).

held such sway, even for a brief period. No wonder that the place he fills in the thoughts and affections of his countrymen is such a great one. In fact, whatever brightness there is in the religious history of England in the tenth century centres in him and his friends. Born at Glastonbury early in the century he grew up there, and studied under the Irish monks who saved the old sanctuary from complete decay. But he did not become a monk till much

later, having before this appeared at the Court of King Athelstan, and having been made heir to her fortune by the Lady Edith, the king's niece, who died while Dunstan was still a secular. But he became a monk at Winchester, and then devoted himself to the restoration of the former glories of Glastonbury, of which house he was made Abbot by Edmund the Elder in 944. In 946 he had to reside at Court and become Royal Treasurer, but he remained Abbot of Glaston, till at last he was made Bishop of Worcester in 957, and Bishop of London in the following year, holding the two sees together. In 960 he succeeded St Odo as Archbishop of Canterbury, and for eighteen years was virtual ruler of the kingdom until the coronation of Ethelred the Redeless in 978. He then retired to Canterbury, where he spent the last ten years of his life, in prayer, in study, and in teaching the young. In 988, in extreme old age, he died and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAXON EMPERORS AND THE CHURCH.

(962-1003).

THE intervention of the civil power has so often been to the detriment and degradation of the Church that one is surprised to find it operating for good. **Revival of the empire.** The scandals indicated in the last chapter were no doubt chiefly the result of a miserable state of bondage to chieftains and princes. Yet the first ray of hope, and the first outward impetus towards better things, came from the strong and in normal times intolerable action of the emperors. Never before or since has the imperial power been so mighty in Church matters. Even greater claims were put forward in theory by the Hohenstaufen emperors and likewise by modern princes, but for real, steady, unchallenged sway, none of these will bear comparison with the Othos in the tenth century.

But it was not all at once that they sprang to the summit of their power. The dignity of king of Germany passed from the Carlovingian line, who were Franks, to the Saxon Duke, Henry the Fowler, on the death of the Franconian Conrad in 918; and more strictly speaking, passed away from Charlemagne's descendants at the death of Louis the Child in 911. Henry the Fowler ruled Germany with valour and wisdom for eighteen years, and never really interfered in the affairs of the papacy or in those of Italy. It was his son, Otho I., chosen king at his father's death in 936, who established the sway of his house, not only as German kings, but as Roman emperors as well. Otho has been called the Great, and considering his achievements both in Germany and Italy we need not quarrel with the title. He was certainly an exceptional monarch for an exceptional state of things, and his overwhelming influence seems generally

to have been used on the right side. It was, as we have already seen, not till 962 that he was crowned emperor. The intervening period from his accession was filled up with the development of his plans in Germany, to make the empire hereditary and supreme. After disarming his enemies, some in the field and others by diplomacy, Otho moved against the aggressive Magyars, who were totally defeated by him in 955, and compelled to settle down within definite bounds outside the empire. But the constitution that Otho aimed at included a very close alliance between Church and State, and though he did not deny the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, he meant him to be an integral function of his world-wide empire, and claimed a voice in his selection. And the abasement of the papacy at that time was so deep that it furthered to the utmost the pushing of the emperor's claims. Alberic, the tyrant of Rome, had had his son Octavian elected Pope in 955 under the title of John XII., and John seems to have led a worldly and unworthy life. However, he was assailed by Berengarius, king of Italy, and not being able to resist him, summoned Otho to his aid. This invitation was so welcome to the German sovereign that, after having his infant son crowned as his associate in the kingdom, he passed into Italy and reached Rome in 962. There he and his wife Adelaide were solemnly crowned by Pope John in St Peter's, when the so-called Ottonian Privilege was conferred on the Holy See. But the agreement did not last long, for when Otho proceeded to war on Berengarius, he found that John had entered into negotiations with him. Condemning this as treachery, Otho all the same pushed on the war, but as evidence came before him of the extent of John's hostility and of the immoral life he was leading, he doubled back to Rome, and after a first feeble show of resistance by the Pope, became master of the city. A council was thereupon called, and John deposed. Otho now placed a layman, Leo VIII., on the pontifical throne, and John fled; and though both the deposition and nomination were clearly illegal, he seems to have flattered himself that his will would prevail. But no sooner had the emperor left Rome, when the people rose, sent Leo in headlong flight after his imperial master, and the unworthy John was able to return in triumph. He took vengeance on his enemies by death and mutilation,

and resumed his career of sin and pleasure for some time, but he was struck down by apoplexy in 964, and died quite suddenly. The Romans, without waiting for Otho, elected the Cardinal Deacon Benedict, had him consecrated, and then sent word to the emperor. Filled with anger at a proceeding which went directly against all his theories and plans, Otho laid siege to Rome. The fight was not of long duration, and the city was then at his mercy. Benedict was apprehended and charged with schism. Frightened at the prospect, he acknowledged himself an intruder, and was degraded publicly before the council. Having restored Leo and exacted from the Romans an oath of fealty both to himself and to Leo VIII., the emperor left Rome, taking the deposed Pontiff in his train to Germany. Benedict died in the following year at Hamburg (965).

Leo VIII. having died about the same time, an embassy was sent to the emperor asking him to nominate anyone he wished to the papacy. Otho's choice fell on John, Bishop of Narni, and he was crowned as John XIII. (Oct. 1, 965). He was of the house of Theophylact, but it is not easy to determine his exact position in it. The emperor's influence was too distant to ensure him peaceful possession of his see. He was promptly chased into exile, and it was only when Otho came into Italy with a mighty army in 966 and made his way to Rome, that John was able to re-enter the city. Otho and John combined to take a bloody vengeance on the malcontents, and the city prefect was tortured and insulted. The Romans shrank down, as so often before, into submission to the masterful Saxon. Synods were now held by Pope and emperor together. Otho II. was solemnly crowned (967) as his father's partner, and further privileges granted to Magdeburg. It was made a metropolitan see, and was destined by Otho to be the centre of the new organisation he was planning for the empire.

The elder Otho now set himself to negotiate a matrimonial alliance with the Eastern Empire for his son Otho II. The bride was to be Theophania, the beautiful daughter of the Emperor Nicephorus and of Theophano; and the Pope was employed as the negotiator. However, the letter was ill-calculated to please the proud, and for the time successful, warrior then enthroned at Constantinople. Nicephorus was in it called Emperor of the Greeks,

and Otho Emperor of the Romans. This was dead against the Eastern theory, according to which Nicephorus was the only true and universal Augustus of the Roman Empire, and Otho merely a barbarian. Liutprand, the envoy, was sharply upbraided for this, and a scornful answer returned. And then, to add deeds to words, the ascendancy of the Greek Church in Apulia and Calabria was promoted, Otranto was made a metropolis, and all the surrounding dioceses adjudged to the patriarch of Constantinople. Negotiations being broken off, Otho again appealed to the sword, but the war in South Italy was waged with only doubtful success. Still, in 969 the valiant soldier Nicephorus was wickedly assassinated by his nephew, John Zimiskes, with the connivance of the Empress Theophano. The usurper was only too glad to be rid of both Theophano and Theophania, so the marriage with Otho was arranged, and in 972 both Otho and Theophania were crowned and then married in St Peter's by John XIII. The two Othos then returned together to Germany, and shortly after this John XIII.

Otho II.
(973-983).

died. Otho himself died in 973. His bones were laid in his loved cathedral of Magdeburg. Before this he is supposed to have approved of the selection of the Cardinal of St Theodore who became Benedict VI. (972-974). But what he had approved of he was unable to see through, and his death seemed to the Crescentius faction an opportunity for asserting themselves. They seized the Pope, and though as soon as it was known the emperor sent an envoy to demand his release, had him strangled in the castle of St Angelo through the deacon Boniface and a priest Stephen. However, acting as soon as possible on the imperial instructions, Sicco, the envoy, gained possession of St Angelo, the Pope's murderers fled, and Sicco obtained the selection of Otho's nominee, the Bishop of Sutri, who became Benedict VII. (974-983). Benedict kept the see for six years without the emperor's aid, but in 980 his enemies proving too strong for him, he called on Otho, and the latter came into Italy

Otho II.
in Italy.
(980).

with great pomp, accompanied by Theophania, her young son Otho, the old Empress Adelaide, Hugh Capet, Gerbert, and an army. In 981 Otho kept Easter in Rome, and made a prolonged stay in the city. This meant that he planned being not merely king of Germany with the honorary title

of Emperor of the Romans, but Emperor of Rome in very fact. So having arranged some German affairs with the Pope, the emperor engaged in the war with the Greeks in the city with all his strength; but he had to deal with Saracens and Greeks at once, and he was surprised and defeated by the former with great slaughter. Though he tenaciously clung to the war, he had to return to Rome for pressing affairs, and while there, the Pope having died, he nominated the imperial chancellor, Peter, Bishop of Pavia, to succeed him as John XIV. (983-984); then he himself succumbed to an attack of dysentery, and is buried in St Peter's. He is the only Roman emperor to find a resting-place there (983).

But now again, as before, the death of the emperor gave the malcontents their chance. John XIV. was seized by the faction of Boniface, the murderer of Benedict VI., and shut up in Sant Otho III. Angelo; there, after four months, he died (983-1002). or was murdered. Boniface now usurped the pontifical chair, and though his claim to be held lawful Pope is more than doubtful, his name is seen in lists of the pontiffs. Within a year he was carried off, possibly by poison, and those around him showed their hatred of him by flaying his dead body, and leaving it naked before the Lateran, till out of pity some of the clergy buried it. John XV. (985-996) was the next Pope, and he is thought to have owed his election to the faction of Crescentius, though in the end they were hostile to him, and he had to lean on the protection of the emperor. Crescentius Numentanus seems to have aimed at ruling Rome in the early years of his Pontificate, but when the Empress Theophania, who was governing the Western Empire for her infant son, Otho III., while her brothers were ruling the East, came to Rome in 989, he made no show of resistance, and was all submission to the imperial power. But Theophania died in 991, and Otho was still a child, so that once more Crescentius was able to tyrannise over Rome and the Pope. At last John was driven to ask the young emperor to come, and in 996 he really came, but the Pope was already dead. Envoys met Otho at Ravenna, letting him know of John XV.'s death, and asking him whom he wished them to elect as his successor. The young king named his kinsman and chaplain, Bruno, who was only twenty-five, but who was well

educated, handsome and noble, though somewhat hot and hasty in character. All were satisfied with Otho's choice, and thus the first German to become Pope was duly elected and consecrated, and being followed to Rome by Otho, crowned him Emperor at the age of fifteen with solemn pomp.

Gregory V., on account of his character and his influence with the emperor, inspired the highest hopes. Crescentius, being cited before Pope and **Gregory V.** emperor to answer for his conduct was (996-999). pardoned, and it was at Gregory's intercession. Notwithstanding this, no sooner had Otho left Rome when the incorrigible noble was once more in rebellion, and Gregory was quite unable to cope with him. In fact he does not seem to have taken any of the strong measures needed to curb the power of such as he. But he implored the emperor to return, and then finding that for the moment this was impossible, fled from Rome (997). At Pavia Gregory held a synod, where the troubles at Rome were discussed, as well as the scandal caused in the French Church by King Robert I. Immediately after the death of his father, Hugh Capet, this prince had married his second cousin, Bertha, having already to his shame been privy to the murder of her former husband. So, at the synod King Robert was summoned to repentance, and threatened with excommunication in case he neglected the call. And though he probably resisted for some time, at last he submitted and put away Bertha. He found a new spouse in Constance.

About the same time Arnulf, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been imprisoned by King Robert, was restored to his see, and his rival in it, Gerbert, provided for through the influence of the emperor, by translation to the metropolitan see of Ravenna.

Meanwhile Crescentius, in full possession of Rome, had intruded the Greek, John Philagathus, into the papal chair under the name of John XVI. But **Two noble** at last Otho, full of indignation at the **kinsmen.** expulsion of his kinsman Gregory, was free to come to Rome in person (998). His powerful army soon beat down all opposition, and before long both Crescentius and John Philagathus were prisoners in his power. The antipope was blinded, and his nose and ears cut off, and then having been solemnly degraded, he was

driven through the city with his face to the tail of his steed, and finally shut up in prison. As for Crescentius, who defended the castle of St Angelo with desperate valour, when the place was stormed, he was beheaded, and his body cast into the moat. Otho and Gregory were masters now. St Nilus had pleaded for the anti-pope, and pleaded in vain. Otho and Gregory were united on that point as on nearly every other. The romantic emperor had not only his father's wish to be really and in fact emperor of Rome, but he introduced the old ceremonies and customs of antiquity as they once flourished among a different race from his, not only those of Rome, but in some cases those in use at Byzantium. He dreamed of a revival of those ancient days, so little suited to the German nobles and soldiers on whose prowess his power rested. Otho loved Rome, and made it his residence for a considerable part of his reign. But, though it was eminently suited for a centre from which to share the government of the Church with his beloved kinsman Gregory, it was not suited to be the capital of a Teutonic empire. Otho left the city again in 998 to try and strengthen his position in the South of Italy, and did not return until the following year (999). But in the interval the news was brought to him that Gregory V. was dead (February, 999). Some think that he was killed by his enemies, but in reality it is quite uncertain how he met his death. Otho before long returned to Rome from Gaeta, where he had been in converse with the holy Abbot St Nilus; and now, as before, his influence was all-powerful in the papal election. Gregory was dead, but the former master of the emperor's studies was still alive, and high in his pupil's esteem. This was Gerbert, at that time Archbishop of Ravenna; and raised to the Apostolic See, Gerbert took the name Sylvester II., hinting thus at the revival of the supposed close union between Sylvester I. and the Emperor Constantine.

It has happened a certain number of times in history that the very greatest man of his age has been chosen to fill the supreme office, though not perhaps so often as might at first be thought likely.

Sylvester II. (999-1003). But at all events it did happen when Gerbert was designated by Otho III. to fill the place of Gregory V., who had gone all untimely to his grave.

Gerbert had already filled successively the sees of Rheims and Ravenna; so that in jest he said: "Rheims, Ravenna, Rome: I always mount with the letter R." But this mild pleasantry gives no idea of his versatility and universal genius. In all the dark ages we do not meet another man of such all-round culture. He is thought to have been born in 940 at Aurillac in Auvergne, where he became a Benedictine monk. After going to Spain for his higher studies, he went to Rome in the train of the duke of the Spanish march. He was retained at Rome by John XIII., and then after an interval sent to the Court of Otho I. It is likely he was meant to be a teacher there, but Gerbert did not consider himself then equipped for that office, and got leave to place himself under Archbishop Geramnus at Rheims. And he was at Rheims for several years, teaching and winning a great name for learning, till in 983 Otho II. got him appointed Abbot of Bobbio. He was a great collector of books, and besides this, like Bede and Roger Bacon, devoted much labour to physical and mechanical research. He was ever devoted to his friends, though he made many enemies also. Otho III. and a host of distinguished men were proud of calling themselves his pupils. Made Archbishop of Rheims in 991, he had to sail in stormy weather, for although supported by Robert the Pious, he was opposed by a rival archbishop named Arnulf, and got into the bad graces of the Pope. He left Rheims and went to the Court of Otho III. There he resided till he was translated in 998 to Ravenna; and now as suprême Pontiff the storm was to buffet him again. The times were very full of evil, and there were apprehensions of worse. There were many who looked forward to the year 1000 as the epoch of the final catastrophe which was to bring this world to an end, and a remarkable paralysis of energy and effort was the consequence. It is true that the joint government of Church and Empire which was begun by Gregory V. and Otho was not loosened when Sylvester became Pope, but maintained on the same footing. It was a closer union of Church and State than had been planned either by Constantine or Charlemagne, but it was destined to be of but short duration. The death of his aunt Mathilda and his grandmother Adelaide coming close on that of Gregory V., made Otho decide on a journey to Germany. He left

the city of Rome in full state, and made a progress through his dominions, trying to arrange whatever had fallen into confusion. His first visit was to the Court of Boleslaus, the Duke of Poland, to whose country his grandfather had sent Christian missionaries. Boleslaus showed him the relics of St Adalbert, the martyred Apostle of Prussia, which he had ransomed from the pagans.

In the year 1000 Otho III. came to Rome once more, this time bringing with him Henry, the holy Duke of Bavaria, who was to succeed him as the Emperor Henry II. To his surprise and disappointment, for he had favoured the Romans rather than the Germans, Otho was attacked in a fierce rebellion of the former, and besieged in Rome itself. The guards with him made a valiant resistance, but eventually both Pope and emperor held it more prudent to escape from the city, and the next two years were spent in desultory fighting with the turbulent nobles and in the storming of their cities. But Otho's dreams of making Rome his centre and home were broken, and he did not survive beyond the year 1002. Then at the headquarters of his army at Paterno, at the foot of Mount Soracte, the youthful Cæsar breathed his last at the age of twenty-two. His faithful guards took up his body and began a funeral march to Germany. As they proceeded they were attacked on the one side and the other, but their valour enabled them ever to come off victorious. So, northward they went over the Alps and across the plains of Germany, until they laid the bones of their young sovereign to rest in the Cathedral of Aachen, near his great predecessor, Charlemagne. Sylvester seems to have regained possession of his see in the course of the same year, and to have maintained himself in it till he died. For the most part absorbed in the administration of his pastoral charge, yet able to turn from time to time to console himself in his beloved studies, Sylvester met his death in May, 1003, after a reign of less than five years, and was buried under the portico of St John Lateran. With all his genius and high ideas, the reign of Sylvester can hardly be considered any beginning of a permanent reform. Those years so few and so troubled were only lighted for a moment by his grandeur as by a flash among the clouds.

CHAPTER V.

THE HOLY SEE UNDER TUSCULAN DOMINATION.

(1003-1048).

THE death of Sylvester II. and of Otho III. at almost the same time occasioned one of those epochs of lessened activity and lack of interest which often form the interval between the acts of the historical drama. It is true that the majority of the German nobles combined to elect Henry, Duke of Bavaria, to the German throne, but the opposition of the minority to this election, and troubles on the borders of the Fatherland, fully occupied the new ruler. So it came to pass in Italy that the imperial power at once vanished at Otho's death, and an opportunity was given for the rise of the House of Tusculum. At first, indeed, the patrician Crescentius seems to have been all-powerful at Rome, and three popes, of whom we know but little, followed one another while he held sway. John Sicco, known as John XVII. (1003) only survived for about six months, and John Phasanus (or Cock), otherwise John XVIII. (1004-1009), lived as Pontiff for some five years, which were years singularly barren of historical events. Both these popes would seem to have been of Crescentius' party. Sergius IV. (1009-1012) is remembered as being prompt to change his name on accession. Peter Os Porci (Pig's Snout) may be forgiven for wishing to go down to history under some other appellation. It was in his reign that Crescentius the patrician met his fate at the hands of Fulk the Black, Count of Anjou. This fierce warrior had been called in by Sergius, as he went home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to deliver him from the overweening arrogance of Crescentius. So calling him to the window of his castle for a parley, Fulk had chosen bowmen behind him, and when Crescentius showed himself, these aimed

Rise of the
House of
Tusculum.

so well that the patrician fell pierced with their bolts. The same year (1012) removed from this mortal scene both Crescentius and the Pope Sergius IV. and the stage was clear for the Tusculan Domination.

The family of Theophylactus, with its strange Byzantine surname, only appears now as that of the Counts of Tusculum, but it had already played a large part in history. Gregory, Count of Tusculum, was the brother of Pope John XII., and was descended from Marozia, daughter of Theophylactus, founder of the house. Gregory's three sons, Alberic, Theophylactus and Romanus, shared the power at the death of Sergius IV. Theophylactus became Pope as Benedict VIII. (1012-1024), and was succeeded by Romanus as John XIX. (1024-1032), and then the eldest brother Alberic, who had meantime dominated Rome as a patrician, had his turn, not in his own person, but in that of his son, who became Benedict IX. (1032-1048). There are few authentic details of the reign of Benedict VIII., who is said by some to have been a layman, but at any rate proved to be a strong ruler. Casting aside the anti-imperial traditions of his family, he clave to the cause of the emperor, whereas the Gregory, who as antipope opposed the government, opposed the Germans also. Henry II., though at first unsuccessful in his intervention in Italian affairs, came as far as Pavia in 1004, when he received the Iron Crown of Lombardy, but difficulties there, and other difficulties in Germany, then made him retrace his steps to the North, promising, however, a speedy return. As a matter of fact, it was 1014 before he could again turn to the South and make his way to Rome. There he was received in state, and with his consort, Saint Cunigunda, crowned in St Peter's. But he did not remain for long; neither the climate nor the ways of the inhabitants suited him; and as soon as his back was turned hostilities broke out again effecting the Pope and a great part of Italy. The Lombard duke, Ardoïn, and other members of the opposing faction took to arms. Eventually the arrival of the German troops and the death of Ardoïn were followed by a few years of tranquillity both at Rome and in the rest of Italy. The family of Crescentius were ousted from their stronghold, and restitution of it made to its rightful owners.

Before long there was trouble with the Saracens in Southern Italy; they had seized on Cosenza in one of their raids, and from there passed north to Pisa, which they burned. Pope Benedict VIII. having collected a fleet, faced the infidels in person, and inflicted on them a signal defeat. All were put to the sword, and the triumphant Pontiff sent a part of the booty to the emperor. But already other claimants for dominion were appearing in South Italy, namely the Normans. Their first maritime raids in the Mediterranean go back to the ninth century, but since that time they had accepted Christianity, and this turned their inborn spirit of adventure into new channels. They would now go seek the Holy Land, and visit the memorials of the Lord in Jerusalem. But on their way they repeatedly touched the Italian shores, and as they got to know more about that sunny garden of Europe, they passed on the word to greater numbers of their countrymen. Pope Benedict, who wished to keep free from both the Saracen raiders and Byzantine armies of reconquest, had two hundred and fifty stalwart Normans in his service in 1017. But at that moment a capable Greek general, Basilaus Bugianus, had been dispatched to strengthen the hold which Constantinople still kept over a great part of Southern Italy. And when Benedict flung his Normans, together with whatever other troops he could collect, against them, they proved too strong for him, and most of the Normans were slain. So the Greeks were able to push on their schemes, and the Saracens remained for the most part unsubdued. There was no defence save the power of the emperor. In 1020 Pope Benedict went to Germany, having been invited by St Henry to consecrate the church he had built at Bamberg, his favourite see. He was received with the greatest pomp, the sound of music, solemn religious festivities and a state banquet. He did not fail to utilise the occasion to ask for help against his enemies in Italy. And St Henry, realising the gravity of the situation both for Church and State, decided to engage in war against the Greeks, and if possible crush their power in the West. Benedict, nevertheless, did not await the emperor's time for setting out, but returned to Rome, enriched as he was with the imperial grant of the Abbey of Fulda and other posses-

**The
Normans in
Italy.**
(999).

sions. Henry, on his part, started for Italy in the following year (1021) at the head of a powerful army. Everything gave way before his advance, and, at least in his presence, opposition was at an end. But after a while a more formidable adversary appeared than either Greek or Saracen—the burning Italian summer. And Henry and his men fell sick. Consequently, it was not so long before a retreat was made to the cooler lands in the North. At Pavia a halt was made, and a synod called to deal with various matters of reform. Both Pope and emperor assisted at this (1022), and decrees were drawn which St Henry inserted in the Code of the Laws of the Empire. The law of clerical celibacy was insisted on, and the disobedience of those who had taken wives was denounced. The emperor then returned to Germany, but in the following year, having gone to meet Robert the Pious, King of France, at Mouzon, it was agreed between them that they would both meet the Pope at Pavia, and there legislate with one accord for the peace of Christendom and the reform of abuses. But the meeting never took place. The next year (1024) brought the summons of death both to Henry and Benedict. St Henry died the model of a Christian emperor, and “coryphæus” of that band of saintly monarchs who graced this period. And Benedict, however open to objection was the family influence by which he was elected, seems to have lived up to his high office, and put his hand to the real work of reform which was crying out to be done.

As soon as ever Benedict was dead, his brother Romanus did not scruple to use all the means at his command to secure his election, layman though he was, to the papal chair. He took the name of John XIX. Still he was clearly aware of his lack of preparation for this sacred office, and deplored it openly. He determined to guide his conduct by the advice of the best and wisest men he could find to counsel him. In this way, though blamed by some as not energetic enough against the prevailing vice of simony, he was able to bear himself with dignity, and escape the pitfalls laid for his want of ecclesiastical knowledge.

There were two claimants for St Henry's throne, for Henry had no children. These were Conrad of Fran-

conia and another cousin of the same name. A great diet of the empire decided in favour of the former, and this decision was supported by the Pope. This meant the beginning of a new line of German sovereigns—the Salic or Franconian line. **Franconian Empire.**

Conrad came to Rome with a large army, reducing rebellious cities to obedience on his way, and there on Easter Day, 1027, he was crowned, together with his Queen Gisela, in St Peter's. This coronation ceremony, which had now become a tradition for the German monarchs, was on this occasion graced with the presence of Rudolf, King of Burgundy, and Canute, King of England. And Conrad kept up the tradition of his predecessors also in another more questionable way, namely a warlike expedition to the South of Italy. There he harassed the Greeks, but favoured the Normans, until he was called off by the need of quelling disturbances which had arisen in Germany. There he was able to overcome one opponent after another till his sway became undisputed and peaceful (1028).

John XIX. also went on his way in dignity and comparative peace. There were privileges to grant and efforts for good to countenance. Guy of Arezzo came to him with his new musical scale, and he showed the deepest interest in the discovery, giving Guy the warmest patronage. Canute the Great (1015-1035) came to him also as king not only of England but of Denmark, Sweden and Norway as well. For, after the death of Edmund Ironside, he had succeeded in uniting all these realms under his sceptre. To Rome he came as a humble pilgrim, and knit closer the bonds that bound his vast domains to the Holy See, promising Peter's Pence, and gaining for himself precious gifts, and for his people many favours, both spiritual and temporal. **Canute.** (1015-1035).

Alberic, the head of the house of Theophylact, had already had two brothers on the Pontifical throne, and when John XIX. died in 1032, his influence at Rome was still dominant. He could not be Pope himself, so he made over the papacy, as far as it depended on him, to his young son, Theophylact, almost as though it had been a family possession. Benedict IX., for so the youthful Pontiff called himself, may have been anything between twelve **Benedict IX.** (1032-1048).

and twenty years of age. Gregory, another son of Alberic, at the same time became Patrician, and thus held whatever authority was not already in the hands of his brother. We have but little reliable history about Benedict's early years as Pope. In general the writers of the age give us to understand that he led a life of pleasure and indolence, and made over the business affairs of the papacy to the care of the officials of his Court. As the result of a conspiracy got up by the nobles of the opposing factions he was expelled from the city in 1036. He betook himself to Cremona to meet the Emperor Conrad, and was promptly restored to his see under imperial protection. Conrad did not, however, himself go to Rome at that time, as he was engaged in warfare against Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, who resisted his authority in Lombardy. Benedict IX. excommunicated the militant archbishop, who nevertheless continued to hold out. Conrad could only destroy Parma, but then passed into the south, where he took Troja, Benevento and Capua. The plague, as before, now seized the emperor's army, and he himself, having hurried back to Germany, was carried off by a sudden death in 1039. He died mourned by few, but leaving an empire strengthened through his warlike energy. His son, Henry III., or the Black, succeeded him from 1039 to 1056.

At Rome it was faction against faction, and the secular, oppressive and immoral life of the Pope gave a handle to his enemies. He was again forced to flee in 1044, and this time an antipope was set up who took the name of Sylvester. Still, in less than two months Benedict and his party got the upper hand again, and Sylvester was driven out. But his pontifical authority was more of a burden than a consolation to Benedict, and when there was added to this the desire to marry his cousin, the daughter of Gerard de Saxo, he willingly accepted the condition that he should first resign the papacy. The archpriest, John Gratian, being consulted as to the lawfulness of this resignation, answered in the affirmative. Upon this Benedict offered to sell the office of Pope to the same John Gratian for some thousands of gold pieces. The bargain was struck, and Benedict retired into the country to live at his ease, while John Gratian, having squared his conscience as best he could, at the thought of having rid the Church of such an unworthy pastor,

assumed the name of Gregory VI. and entered on his office with the acceptance of many even of the good (1045-1046). Being a man with high ideas of what was wanted at the time, and having a monk who was afterwards to be the soul of true reform amongst his counsellors, none other than the famous Hildebrand, he made an attempt to raise the state of the Roman See. But the manner of his entry into power paralysed his influence. There was the original fault of his simoniacal election, and there were two other claimants to be dealt with. For, besides that Sylvester who was driven forth by Benedict, there was Benedict himself, who, disappointed in his hope of marrying his cousin, had revoked his resignation. It was no wonder that many men of good will, in despair at the confusion, implored the new emperor to come to Rome. Nothing loath, Henry the Black set forth from Germany, with his wife Agnes and a large army, determined to establish the imperial authority in Italy, and to do his part to purge the Church of simony. At the end of 1046 a synod was held at Sutri in the presence of Henry, when, after Sylvester and Benedict had been ruled out of court, Gregory was forced by the emperor to decree his own deposition on account of the simony by which he had gained the papacy. Then passing on to Rome, Henry procured another election to be held, in which his own influence was great, at which Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, was chosen through his well-meaning but overbearing efforts. Suidger took the title of Clement II. (1046-1047) and his first act was to crown Henry, with his consort Agnes, in St Peter's. After the usual military expedition to the south, Henry went back to Germany; and in the course of the same year Clement, who doubtless would willingly have gone north with the emperor, was seized with a mortal sickness and died (1047). He had held the See of Bamberg concurrently with that of Rome, and it was to Bamberg by his will that his remains were carried, where they lie in the cathedral of that city.

When in Rome Henry had assumed the title of Patrician, and had exacted from the Romans a promise not to elect a pope without consulting him. **Damasus II.** So, as soon as Clement was dead, an em- (1047-1048). bassy was sent to the emperor asking for a good and wise pontiff. Henry selected Poppo, a

Bavarian, Bishop of Brixen, who wished to be known as Damasus II. Benedict IX., with the help of his adherents at Tusculum, had already seized Rome before Damasus could reach it. But a strong imperial force accompanied the emperor's nominee, so Benedict was driven to leave Rome; this time never to return. Still Damasus was only Pope for about twenty days. The fever caught him in the heat of the Roman summer, and though he went to Palestrina for relief, he died there. He had retained Brixen as Clement had kept Bamberg, but, unlike him, was buried in S. Lorenzo outside the walls of Rome. Benedict also is believed to have died that year (1048), but it is uncertain whether cut off in the midst of a wild and licentious career, or, as some assert, in penance at the Greek Abbey of Grottaferrata. Though the German emperors were still dominant and quite overshadowed the other elements in the government of the Church, the tyranny of the house of Tusculum had come to an end. There were to arise pontiffs who would be able to shake off the imperial yoke also, and successfully claim the supreme place in Christendom, but the time was not yet.

Meanwhile, there were saintly monarchs in quite remarkable concert to support the growing cause of reform. The influence for good exercised even if in an irregular manner by the Saxon emperors was paralleled by a somewhat similar royal example in almost every country of Europe. It is not surprising that the power of Christianity should be shown over the hearts of princes as well as peasants. But it is worthy of remark that these heavenly stars shone out at about the same period, and when the clouds were still thick and sombre. St Henry was not the first, though he was placed the highest (1012-1024). Hungary had her St Stephen (997-1038), and his position for his own people was relatively greater, for on account of his zeal for the conversion of his people, and on account of his foundation of a hierarchy of ten bishoprics among the Magyars, he merited the proud title of Apostolic King. Then, too, England had her St Edward (1042-1066), scion of the old Saxon kings, who, when the Danish usurpation of Canute had died out amid the vices of that great man's unworthy successors, came back from Normandy and restored the Saxon line. On his throne he showed bright examples of justice and mercy,

**Saintly
kings.**

so that in later days of feudal oppression and royal tryanny the English people could find no more expressive cry for relief than the shout: "Give us the laws of good King Edward!" And out of the family of this same Edward, called the Confessor, came a royal saint for Scotland, too, in St Margaret (1070-1093), who as consort of King Malcolm, when Macbeth had been overthrown, contributed as the true mother of her people to secure to them a period of comparative prosperity and peace. A somewhat similar position is held in Ireland by the national hero, Brian Boru (990-1014), who after the defeat of Malachi and the Danes, restored freedom and an age of military glory.

Though the widely extended and persevering labours of St Anscar, or Oscar, won for him the title of Apostle of the North, it was only much later that the Scandinavian kingdoms really turned thoroughly to Christianity. Their conversion cannot be put back to an earlier date than the eleventh century. Even then many remains of paganism stuck to the neophytes after their baptism. Denmark became outwardly a Christian country in the reign of Canute the Great (1040), whose widely spread empire has been spoken of above. But his grandson, St Canute, was killed at the altar in 1086 by some of his still half-pagan subjects, as the result of an attempt to impose on them the payment of tithes. His relics repose at Odensee. About the same time Olaf I., aided by the energetic and martial Thangbrand, established the dominance of the Christian faith in Norway, and from Norway before long the Gospel was carried to Iceland, where a flourishing Church with two episcopal sees sprang up. St Olaf the king is the national hero of the Norsemen, and his shrine at Trondhjem Cathedral became the centre of Church government and piety. Yet another royal saint shines forth in the Swedish patron St Eric, known in history as Eric the Ninth. His remains in a silver reliquary still form the chief treasure of Upsala. His influence with that of his friend, St Henrick of England, Bishop of Upsala, was instrumental not only in the christianisation of Sweden, but also in that of Finland. He journeyed thither in company with St Henrick, and both planted the Faith and united the country to Sweden. It was six centuries before they were

**The
Scandinavian
kingdoms.**

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separated again. So that, with all allowance made for the martial, half-barbaric character of the epoch in Scandinavia, the early years of the twelfth century, or at latest the middle of it, saw three extensive ecclesiastical provinces more or less organised under papal patronage. Trondhjem, with its six suffragans in Norway, Iceland and the Islands of the North Sea, was balanced by Upsala with as many sees for Sweden, while Lund in Gothia on the mainland ruled the Danish Church with suffragan sees on most of the large islands.

But, consoling as was this progress, yet viewed in the light of the future greatness of extension of the race concerned, the most important work of evangelisation in all this period was that of Russia.

Conversion of Russia. Ruric is regarded by the national chroniclers as the leader of their people into the lands which they now occupy, and it is probable that Christianity was more or less known to the Russians, either through missionaries sent from Germany or through foreign merchants, soon after Ruric's time. But it was Queen Olga (945), whose baptism led to the more general reception of the Christian religion in Russia. Her son, who gained the upper hand over his rivals and greatly increased the power of his family, did not, however, become a Christian. Wladimir the Great (975-1013) was Olga's grandson, and he sent an embassy to Constantinople to ask for the hand of Anna, the sister of the emperor. Consent was made by the Byzantines conditional on the Russian prince accepting Christianity. This he readily did, being baptised with many thousands of his people. Henceforward Russia became in the main a Christian country (989). The See of Kieff was founded as a metropolis, and gradually other bishoprics were added to it. At Kieff a cathedral was built, which has since been ever looked on by the Russians as the cradle of the Christian religion in their midst. Even from the first the Byzantine influence was dominant over the Russian Church—the liturgy, the discipline, the mode of Government were all Oriental, and though from time to time dim visions of the need and advantages of communion with Rome seem to have floated before the most eminent Russians, and even solemn acts of union have been subscribed to, the Russian Church in the main has been schismatic, national and antipapal. Now that it has extended with the expansion of the empire, it

has become the most considerable body of Christians in the world not in union with the Holy See.

In sharp contrast with the religious history of Russia comes that of the Poles. Fewer in number than the Russians, and yet, unlike them, they were split up into factions and differing parties.

Not Oriental like them, they clung to the Western Rite and Latin Liturgy. And unlike them also have they been in their passionate devotion to the Holy See, which is unrivalled except perhaps in the case of Ireland. Yet their conversion to Christianity came somewhat later than that of Russia. The reign of Mieceslaus I. (966) is the time assigned as the moment of their reception of Christianity, and it was the Emperor Otho I. who sent missionaries to them from his loved metropolitan Church of Magdeburg. At first they had only one bishopric at Gnesen or Posen; but later on, probably about the year 1000, Posen was made a metropolis, independent of Magdeburg, with suffragans at Cracow, Breslau, Polotsk, Lebus, Kolberg. To slightly anticipate events, in Gregory VII.'s struggle for supremacy with the Emperor Henry IV., the Polish king was ranged on the side of the Pope, though his strict enforcement of the papal decrees was considered harsh by many of his people, and provoked resentment. St Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, was killed at the altar in the midst of these disturbances, and is held as a martyr and national patron (1079).

Conversion
of the Poles.

BOOK V.

MEDIAEVAL CHRISTENDOM.

(1048-1276).

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF HILDEBRAND.

(1048-1073).

PONTIFF after pontiff had now fallen under the dart of death in a very brief space, and it was with much mis-giving and anxiety that the envoys from Rome came to Henry III. at Worms to ask for his nomination. It was then and there discussed in full assembly, and at last the emperor's choice fell on his saintly kinsman, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, who had governed that see as a model bishop for over twenty years. The piety and the attainments of Bruno were as remarkable as the nobility of his family, and he was devoted to the cause of reform. He had already laboured at Toul for what he was now to attempt for the Universal Church. He was received with joy by the Roman people, and being accepted by them as Leo IX., was enthroned in St Peter's early in February, 1049. Before he could give his mind to the reform he was longing for, he had to take account of the hostility of the still active antipope and of the papal finances, fallen into an evil state through neglect and malpractices. The monk Hildebrand, who had accompanied Leo to Rome, was made Treasurer of St Peter's, or at least given such a position as enabled that ardent genius to control the papal finances. And then to deal with the antipope,

Leo called a synod before the year was out. Noble and zealous as he was, Leo was always for reconciliation and mild measures, and hence tried to make peace with the house of Theophylact. For the same reason the strong language and uncompromising severity of St Peter Damian do not seem to have commended themselves to him; for though he wrote to him to say that he approved of his famous denunciation of vice in the so-called *Liber Gomorrhianus*, he would not in fact act on the drastic counsels it contained, and, while he was Pope, hardly admitted the author into the inner circle of his counsellors. After the synod was over, which denounced simony and incontinence before it separated, Leo travelled north, passing through the cities of Northern Italy till he met the (1049-1050.) emperor, and had a public state reception from him at Cologne on the 29th of June.

Thence he passed through Aachen to Rheims, where he held a very numerous synod. Here very many decrees were passed against the abuses of the time, and the Pope passed on to Mayence. Neither was Toul forgotten. The Pope travelled so much, hoping in this way to combat the twin evils of simony and incontinence, that he has been called the *Peregrinus Apostolicus*. The return of the Pope to Rome partook of the nature of a royal progress. The Pontiff was regal in appearance, he was gentle and generous by disposition, and as he went he bestowed privileges, and consecrated churches, and gained the goodwill of the people among whom he passed. He entered Rome with a cordial welcome from the Romans early in 1050.

After a short interval the cries for help from Southern Italy drew him forth to be a traveller again. The Nor-

Leo IX. mans were gaining strength with time, and
and the their rule was felt as oppressive and harsh
Normans. by the inhabitants of those soft climes. First
 by letter and then by personal interviews,

Leo sought to gain from the Norman leaders a gentler way of dealing with the Italians among whom they had settled, but though their speech was fair, their conduct showed that they had no intention of taking the Pontiff's admonition to heart. Stirred up to a fierce desire for revenge, the Lombards in Apulia planned and in part executed a massacre of the Normans. This provoked a terrible series of reprisals, and once more the Pope's

intervention was sought. He did not hesitate to undertake another journey to the south in 1052, but as before negotiation produced no result. Leo then went to Germany to try and get an army from the emperor. However, he had to return with only a small force to fight against the Normans. He failed to effect a junction with the Greek forces, and the Normans fell upon the allies, and defeated them one after the other. After a defeat at Civitella Leo became a prisoner in the Norman camp. The victorious Normans treated him with all respect, falling at his feet, and professing themselves his devoted children, but the Pontiff never rallied. The failure was too great, and when the news was brought to add to his pain that Michael Cerularius had finally gone into schism at Constantinople, Leo was a dying man. He returned to Rome, and there expired in March, 1054, having received the last Sacraments in the most holy dispositions.

It fell to Leo to adjudicate upon the most notable case of heretical teaching which the eleventh century brought to light. This was the teaching of Berengarius of Tours on the Blessed Sacrament.

**Berengarius
of Tours.**

Some consider that he denied the Real Presence altogether, while others hold that he denied transubstantiation in favour of a theory of impanation, by which Our Lord was held to be really present, the bread still remaining bread. The chief theological adversary of Berengarius was the celebrated Lanfranc, at that time Prior of the Benedictine Abbey of Bec, and later Archbishop of Canterbury. However, as discussion did not end the matter, Berengarius was

**His Con-
demnation.**
(1050).

summoned before a council summoned by Leo IX. at Rome in 1050, and again before another at Vercelli, and there his errors were condemned. Berengarius recanted them, and thus by causing theological discussion to turn on the Holy Eucharist, contributed all unwittingly to the clearer explanations of the Real Presence elaborated by Lanfranc and the scholastic doctors of later ages.

It was in connection with the case of Berengarius that Hildebrand the Pope-maker was absent from Rome when Leo IX. died. But he had made his choice, though it could not be ratified till the emperor agreed. To Rome then he returned, and gathering round him an influential deputation set

Victor II.
(1055-1057).

off in their company to the imperial presence. Henry was found at Mayence, and the name of Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, who was also the Chancellor of the Empire and in high favour at Court, was submitted to him. Henry was pleased at the choice, and at the same time displeased to lose him. However, in the end Hildebrand and the Romans had their way. Gebhard returned to Rome with Hildebrand, and was enthroned in St Peter's under the name of Victor II. (1055-1057). With his potent counsellor at his side, Victor set himself in earnest to forward the work of reform. The Emperor Henry soon followed the Pope into Italy, and meeting at Florence, they were both present at a synod of one hundred and twenty bishops, which drew up various canons of discipline. And from Florence they passed to other cities of North Italy, arranging for the restoration of the papal authority over cities formerly granted to the Roman See, and trying to consolidate the imperial power as well. At last Henry had to return to deal with pressing affairs in Germany, and Hildebrand went into France to push forward the reformation of morals which had been first attempted there under Leo IX. In the summer of 1056 Victor travelled to Germany, and met the emperor at Goslar, but it was for the last time, for that prince's death was at hand. Fever seized the German sovereign after a hunting expedition while the Pope was still with him. He became then reconciled to his enemy Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, confessed his sins to the Pope in person, received the Sacraments, died and was buried at Spire. Having secured the peaceful succession to his father's kingdom for Henry IV., Victor returned to Rome. However, all this took so much time that it was Lent in 1057 before he reached his see. Here he was able to settle disputes as to the abbacy of Monte Cassino, and another between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena. Victor, however, died within a few months. It was intended to carry his remains to Eichstadt in Germany, but the funeral procession was attacked near Ravenna, and forced thereby to inter the Pontiff in the round mausoleum which Theodoric had built for himself in that city.

Death of Henry III. (1056).
 Cardinal Frederic, who was chosen Pope at once, and consecrated under the title of Stephen IX., had had a very distinguished career. He was a cousin of Leo IX.

and had by him been made Chancellor of the Holy Church. Later on he had been sent by him as legate to Constantinople, when the schism of Michael Cerularius was on the eve of being consummated. **Stephen IX. or X.** (1057-1058). He then became Abbot of Monte Cassino, and retained the abbacy even after his election to the papacy. Humbert, his former companion at Constantinople, and the fiery reformer, St Peter Damian, were both created cardinals by him. These appointments were a pledge of his earnestness in this great work. Hildebrand also was employed on the same holy endeavour. Stephen sent him first to Milan, where prelate and clergy were sunk in simony and concubinage, with instructions to pass on to Germany, where he was to secure the acceptance of his election by the Empress-Mother Agnes, and thence to proceed into France. But before Hildebrand could carry out all this Stephen was dead. Feeling his health failing, he left Rome for his Abbey of Monte Cassino, but growing worse, he exhorted the cardinals to defer the conclave till Hildebrand returned, and soon after this died at Florence, 29th March, 1058. His death-bed was attended by St Hugh, the holy and celebrated Abbot of Cluny.

As soon as Stephen's death was known, Rome witnessed one more attempt on the part of the Lords of Tusculum to dominate the Holy See. Their **Nicholas II.** partisans, disregarding the late Pope's (1058-1061). exhortation, elected John Mincius, Bishop of Velletri, who took the style of Benedict X., and was acknowledged by part of the people. But they had reckoned without their host. Hildebrand, on his way back from France, met the Duke of Tuscany, Godfrey, at Florence, and Gerard, the Bishop of that city, was agreed on as the best candidate for the popedom. Hildebrand invited the cardinals to Siena, and they there elected Gerard, who assumed the name of Nicholas II. At Sutri he proclaimed the deposition of Benedict, who was then driven from Rome, and in the following January Nicholas was solemnly crowned there. To strengthen his hands against the armed force at Benedict's disposal, Nicholas treated with the Normans through Hildebrand, and eventually recognised Robert Guiscard as Duke of Apulia, and Richard of Aversa as Prince of Capua. Desiderius, who had become Abbot of Monte Cassino at

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Pope Stephen's death, was made cardinal, and sent as legate to the south of Italy, while to the north went Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, and Hildebrand. Another vigorous attempt was made to raise the clergy of Milan and other places from their evil ways, and, at least in promise, simony and concubinage were renounced by them. One of the things most closely connected with the name of Nicholas was the decree touching the papal elections passed by him at a synod of one hundred and thirteen bishops in the Lateran Palace during Easter-tide, 1059. The matter was one that called for legislation, and finally the following points were embodied in a Constitution, and published to the world: (1) the selection of a candidate should first be considered by the cardinal bishops, who then, with the other cardinals, should proceed to an election to be afterwards acclaimed by the rest of the clergy and laity; (2) a Roman member of the clergy should be chosen if possible; (3) the election should be held in Rome, though if this were not possible, the new Pope would exercise full authority even before being enthroned; (4) due regard should be held to the right of confirmation granted to King Henry, and to such of his successors as have personally been conceded the same right. This had the effect of taking the choice out of the hands equally of the German emperors and of the Roman clergy, and naturally provoked much opposition from the interested parties.

Nicholas now passed south, and held a synod at Benevento. Getting a Norman army from his new vassals, he returned to Rome, and with their help took Palestrina and Tusculum, the stronghold of the antipope, Benedict, who was there publicly degraded and condemned to a life of obscurity. In spite of the German opposition to the decree limiting the imperial right of confirmation, Pope Nicholas, relying on the Norman protection, boldly renewed it in 1060, and in 1061. He commuted St Edward's vow of a pilgrimage to Rome into the building of Westminster Abbey, and then all too soon for the works he was carrying out, died suddenly in July, 1061, while on a visit to Florence, of which city he had retained the bishopric. He was buried like his predecessor, Stephen, in St Reparata in the Tuscan capital.

The Constitution of Nicholas II., and the presevering

campaign against the vices of the clergy, had cut square the issue to be fought at the next papal election. Before his death Nicholas had been declared deposed by the German Court, and a schism supervened. It was two months later when, at Hildebrand's instance, Bishop Anselm of Lucca, who had already played a champion's part in the struggle for right, was accepted in a full assembly at St Peter's ad Vincula as Alexander II., and then enthroned at the Lateran Basilica. Violence on the part of the Roman nobles in opposition was only warded off by the presence in Rome of Richard of Capua and a Norman army. The election and coronation were simply notified to the German Court, as the provision made by Nicholas II., regarding the personal privilege of the late emperor, did not apply to the boy king. The counter-stroke was a diet at Basle under the Queen-Empress Agnes, which declared Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, Pope as Honorius II. There was no shadow of legal right in this, but only the determination to keep up the fight against the restrictions of the reform. To balance the material force at the command of the empress, Alexander was thrown more and more on the protection of the Normans. Their loyalty was somewhat capricious, though their prowess was often a useful defence, and they on their side found their account in supporting the Pope. It was under the papal blessing that Duke Roger proceeded to the easy conquest of Sicily, and it was with a banner blessed by Pope Alexander that William the Conqueror claimed the inheritance left him by St Edward when he died (1066). And the appointment of Lanfranc, his old master, to the See of Canterbury (1070) followed his recognition of William's right to the English crown.

But it was in Germany and North Italy that the centre of the conflict was pitched. Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, seized the regency from the Empress Agnes in 1062, and sent an envoy to Rome to investigate on the spot the election of Alexander. His report to the diet when he got home was so convincing as to Alexander's legitimacy that it resulted in his general recognition as Pope in the various parts of the empire. The Empress Agnes, freed from the cares of State, seems to have repented of the part she had taken in papal affairs, and might have been seen in the penitential garb of a pilgrim,

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praying at the Roman shrines, and then retiring to the life of the cloister as a nun. Alexander and Hildebrand acted almost as one man in guiding the bark of the Church in those stormy years. St Peter Damian wished to resign the office of Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and urged his suit with vehemence, and if he did not win his freedom from the Pope, it was the dissuading voice of Hildebrand which intervened to prevent it. The register of his letters shows that Alexander kept up his warfare against simoniacal prelates as long as ever he was spared by death. Milan was still as before a scene of strife and of cruel violence against the reforming leaders; but Milan was not the only city dominated by vicious and simoniacal prelates. Perhaps Alexander's greatest victory was to force the Bishop of Constance and the Abbot of Reichenau to give back to King Henry the insignia of the benefices they had obtained by payments. Henry himself was deeply involved in the same corrupt practices. And his guilt in that matter was only surpassed by the cynical licentiousness with which he endeavoured to divorce his wife Bertha, and thus give a free reign to his passions. But Alexander sent his legate, St Peter Damian, to the Diet of Frankfort, and his vigorous language, with the threat of excommunication and deposition, cowed the young tyrant, and the affair was not proceeded with. Alexander died in Rome on the 21st of April, 1073.

But before Alexander II. had come to the end of his reign the Normans had achieved complete success in quite another quarter, and established their supremacy over the Saxons in the realm of England. It was one of the complaints made against the saintly Edward that he favoured the Normans too much, so when he died, though his cousin Harold had promised to admit the claim to the throne of William, Duke of Normandy, he was persuaded to go back on his word and assume the English crown. He was supported in this by a majority of the people of the country. However, both Normans and Norsemen were determined to overthrow Harold by force of arms. Being a brave soldier, Harold made a desperate fight for his crown. He had only just defeated the Norsemen in battle in Yorkshire, when he had to hurry back to meet the Norman army which Duke William had landed near

Hastings. For this expedition William claimed the blessing of Pope Alexander, and showed a consecrated battle standard sent by him. The armies fought a desperate battle at Senlac, now called Battle, near Hastings, and Harold was defeated and slain. William then assumed the English crown, having added the title of Conquest to whatever rights he had acquired from St Edward or from the Pope. As to the Church, he came as a reformer, to supplant the Saxon bishops and higher clergy, who indeed were ignorant and worldly enough, by Normans. All the Saxon bishops had to resign except St Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester. Stigand, who had been intruded, though unworthy, into the See of Canterbury, was replaced by the learned and saintly Lanfranc, Prior of Bec, and the other sees were filled by Normans, some better, some worse. But it was long before Saxons and Normans were blended into one nation, speaking one tongue and willing to be known as Englishmen. Norman prelates continued to occupy the English bishoprics. In Canterbury Lanfranc was followed by St Anselm, and then by Ralph d'Escures, and he by William de Corbeil, and he by the doughty Theobald, till we come to St Thomas à Becket, a Londoner born at any rate, whatever may be thought of his parentage and descent. And Norman monasteries founded cells or houses, often called *alien* priories, dependent on the continental abbeys, which subsisted till they were suppressed by later kings.

**Battle of
Hastings.**
(1066).

Rough as these early days of mediæval Christendom were, and partly perhaps on account of that very roughness, they gave birth to two religious orders, which still subsist in their pristine fervour, even if sadly diminished in numbers, unrivalled to our days in their austere life as in their strict solitude. St Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese (1012), would seem to be the first in point of time, though the dates of his long career are more or less conjectural. He had been a free-living and worldly noble in the dark tenth century, but afterwards turned to God with a perfect conversion, and then spent many years as a hermit. His fervour and wisdom made him later on a welcome reformer in some hundred Benedictine houses in Italy. This in itself would give him a prominent place amongst the great reformers of the

**Camaldolese
and
Carthusians.**

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time. But in the last period of his life he settled at a place called Campus Maldoli, in the diocese of Arezzo, and there founded the austere order of hermits known as the Camaldoli, whose descendants still inhabit that celebrated monastery. All that St Romuald was to the Camaldoli, that St Bruno was to the Carthusians. A native of Cologne, he was educated in that city, and there he most likely was also ordained and presented to a canonry. In 1057 he was given the direction of the famous school at Rheims, formerly presided over by such men as Gerbert and Heriman. The works of St Bruno, and the reputation he enjoyed, indicate that he fully kept up the high level of the School of Rheims. It was only when the almost unanimous vote of the electors was on the point of choosing him to fill the See of Rheims, that he put into execution the plan he seems to have formed some years before of abandoning the world and living for God only in complete solitude. It was in 1080 that he betook himself to St Robert, who at that time was living in solitude at Molesme, thinking it was God's Will he should unite himself to him. But it was not long before he felt that this was not the place of his rest, and with six companions passed on to Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, who is said to have been warned in vision under the image of seven stars of the coming of those seven seekers after persecution. Hugh assigned to them a rugged mountainous tract in his diocese known as the Montes Carthusiani, or Chartreuse, and there St Bruno and his companions took up their abode in 1084, and laid the foundations of the Carthusian Order.

CHAPTER II.

GREGORY VII. AND THE HOLY WAR.

(1073-1099).

THERE had been several worthy men, and more than one saintly pope in the Chair of Peter during the quarter of a century which ended in 1073, and the influence of Hildebrand had been largely responsible for the election and the career of them all. What was to happen when Alexander II. after his twelve years' reign of combat passed away in that year? It fell to Hildebrand as Archdeacon to make the arrangements for the new election. He then attended the solemn funeral of the deceased Pontiff, and it was while engaged at this function that suddenly a cry arose from the midst of the gathering: "Hildebrand is Bishop," or "Let Hildebrand be Pope." Cardinal Hugo took it up, telling the people that from the days of Leo IX. it was Hildebrand who had both raised up the Church and freed the city, and that he was now the choice of cardinals and bishops. Hurried off to St Peter's with lightning speed, he was there enthroned. What he had so many times avoided, he greatly dreaded now, and the prospect threw him into a fever. Still, he saw that the burden could not longer be pushed off, and taking the name of Gregory VII. he began to gird himself to his great task. He notified his election to the emperor, and though it was not pleasing to some, such as the Chancellor, Gregory of Vercelli, Henry made no protest. Gregory was ordained Priest, on the 22nd of June, and consecrated a week later. He then at once threw himself into his mighty work. He first summoned to his aid at Rome his friend Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, and then began to take stock of his enemies. The Church groaned under grievous ills, the root one being subjection to the temporal rulers, since

**Hildebrand
as Pope.**
(1073-1085).

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simony and incontinence raged among the clergy more from this cause than any other. So he saw that the fundamental struggle was for free election to the bishoprics and benefices—in other words, for right of Investiture. It was the lay patronage, which sprung from the claim to invest all bishops and prelates as feudal lords, that forced such unworthy pastors on the Church. Consequently with the instinct of genius enlightened by faith, it was at this that Gregory struck. And he had almost all the mighty ones of the world against him. Not kings and princes only, but bishops and archbishops and a host of lesser enemies made common cause. Doubtless, his chief hope was in God and in prayer, but he had likewise trusted friends who were true to him, and he was faithful to them. There were the monks, some of them men of remarkable sanctity, there were those of the laity who really sighed for the purification of the Church, as he did himself, there was the great Countess Matilda, there were those faithful legates whom he sent out as his representatives, now into one country, now into another. With such help as he could get from these he grappled with his task, an heroic soul, in a frail small frame but endowed with that touch of genius and courage which made him the centre of the battle for the Church and for moral right.

It seems to have been his wish to rid his dominions from molestation by the Norman duke, Robert Guiscard, that first made Pope Gregory moot the idea of an armed Crusade to recover the holy places of Palestine from the infidel. Pilgrims to the Holy Land had again and again returned with tales and experiences of how ill the Christians were treated by the Saracen lords of the land. And all this time Christian soldiers were spending their superabundant warlike energy in fighting one another, and breaking the bonds of amity which should unite all Christian peoples. Why should not that restless spirit of adventure and valour which had made the Normans sweep round from Scandinavia to England, Ireland, Normandy, Spain, and up the Mediterranean to Italy, be encouraged to one more course of still longer sweep, and plant themselves at Jerusalem, faithful defenders of the Cross of Christ and His Holy Sepulchre? But Gregory's plan was more far-reaching still. The Byzantine empire had suffered a heavy defeat at Manzikert from

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the Seljuk Turks, and letters were in the Pope's hands from the Greek emperor, Michael Ducas, asking for help against the Seljuks. Gregory's magnificent plan was nothing less than a union of Western Christendom under the Pope to send help to the East, reunite East and West, drive back the Turks, and garrison the Holy Land. But the moment for the enterprise did not arrive in his lifetime.

Meanwhile he had combats on his hands nearer home, more than enough. Instead of going on a crusade, Roger Guiscard and the Normans were hostile and menacing to the Holy See itself, and in Lent, 1074, Gregory excommunicated them in open council. Little help was to be had outside of Italy to subdue them by force of arms. Only the Countess Matilda and her army joined the papal levies on Monte Cassino, when they gathered to undertake an expedition against them. But his own illness and dissension in the camp made the Pope abandon the enterprise, and have recourse to negotiation again. The Normans were great at promises, but they could hardly be trusted to come to a satisfactory arrangement for evacuating the papal dominions, and things remained very much as they had been.

**War with
the
Normans.**

At the Lenten Synod of 1074 Gregory vigorously grappled with the gigantic work of reform of the clergy. The legislation of this celebrated council, which did not so much initiate a new campaign as promulgate with greater vigour enactments made under Leo IX. and his successors, comprised the following points: (1) clergy who had gained any orders or benefices by payment were deposed; (2) clergy guilty of incontinence were all forbidden to exercise their sacred ministry; (3) the laity were summoned to aid the reform by refusing to obey simoniacal priests or bishops, and by refusing the Mass or ministrations of incontinent clergy. The step of calling in the laity to help was a momentous one, and though a powerful instrument to reform, no doubt produced some evil along with the good, which could not be effected without it. For milder measures had been tried. And those who knew what Gregory had done or tried to do, in a subordinate position, felt sure that he would do more and go further now that he was Pope. He sent his legates, Cardinals Humbert and Gerard, to Germany to secure

**Work of
Reform.**

the publication and observance of the decrees. But a frantic storm of opposition broke out at once. For, though the emperor for his own ends were fairly favourable to the decrees at first, the majority of the German and French clergy rose up in arms against these laws. The bishops being chiefly feudal lords who had won their sees by simony without a vestige of vocation, and who lived much as they would have lived as laymen, cried "privilege," and protested that the observance of the decrees was an impossibility. One prelate declared that the clergy would have to be angels, not men, to observe them, and that they would rather renounce their priesthood than their wives. The Bishop of Passau nearly lost his life in enforcing the papal decrees. The Archbishop of Rouen was stoned for the same cause, and the Bishop of Constance formally enacted an authorisation for the marriage of the clergy. At the Synod of Burgos the papal envoy was attacked and ill-treated. Nor is there reason to think that the opposition in England was less pronounced. Only Lanfranc went more gradually, though heartily, on the side of reform, and seems to have passed, perhaps under William the Conqueror's influence, a somewhat milder decree at a synod held by him in 1075. It is quite conceivable that a considerable number of the clergy may have persuaded themselves that their marriage was justified by custom, if not by law, and the opposition of such men, added to that of the notorious evil livers, swelled the ranks of the hostile forces. But Gregory inflexibly held on his way.

Henry cunningly saw in the deposition decree an opportunity for ridding himself of the powerful Saxon bishops who were his enemies. Therefore at first Gregory and the Emperor. he was right glad to work at the execution of its provisions, thereby deposing them. But he really only replaced them by men no whit better, but who were his own partisans. Thereupon he exposed himself to the reprehension of the Pope, who wrote, citing the emperor to appear before a council in Rome in 1076 to defend himself against the charges of simony and usurpation. Meanwhile, Gregory had held a second Lenten Council in 1075, which renewed the decrees of the former one with a persistence which told both of the Pope's perseverance and of the obstinacy of the evil to be eradicated. But, besides this, it went on to take up the

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Investiture question, and thus began a struggle which lasted for nearly forty years. The council decreed that anyone, even king or emperor, who conferred an investiture with ring or crosier in respect to any ecclesiastical office was excommunicated. Then, applying this decree to five of Henry's partisans by name, it separated. Henry countered the proceedings of this synod by calling an assembly of his followers at Worms on the 23rd of January, 1076. At this gathering Henry had a defence of himself made by his counsellors, while Gregory was accused of several great crimes, and then declared to be deposed. As soon as the report of these proceedings reached the Pope he took the strongest action he could, by excommunicating Henry, deposing him from his throne, and releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Not at first realising the critical position he was placed in, the supporters of the emperor urged him to resist, but the choice of Rudolf of Suabia by the Saxons as a rival candidate for the imperial crown, and an invitation to Gregory to come to Augsburg to a diet to choose an emperor, showed him that his danger was great. Besides, after the Pope's censures, some of his own party fell away from him, and he was cowed into submission. Taking his wife and child and a small escort, he set out for Italy to meet Gregory. It was winter, and he had much to endure in crossing the Alps, while in Italy the leaders of the opposition to the Pope met him, promising to support him in the struggle, but by this time his mind was made up. He sought out the Pope, who, fearing the treachery of Henry's Italian supporters, had retired to the Castle of Canossa, a stronghold of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. When Henry arrived, Gregory at first refused to see him until he had done penance, and for three days, the 25th, 26th and 27th of January, Henry appeared before the gate of the castle, barefoot and in sackcloth, asking for admission. It was only at the intercession of the Countess Matilda, on the fourth day, that Gregory consented to receive him. He was then absolved from **Canossa.** censures on condition that he would appear (1077). at the council at Rome and accept its decision. After this he was entertained at a banquet in sign of reconciliation, and Pontiff and emperor parted.

Notwithstanding the peace at Canossa, Henry's German

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foes were far from being reconciled, and persisted in electing Rudolf of Suabia to succeed him. Gregory on the other hand was now in difficulties between the two factions. Neither Rudolf nor Henry wanted the projected council at Rome, and it was never held. Henry, declaring that he held the Pope responsible for the election of Rudolf, went back to Germany to fight for his kingdom against Rudolf, and Gregory returned to Rome. There the Pontiff received that celebrated donation of the Countess of Tuscany, by which the great Countess made the Roman Church heir of all her possessions after her death; and as far as concerned the present, there was no helper that the Pope could count on so powerful or so faithful as Matilda of Tuscany.

The three years from 1077 to 1080 were years of constant warfare between Henry and Rudolf, for in spite of the election of Rudolf, Henry fought desperately for his inheritance. He was supported by the Bohemians and that majority of the German clergy who were opposed to reform; his rival could count on the Saxons and the minority favourable to reform. Gregory himself tried to refrain from taking sides, and proclaimed in repeated letters that a great diet of the empire was the only legal way to settle the dispute. He would send honourable legates to this assembly. When he found that Henry was throwing obstacles in the way of its meeting in spite of his hollow protestations, at last he again wrote, this time to the German synod, which at length reaffirmed the election of Rudolf, again excommunicating Henry and deposing him. This was in effect to recognise Rudolf, so Henry's counter step was to gather some thirty German bishops at Brixen, and choose an antipope, who was the excommunicated and simoniacal Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna. This prelate styled himself Clement III., and assumed the papal insignia. After battles fought and won in turn on both sides, Rudolf was killed at the field of Merseburg in 1080, and Henry had conquered in Germany. He now devoted himself with all his power to the campaign against Gregory. He came into Italy at the head of an army in 1081, and as Countess Matilda's troops were defeated at La Volta, and the Normans would not move forward to fight in North Italy, was able to attack Rome itself. All the same he was not able to storm it, and when

La Volta.
(1081).

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summer came on, retired to the north. Here he tried to strengthen his party by granting charters of liberty to some of the chief cities, and thus remotely prepared for that rise of the Italian republics which was later on to overthrow the imperial power in the Peninsula. He came again in 1082, but met with no better success. In 1083 he succeeded in getting possession of the Leonine city, where he had the antipope enthroned in St Peter's, and for the moment this was all. But at his coming in 1084, by the use of bribes he treacherously gained possession of the whole city, and Gregory shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo. Henry was then crowned with his empress by Guibert, and on the next day, after a synod attended by the schismatical clergy, Gregory was again declared deposed, and Guibert was consecrated in St John Lateran. Gregory had for long been calling for assistance from the Norman duke, Robert Guiscard, but the Norman was too busy fighting in the East to come. At last, however, news came of the approach of his army, and Henry, having levelled the buildings in the Leonine city to the ground, left Rome. Guiscard took the city in spite of the resistance of the Romans, and delivered it up to plunder and slaughter at the hands of his fierce followers for three days. A great part of the city was ruined or burnt. Of course Gregory was set free, but he remained under the protection of the Normans, and left Rome with Guiscard, who reduced Nepi, Sutri, and other papal dependencies to submission. Guibert, however, was left undisturbed at Anagni. Then, journeying through Monte Cassino and Benevento, the Pope came to Salerno. Here he renewed with undiminished courage the censures against Henry and Guibert and their partisans. Soon after he fell ill, and it became clear that his remaining days were but few. He had drawn out a magnificent ideal and with heroic constancy had done all that was in man to carry it out. It is true that his immediate success was but partial, yet he had gone farther than any of his predecessors to translate into action that high spiritual yet imperial policy with which he had striven to inspire men, and had given the first impulse both to the crusade movement and to the struggle for the Investitures. His last words were: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." He was buried in the Church of St Matthew at Salerno (1085).

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Among those whom the dying Gregory mentioned, when asked who might suitably fill his chair, came the name of Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, who had been one of his most useful and faithful friends. Descended from the dukes of Benevento, he had at first been a monk in that city, but for greater strictness of life had transferred himself to the Abbey of Monte Cassino. After a brief space, when Stephen IX., who had retained the abbacy as Pope, was dying, the community chose him as Abbot, and the next Pope had blessed him as such, and also made him cardinal. For nearly thirty years he presided over that great foundation with such success that he is considered the greatest of all the abbots who have ruled it since St Benedict. He built a magnificent new church, he enriched the library with precious books, and he raised the community to the number of two hundred monks. He was a man of peace, and well fitted to intervene between Churchmen and rough barons, and Gregory VII. had used his gifts to the full. He was especially acceptable to the Normans who were all-powerful then in the South of Italy, and repeatedly made peace between their quarrelsome leaders. Besides, he was Gregory's agent in dealing with them, and every advantage or support the great Pontiff gained from these fierce warriors seems to have been gained through means of Desiderius. In fact at Gregory's death it would be hard to find an ecclesiastic with such a noble career behind him in the service of the Church and of his abbey. But he shrank from the Popedom. His health was already failing, and he did not see in himself the commanding genius which could rule as Gregory had done. He met the cardinals to consult as soon as Gregory was dead, but seeing that he was likely to be their choice, he fled to Monte Cassino again, accompanied by some of the other electors. Here he summoned his friends the Normans to the support of the cardinals against the antipope, and marched to Rome with their army. The same shadow of coming events, however, made him flee once more. But the cardinals met in the Church of St Lucy, sent for him to Monte Cassino, and then and there forcibly enthroned him, giving him the name of Victor III. The Holy See had been vacant a year, but even now Desiderius did not

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confirm the election. Soon all had to fly before the advent of the emperor's troops. For another year Desiderius remained in retirement at his abbey, but in 1087 at Capua he finally yielded, assumed the name of Victor III., and confirmed the election. Meanwhile, the Normans had expelled the antipope and his imperial supporters from Rome, and Victor went there and was both consecrated and enthroned in St Peter's. By June, however, he was back again in Monte Cassino in a dying condition. He renewed the censures made by his predecessor against the antipope, and having designated the Prior to succeed him at Monte Cassino, and pointed out Otho, Bishop of Ostia, as the best candidate for the papacy, died in his monastery and was buried in its church.

**Consecra-
tion of
Victor III.**
(9th May,
1087).

His Death.
(16th Sept.,
1087).

Although Otho had opposed Victor at first, and did not favour his acceptance of the papacy, he had been recommended to the conclave both by Gregory and by Victor. He was consequently elected unanimously, as soon as the cardinals could meet, though not at Rome, but at Terracina. He at once proclaimed his intention of pursuing faithfully the policy which Gregory had made his own. This he did in the letter by which he announced his election to the princes of Christendom: "All that he rejected I reject, what he condemned I condemn, what he loved I embrace, what he regarded as Catholic I approve, to whatever side he was attracted I incline." But besides this he was in correspondence with St Hugh of Cluny, in whose abbey he had once been a monk, with Lanfranc, and with St Peter Damian. Urban was a man of commanding presence and persuasive eloquence. Even more than his predecessors, he relied on the support of the Normans from the South of Italy, and one of his first journeys was to Sicily, where Roger and Bohemond were fighting over the inheritance of their father, King William. Eventually he succeeded in making peace between them. He could not get to Rome in the year of his election, but in 1088 he effected an entry by Norman help, though he was only able to occupy the Isola Tiberina. Guibert and his troops held all the rest. Later on, however, after a fierce fight, the papal troops

Urban II.
(1087-1099).

succeeded in driving out their opponents, and Urban entered St Peter's. The next three years were occupied in alternate advance and retreat, now Urban gaining Rome, now Guibert getting the upper hand again, till in 1094 the Governor of the Lateran Palace offered to surrender it to Urban for a fixed price. This was paid by the French Bishop, and later Cardinal, Guy of Vendôme, and Urban was at last able to take his seat in his cathedral. His years of wandering had been utilised by Urban in pushing on that same work of ecclesiastical reform for which Gregory had given his life, and several synods were held by him in the Southern Italian cities to further this object.

But now that a little more success was his at home, he set himself to the realisation of another of Gregory's plans: this was a holy war shared in by all Christian nations to recover the sacred places in Palestine from the hands of the infidel. This, together with other weighty matters that called for his intervention, caused him to push on north in the spring of 1095. At that time he held a council at Piacenza, which was attended by several hundred bishops and a great multitude of the people. There were affairs of pressing moment to deal with, for the monarchs both of Germany and France had run into evil courses in their family life. Henry had ill-treated Praxedis, his second wife, and Philip I. had repudiated Bertha, and married Bertrada, the wife of Fulk of Anjou. Praxedis was acquitted and Henry condemned, but a respite was given to Philip. After this the Pope found an occasion to put before the assembly his plan of the Crusade. It was at the Council of Clermont, however, in November of the same year, that Urban was able to preach and proclaim the Crusade in a definite and final manner. Two hundred and fifty bishops with four hundred abbots and an immense multitude of nobles, knights and Christian people of all degrees were gathered there, to hear the burning words of the eloquent Pontiff as he exhorted them to the enterprise. Peter the Hermit was commissioned to proceed from town to town to preach the holy war. An additional spur was afforded by the pressing request of the Byzantine emperor, Alexis Comnenus, for a band of knights to strengthen his forces against the Turks, and the enthusiasm of the movement was fanned

**The First
Crusade.**
(1095).

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into flame. "Taking the cross" meant fastening on the garments a little red cross of wool as a sign that the wearer was going on the sacred expedition. Urban was begged to lead the Crusaders in person. Still, as that could not be, D'Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was made legate for the enterprise, and a vast number of people prepared to take the journey east. At first mere crowds of people, men, women and children, fired with ardour, but utterly unfit for the work before them, streamed eastwards, resembling one of those racial migrations which had settled the nations of Europe in their various lands. Disorder beyond control marked their path. But the only host that ever reached Constantinople was that led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless. The rest perished in countless thousands from want on the way, or were cut down by the Hungarians or people of other nations over whose lands they passed. (1096).

Meanwhile the regular army of the Cross was organised from four points: Godfrey de Bouillon led the Germans and Northern Franks by land, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois led French and Normans through Italy and Apulia, Raymund of Toulouse and Bishop Adhemar advanced with their men through the Eastern Alps, and Bohemond and Tancred sailed with the Normans from Sicily and Apulia. Once assembled from these quarters in Asia Minor, the army of the Crusaders had to fight its way against the Turks for the whole length of that region. In 1097 they made their way into Syria, and in June of that year took Antioch by storm. Dissension broke out amongst the leaders, and a delay of many months took place before the advance to Jerusalem. At last, however, they laid siege to the city, using both the machines of their engineers and the supernatural means of prayer and processions to win a victory. Jerusalem held out for five weeks, but on the 14th of July, 1099, the Crusaders were in possession of the Holy City. Godfrey de Bouillon was chosen Lord of the Holy Places, and on his death in 1100 his brother Baldwin was crowned King. With the help of the Norwegians and Genoese, Baldwin gradually conquered all the Moslem cities of Syria, while Tancred established himself at Antioch, Raymund seized Tripoli, and Baldwin's family became Counts of Edessa. There was thus a chain of

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Western principalities, almost independent, yet all acknowledging the sovereignty of the Pope. These became completely organised in feudal fashion, with Latin sees and Western laws, and when the Italian merchants settled in them, and commerce and Norman architecture developed, they even surpassed in prosperity many of the states of European Christendom. A Latin patriarch ruled the Church of Jerusalem.

Urban II. did not live to hear the news of the Fall of Jerusalem, though it had just taken place before he died. Passing on southwards from Clermont, he excommunicated Philip I. for his divorce from Bertha, and met and blessed the crusading host at Lucca. With the help of the Normans from the South, and of Countess Matilda in the North, he was able to force the Emperor Henry to leave Italy, and to drive Guibert back to Ravenna. He regained possession of the fortress of St Angelo, and the rest of his days were in peace. Guibert died only in 1100, but already the schism was practically extinct.

Death of Urban II. Urban journeyed south to Bari, and there held a council to discuss with the Greeks the addition of the Filioque to the Creed. (1098).

Besides the cardinals and the Greek bishops, there were around him St Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had come to ask protection against the tyranny of William Rufus, and shone in the council by his learning and genius; St Bruno, the holy founder of the Carthusian Order, whom he kept by him till his death; and other learned churchmen. St Peter Damian was already dead. He died in Rome in the house of his old friend, Pierleone, and was buried in St Peter's.

When St Anselm met the Father of Christendom he had much to tell of the misfortunes which had forced

St Anselm. him from his see. Humanly speaking come to the fair land of Italy was to Anselm (1033-1109). like coming home, for he had been born at Aosta under the shelter of the Alpine range in Piedmont (1033), but after a youth spent in his native valleys he had passed into Normandy, and become a monk at the Cluniac Abbey of Bec, where under the founder, Abbot Herluin, the Benedictine traditions of labour and prayer were observed in primitive fervour. At Bec Anselm spent full three-and-thirty years—first three years as a

simple monk, then fifteen as prior, and lastly fifteen as abbot. And they were years full of study and prayer, and graced by a beautiful spirit of charity towards his brother monks, whose admiration and affection he won to almost an equal degree. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1089, not so long after the Conqueror, who had been instrumental in bringing him to England as Primate. Now there was another and a worse man on the throne of England in the person of William Rufus, the Conqueror's son. And he kept the primatial see vacant for four years, that he might enjoy the revenues, and be free from the check, which the highest Churchman in the land could not fail to be, even on a royal despot. But in 1093 the king fell ill, and in a fit of repentance was moved to fill up the vacancy. Anselm was the choice of both king and monks, was dragged all unwillingly to the king's bedside, and had the crosier thrust into his hand. But Rufus lost his good dispositions with the return of health, and was soon at enmity with the new Archbishop, who was a champion of Pope Urban's supremacy. As such he would not take the pallium from the king, and when to this was added another cause of quarrel rising out of William's Welsh war, Anselm left the country and repaired to the Pope. Urban received him with great honour, and made use of his theological genius at the discussion with the Greeks. In 1100 William Rufus was killed in the New Forest, and Anselm returned to his see to find Henry I. king of England. He lived for nine years more, not without struggles with the new king, who had inherited his father's and brother's arbitrary ways, and in 1109 he died, worn out with his austerities and his combats. It will be better to discuss his writings, for he is a Doctor of the Church, when we have to speak of that scholastic system of science which owes so much to his genius

CHAPTER III.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INVESTITURES.

(1099-1124).

RAINERIUS, a monk of Vallombrosa, famed for both learning and piety, had been made Cardinal by Gregory **Paschal II.** VII., and had been legate for Urban II. (1099-1118). who is thought to have pointed him out as a possible successor to himself. It was a unanimous election, held in San Clemente, which raised him to the papacy in spite of his protests. And before many days he was consecrated and crowned as Paschal II. (1099-1118). Though full of the high aims of his predecessors, and by no means lacking in energy, he did not possess that persistent firmness which could alone win a victory so difficult over foes so numerous and powerful. The Emperor Henry IV. was excommunicated and bitterly hostile. The imperial antipope Guibert met with a sudden death in the following year, but it cost the emperor little to replace him. First Theodoric and then Albert were put up by him for the purpose, but neither could secure a foothold in Rome. Paschal, having renewed the excommunication, was led to encourage Henry's son in rebellion against his father, and things went badly for the emperor. He abdicated at Coblenz in 1105, and his son, Henry V., was crowned King of Germany, but very soon after, with the duplicity habitual to him, Henry IV. retracted all this, and father and son plunged into war with one another, each supported by a section of the nobles. The unnatural conflict was ended by the death of Henry IV. in 1106. He was not old in years, but had grown old in crime, above all in ungovernable lust, in which both his cruelty and his deceit had their origin. Christendom was well rid of him, the only pity being that he gave place to a son

who was his equal in cunning and mendacity, but his inferior in intellect and natural gifts. Having cringed to the Pope to obtain his help while his father lived, his conduct was changed to that of an arrogant autocrat and unscrupulous tyrant as soon as he thought himself safe in his kingdom. Paschal had gone into France, so it was to Châlons sur Marne that the envoys were sent to inform him of Henry's election. and there it was that they boldly claimed for their master what they called the old right of Investiture with ring and crosier. The Pontiff returned a direct refusal, so, muttering threats, they left with an arrogant flaunting of their military prowess, perhaps with a view to intimidate Paschal. The Pope returned to Italy, and opened negotiations with Henry anew from there, with the object of arranging this question, and at the same time that of Henry's imperial coronation. These steps seemed at first to prosper so well that in 1110 Henry came into Italy with a large army. In most places he was received with submission, and sent before him to Rome fair promises that he would come to an understanding on the Investiture question. But in reality he meant to receive the imperial crown, and yet not to give up the Investitures; and for the moment he succeeded. Paschal II. was too gentle and too straightforward to cope with such a crafty schemer. The negotiations went on tardily, and the imperial forces came quite near to Rome before Albert, Archbishop of Mayence, and Pierleone, as the papal envoy, came to an arrangement. After oaths of fidelity to the emperor and liberty for the people had been exchanged, Henry entered the city. The proposal was that Henry and the German princes should give up the Investiture, and that the Pope should crown Henry. They met. Henry kissed the Pope's foot, and they then embraced. Thrones were placed for each in St Peter's for the coronation. But when the moment for the ratification of the Concordat arrived, cries arose from the German princes present that Paschal should crown the emperor without any conditions. Paschal refused, but at the end of Mass a scene of violence broke out, the German soldiers throwing themselves upon clergy and people, so that blood was shed, and Paschal was taken prisoner. Night fell on scenes of strife, while the Romans fought to rescue the Pope from the Germans. All the next day a desperate struggle

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went on, which was turning out so badly for the imperialists that Henry left the city, taking Paschal with him as a captive. Fruitless efforts to free him were made by his Roman supporters and by the cardinals, but he was carried about from city to city, pestered with repeated demands that he should crown the emperor and give up the Investitures. At last, in a moment of weakness, Paschal consented, and Henry, having barred all access from Rome to the Leonine city, came to St Peter's, and was there crowned by the Pope, formally receiving from him at the same time the deed of renouncement of the Investitures. Then the emperor left Italy, leaving the Countess Matilda as his Regent in Lombardy, and proceeded to inter his father with solemn rites in the Cathedral of Spire (1111).

But Paschal, left to his own reflections, bitterly regretted what he had done. Evidence came in from all sides to show that his action was neither approved nor endorsed by the Church at large. Full of dejection, he fled from Rome, and casting away the papal insignia, hid himself in the Island of Ponza. But this could not last. He was called back to Rome with tears and entreaties by the clergy to undo what he had done. A council was called at the Lateran (11th March, 1112), and there the Pope formally revoked the privilege he had granted while in captivity, and declared it null and void, and this revocation was accepted and re-echoed by the prelates of the council. Henry was not there, and was not excommunicated, as the gentle Pontiff had promised not to excommunicate him. But the French bishops met at Vienne a little later, and there the sentence was anew pronounced. Paschal after some time adhered to this, and then left Rome to seek aid from the Normans. But Henry was soon brought back to Italy by the death of the Countess Matilda. She had left her domains to the Roman Church, and Henry would not suffer this. So in 1116 he came to Italy to assert his supremacy, and being supported by a faction of Rome, he managed to seize the city, Paschal being absent with the Normans. He was then crowned again by Pierleone, son of the Papal Counsellor. But though thus able to make a successful raid on the Pope's centre of government, Henry could not remain to hold what he had seized. So, with some slight help from the Normans,

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Paschal was able to return, and get possession of a part of the city. While he was preparing engines of war to drive his enemies out of the Trastevere, the much-trying Pontiff was surprised by death on the 21st of January, 1118.

With Rome divided between the hostile factions, nearly all the cardinals met to choose a new Pope. The Chancellor and Archdeacon John, though **Gelasius II.** already an aged man, was their unanimous choice. (1118-1119). But he was scarcely elected when he was set upon by the turbulent faction leader, Cencio Frangipani, beaten, and imprisoned. It was only after a struggle that the Roman friends of the papacy, who had risen to deliver him from captivity, could lead him in triumph to the Lateran. Though only a deacon, he began to rule the Church before his consecration, which was delayed for some time. For the Emperor Henry V. was soon on the road to Rome, which he entered by stealth at night, and very nearly seized the new Pontiff. However, Gelasius was able to escape to the Normans at Gaeta just in time, and there he was consecrated after an interval of six or seven weeks. Seeing that he would not be able to have the person of Gelasius in his power, Henry chose another antipope, Maurice Bourdin, Bishop of Braga, who took the name of Gregory VIII. Gelasius excommunicated both Henry and the antipope, who nevertheless crowned Henry, but soon after Henry retired from Rome and he and his train began the journey home to Germany. Gelasius now by Norman aid managed to gain a precarious foothold in Rome. However, while celebrating the offices of the Church in St Prassede, a fierce attack was made on the Church by the Frangipani. The Pope barely succeeding in taking horse, and fleeing from the city, betook himself first to Pisa, where he got a respectful welcome, consecrated their beautiful new cathedral, and made the see a metropolis. Thence (29th Jan., 1119). he proceeded into France to the Abbey of Cluny, where he died, broken with illness and the troubles which had been crowded into his short Pontificate. The Benedictine came among his brethren to rest at last.

The Archbishop Guy of Vienne had been summoned to the death-bed of Pope Gelasius on the advice of one of the cardinals, and there pointed out to them by the sinking

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Pontiff as the best successor they could elect. Guy shrank from the burden, for he was prosperous and at peace in his see, and he knew what a storm-centre **Calixtus II.** Rome was. However, yielding to what (1119-1123). seemed the Will of God, he accepted, took the name of Calixtus II., and was enthroned and crowned at Lyons with much state. Still, before taking further action, he sent to the cardinals who remained in Rome to make sure that they confirmed the action of their brethren in France. In a reply which was sent, the latter not only declared that they stood by what had been done, but also begged the new Pope to take in hand, by holding councils or any other means he could, the great work that had to be done for the Church. It was, doubtless, partly in consequence of this that Calixtus held a council at Toulouse in 1119, and another at Rheims later on in the same year. The latter council was of the first magnitude and importance, being attended by over two hundred bishops and at least as many abbots and other prelates. King Louis VI. of France was there, and the emperor was not far distant, so that the Pope was able to leave the council in order to hold a conference with him. In spite of all his eloquent pleading, however, Henry remained obdurate, so, returning to the council, Calixtus solemnly excommunicated him together with his antipope and all their aiders and abettors. He then met St Norbert, the founder of the White Canons, and approved his Order, known after their Abbey of Prémontré as the Premonstratensians, and at the request of St Stephen Harding granted a similar approval to the White Monks or Cistercians. Having met Henry I. of England at Gisors, and arranged peace between him and France, Calixtus retraced his steps to Italy. At Rome he was received with great enthusiasm, and with not less by the Normans in the South. So, feeling strong enough now to deal with the antipope, he besieged him in Sutri, and after eight days the unfortunate Bourdin fell into the hands of the Pope's troops; so, making him ride on a camel with his face to the tail, they drove him to Rome with mockery and insult. Calixtus rescued him from the rough hands of his soldiers, and put him into safe custody. He is supposed to have died in the Abbey of La Cava.

The excommunication levelled at the Emperor Henry

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at Rheims gradually bent him in spite of himself towards submission. In deference to it the bishops of his party gradually left him, and were followed by others of his supporters. The fall of the antipope was the final blow. At Wurtzburg Henry agreed in general terms to obey the Pope, and another diet was summoned at Worms, which met in 1122. To this great assembly the Pontiff sent his legates. First of all the emperor and his supporters were solemnly absolved from all censures, and then an agreement was drawn up between the Church and the empire, known as the Concordat of Worms, which is the first Concordat properly so called we meet with by whose terms the outstanding causes of quarrel were composed and the Investiture question settled mainly on lines acceptable to the Church. It was a compromise, but it was one that the Pontiff could accept, and ended the fifty years of strife with a victory for the spiritual power. The emperor gave up the right to invest with ring and crosier, and consequently all claim to spiritual power, but retained the right to exact homage for Investiture by the sceptre with the temporalities of the different sees and benefices.

**Concordat
of Worms.**
(1122).

In accordance with the spirit of faith of the times it was agreed to supplement the diet with a general council, "that what earthly wisdom could not alone complete, might be accomplished by the wisdom of the Holy Ghost." So, notifying the agreement that had been reached to the various people of Christendom, Calixtus summoned a general council to meet at the Lateran Palace in the following Lent. And on the 18th of March, 1123, this assembly, known as the

**First
Lateran
Council.**
(1123).

FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN (1123),

met under the personal presidency of Pope Calixtus, and was attended by three hundred bishops, over six hundred abbots and lower dignitaries, or about one thousand prelates in all. Its chief work was the confirmation of the decisions of the Concordat of Worms on Investitures, and of the absolution of the emperor from his excommunication. It went on, moreover, to pass disciplinary canons, the most important of which were those which declared marriages of priests null and void, which was

new, while the prohibition of marriage and concubinage was merely a reiteration of former laws. The ordinations of the antipope, Bourdin, were declared of no effect; laymen holding Church goods were declared excommunicated, and provisions were made to secure safety for pilgrims and the Crusaders and their goods. This council was the crowning work of Calixtus' reign. He spent the time that remained to him after it was over in pacifying the turbulent lords around Rome, and in restoring and beautifying the city itself. In the following year he breathed his last, and was buried in the Lateran (1124).

Ireland in the Early Middle Ages. The early development of Christian science and piety which had been so remarkable in Ireland from St Patrick's time until the eighth century was fatally checked by the inroads of the Danes and other Norsemen, which became more frequent and more lasting as time went on.

They did not succeed in conquering the country as a whole, but they did succeed in founding a kingdom in Dublin, and permanent settlements in Waterford, Limerick, Cork and several other places. In the meantime there were centuries of chaos and almost continual war. And there were feuds among the native kings and chiefs in grim series. The most important of those was between the Ardri, Malachi, and Brian Boru, king of Munster, which ended in the abdication of Malachi. The Leinster tribes called in the help of the Danes, but their united forces were defeated by Brian at Clontarf (1014), and the chief rule among the Irish princes passed away from the Leinstermen. Brian Boru, however, fell in the hour of victory, and thus another century of disorder followed. The old hierarchy established by St Patrick also fell into confusion, no episcopal boundaries were kept, and many of the bishoprics, including even the primatial See of Armagh, fell into secular hands, in some cases becoming the hereditary possession of powerful families. The great reformer was St Malachi, Archbishop of Armagh (1095-1148). Meanwhile the Holy See sent a legate to Ireland to try and reduce things to order; and by the efforts of this prelate, Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, and of St Malachi, a series of councils was held, including that of Rathbrasseil in 1118, and Kells in 1152, in which a regular

diocesan organisation was set up with definite boundaries. Though less numerous than the sixty hitherto in being, the sees of the new division were more numerous than the present ones, many of those then acknowledged having been since merged into other more important ones. The division made at Kells was into four metropolitan and thirty-four suffragan sees ; but the death of St Malachi was a great blow to the orderly government of the Church, and the new boundaries of the sees do not seem to have been always observed. The life of St Lawrence O'Toole, the last canonised Irish saint, belongs to another generation, and coincided with the period of the Norman invasion. He was Archbishop of Dublin from 1161 to 1180, and it was four centuries before the See of Dublin was again occupied by an Irishman.

We have to go far along into the Middle Ages before we find a Church organised with territorial divisions in Scotland. The early ages of Christianity in that country passed, with the influence of the Irish monks of Iona paramount over most of the land. And when in the eighth century this monastic system was banished out of the greater part of Scotland by the Pictish king, it only meant the commencement of a long period of warfare and racial and tribal division. The Norsemen had made their settlements in the Scottish isles just as they had in England and Ireland, and the diocese of Kirkwall in the Orkneys was theirs. But they had also by their raids cut off Iona from all steady intercourse with the mainland, and henceforth it was practically a part of the Irish Church. Sees had been founded at Dunkeld, St Andrew's and Abernethy, but the centre of government shifted from one to the other with the fortunes of chieftains and kings. This state of things seems to have persisted up to the reigns of Duncan, Macbeth and Malcolm III. But from this time forward the effect of the Norman Conquest of England was to forward the work of Church organisation in Scotland also. And, as in the South, it made for peace, order and development. The angel of peace, whose coming north gave the first impulse to this movement, was St Margaret (1070-1093). espoused to Malcolm III., and both by her influence over her husband, and by her direct enterprises in founding churches and monasteries, St Margaret certainly did much to advance the cause

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of the Scottish Church. The influence of Iona was now supplanted by that of York, which even went so far as to claim supremacy over all the northern sees. Malcolm III. was succeeded by his three sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, and the last of these, David (1124-1153), became the organiser of his country's Church on the mediaeval model, breaking with the old traditions of the Celtic monks. He founded six new episcopal sees, and all the most celebrated Benedictine abbeys in the country were either begun or remodelled by him. The first synod we know of was held at St Andrew's in 1150, and chapters, and deaneries, and also the Sarum rite introduced. David died in 1153 with the double fame of sanctity and of skilful statesmanship.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.

(1124-1154).

It could not be denied that the settlement of the Investiture question was a victory for the Holy See and the Church. The next contest was to be not with kings and princes but with that **Honorius II.** (1124-1130). growing spirit of republicanism which had already giving signs of its power. After the Concordat of Worms, who more likely to govern the Church well than the able statesman who had arranged it—Cardinal Lambert? But he was not the favourite candidate at Rome: Cardinal Saxo was the Romans' choice. It was only by a stratagem of Count Leo Frangipani that after distracting attention by putting forward a third candidate, he had more or less surprised the cardinals by accepting Lambert. However, as this mode of election was too precarious to be satisfactory, Lambert resigned the papal insignia. The result was that he was at once re-elected, and all having accepted him, he took the name of Honorius II. (1124-1130).

In a few months (23rd May, 1125), occurred the death of the Emperor Henry V., who, being childless, had designated Frederic of Hohenstaufen as his successor. Honorius sent Cardinal Gerard to the diet which was to elect, but supported the claims of Lothair, Duke of Saxony. There was now a schism in the empire, for the Hohenstaufen candidate was crowned at Monza by the Archbishop of Milan, and it was only gradually, as it became known that Lothair had the majority both in Germany and Italy, that the opposition died down, and Lothair was left in peace to enjoy his realm. Honorius also was in peace at Rome, but serious trouble arose in the South of Italy, where Roger, the Norman Duke of

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Sicily, invaded Apulia, to join it to his dominions as soon as Duke William died. Honorius took up arms against him, but being deserted by part of his allies, privately came to terms with Duke Roger, thereby confirming him in the possession of Apulia, and laying the foundation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. But there were other nobles around the Pope, turbulent and warlike men who gave trouble to him before peace had been made with the Normans. Each was in his hill-top castle, a scourge to the country-folk, and a challenge to papal authority. Fumone was the first of those strongholds besieged by Honorius. After ten weeks he took it, and having garrisoned it, transferred thither for safe keeping the antipope, Gregory VIII. Next to this Segni was taken, and other places of less note followed. And it was not only rough lords, half-soldier, half-bandit, who troubled the peace of Italy at this time. A spirit of republican freedom seemed to spring up in several parts of the peninsula, at Genoa, at Pisa, in several cities of Lombardy, and even in Rome itself; while in the French Communes a somewhat similar movement stirred, and was supported against the feudal lords by the king's minister, Suger. As soon as Pope Honorius found his strength failing, he betook himself to the monastery of St Andrew on the Cœlian, and gradually sinking, he there breathed his last on the 14th of February, 1130.

Cardinal Gregory was at once elected to succeed, and assuming the name of Innocent II. (1130-1143) he proceeded to take possession of the Lateran on the same occasion, when Honorius' solemn funeral brought his predecessor's body for interment there. But things were not to pass off so lightly as that, and the partisans of Cardinal Pierleone, rejecting this swift election, chose him as Pope, and proclaimed him as Anacletus II. This was the beginning of a rather lengthy schism. Anacletus, the antipope, found powerful supporters, especially King Roger of Sicily, and aided by him managed to maintain some sort of effective opposition until the Lateran Council in 1139, though St Norbert exerted himself successfully to end the schism. In fact, though the chief cardinals were for Innocent, numerically the greater part seems to have supported Anacletus, so that at first which was the lawful Pope seemed doubtful, even to the holiest and best men; it was only inquiry

and reflection that ranged them all on the side of Innocent. The Frangipani faction, at that time very powerful at Rome, turned over from the party of Innocent to that of Anacletus, and then the Pope could no longer maintain himself in his city, but retired first to the Trastevere, and then to France, whither he travelled by way of Pisa and Genoa. In France he met Louis VI. and his great minister, Suger, and, having crowned his son, the future Louis VII., secured, with their support, that of the French clergy. He also visited the two great abbeys of Cluny and Clairvaux. Both St Bernard and St Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, exerted themselves to secure the general acceptance of Innocent. Through the latter's influence, and after a meeting with the Emperor Lothair at Liège, Germany also admitted his claims, while Henry I. of England came to him at Carnot, and promised the obedience of his realm. At a great council at Rheims of three hundred bishops, including representatives of Spain and England, all this was published, and disciplinary canons enacted which were the first sketch of the legislation at the next Ecumenical Council. Lothair was now able to move into Italy with an army, and this made it possible for the Pope to return to Rome, though part of the city was still held by the antipope. However, Lothair and his consort were crowned at the Lateran (1133), and when they retired to Germany, Innocent went to the North of Italy and held a council at Piacenza. Lothair was then invested by the Pope with the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, as a fief of the Holy See, and homage was done for it, though not by the emperor in person. Gradually the partisans of the antipope left him, and the schism grew less and less till Anacletus died in 1138. It is true that another antipope was chosen, Victor IV., but by this time Innocent had the almost universal obedience of Christendom.

To put the seal on this settlement, the Pope issued summonses for a general council, which met on the 4th of April, 1139, and is known as the

SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN.

It gathered together about one thousand bishops and prelates, and excommunicated the antipope and Arnold of Brescia, who had denied the temporal power of the

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Roman Pontiff, as well as Roger of Sicily, whose Normans were now the chief support of the schism, while he had usurped from the Holy See the title of King of Sicily. Besides this, some thirty canons of discipline were passed, most of them an enforcement of former decrees, and especially of the recent ones of Rheims. Bodily violence to a member of the clergy was also made a case of excommunication: the case popularly called *Suadente diavolo*.

Second
Lateran
Council.
(1139.)

St Malachi of Armagh came to Rome in the same year, and being received with much honour was made papal legate in Ireland, while the jurisdiction of Hamburg over all Scandinavia was reaffirmed. After the council Innocent collected an army and marched against Roger of Sicily, who had advanced in hostile fashion against the papal domains there. But the history of Leo IX. repeated itself. Innocent was taken prisoner by the Normans, and though personally treated with great respect, all thought of subduing them by force of arms was at an end, and Roger was granted the title of King, being invested with Sicily, Calabria and Apulia as fiefs of the Holy See, for which he did homage. The republican party at Rome, which no doubt had made the ejection of the antipope more difficult, now came to terms with Innocent, and having obtained from him charter and privileges, received him back into the city. Thus it came to pass that the last few years of Innocent II. were spent in comparative peace. He was able to hold several synods in Rome and Italy. He gave SS. Vincent and Anastasius at Rome to the monks of St Bernard, where the future Pontiff, Eugenius III., was made abbot, and in 1143 he died and was buried in the Lateran.

Celestine II. (1143), who had been Cardinal Guido, was unanimously elected, but only survived for five months, and was succeeded by Lucius II., who was the Canon Gerard Caccianimici of Bologna, and had been brought into the college of Cardinals by Honorius II. (1144). Under his reign a new attempt was made to set up a kind of Roman republic. Jordan, son of Pierleone, and brother of the antipope Anacletus, was chosen Patrician, and efforts were made to exclude the Pontiff from all part in the temporal administration of the city.

The theory of Arnold of Brescia was that he should confine his attention purely to the spiritual affairs of the Church. Lucius tried to get help from the empire, and failing in this, attempted with what forces he could muster to expel the malcontents from the Capitol; but he was driven back, and died either, as some relate, struck by a stone during the disturbances, or else of grief at the evil state of Rome. He had reigned only eleven months (1144-1145).

Very probably the election of the Cistercian abbot, Eugenius III., was an attempt to gain general acceptance for a man who was not in the Sacred College, and was, both by his profession and his saintly character, removed from worldly ambition and secular aims. Nevertheless, if so, the attempt was an unsuccessful one. There was no sincere effort at reconciliation, and Eugenius had to be consecrated at the Abbey of Farfa and to reside at Viterbo. There he excommunicated the patrician Jordan, but at the same time showed all willingness to come to terms with the popular party in the city. For a time, at the price of handing over a great part of the civil rule of Rome to the citizens, he was able to return, but troubles broke out anew. Arnold of Brescia, who had been absolved from his sentence of exile by the Pontiff, renewed his subversive discourses as soon as he came back to the "Senatus populusque Romanus," which fitted in so well with their drift, and Eugenius took refuge in France. He held a large council at Rheims, and then visited the great abbey of Clairvaux, where his master St Bernard had begun his now widespread order.

Whether we look at his spiritual gifts, or consider the far-reaching influence that he wielded, we shall be led to the conclusion that St Bernard was the first man in Christendom in the generation we now have under review. He was born at Fontenay in Burgundy about 1090, and his family was an illustrious one. Soon tired of the world and all it could offer, he set off for Citeaux, where St Robert and St Stephen Harding had been the founders of the White Monks, called Cistercians, after the name of their first abbey. He came accompanied by thirty young nobles whom his example had led to the same resolve, and his coming marked a new period of develop-

**Eugenius
III.**
(1145-1153).

St Bernard.
(1090-1153).

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ment for the order. After some years Bernard was sent at the head of a colony to begin a new foundation at Clairvaux. Here numerous disciples gathered round him, including his father and all his brothers, and as the numbers grew, swarms were able to leave Clairvaux for Three Fountains, Fontenay and Foigny. At the General Chapter of 1119 St Bernard had a dominant part in framing the Written Rule of his order, so that he is looked upon as a second founder. In his monastic solitude he composed those works so full of unction and science which have won him the title of Doctor of the Church. If we have to mention some as examples of the rest, we have only to name the book on the *Degrees of Pride and Humility*, the homilies on the Gospel "*Missus est*," the book on the *Conversion of Clerics*, and we have said enough to establish his claim to the honour, to say nothing of his numerous *Sermons* and *Letters* and the work, "*De Consideratione*," addressed to his pupil Eugenius, after he had been raised to the Pontificate. He had to engage in controversy with the monks of Cluny, who felt themselves in some danger of being eclipsed by the new order. However, under their illustrious abbot, Peter the Venerable, the Cluny monks went on their own well-appointed way in fervour and usefulness, and charity was preserved on both sides. It was the latter action of Innocent II., who abolished the dues formally paid by Clairvaux to Cluny, which led to a twenty years' dispute.

A less amicable controversy was that in which St Bernard took part against the celebrated teacher, Peter Abelard. Abelard represented the rationalistic aspect of the scholastic teachers, unchecked by tradition or faith. He had begun to teach at Paris first as a disciple and then as a rival of William of Champeaux, but had to leave for a time. However, having secured a chair at the University, he had ten years of unexampled success from 1118 to 1128 as a Professor there. Abandoning the positive and traditional methods of his predecessors, he applied to the most sacred subjects the rules of Aristotelian logic: that strict scientific process which afterwards in the hands of a teacher like St Thomas was the instrument to build up the great edifice of Scholastic Theology. But he used this weapon without St Thomas' piety or

reverence—and fell into error. His work on the Trinity was condemned to be burnt. Moreover, his pride and vanity led him into a moral fall equally notorious and regrettable. He fell in love with Heloise, the niece of Canon Fulbert with whom he was lodging, and his passion led to sin, and swift punishment. He retired to the Abbey of St Denys, and Heloise took the veil at Argenteuil. Once more his talents as a teacher were utilised for the instruction of youth, and once more his orthodoxy fell under suspicion. This time it was St Bernard who gave the alarm, and the consequence was that a number of propositions from his writings were condemned at a council held at Sens, at which St Bernard was present. But Abelard appealed to Rome, and started to go there. On his way, however, he was met by a decree of Innocent II., confirming the condemnation at Sens. Peter the Venerable now took up his cause, made peace with St Bernard for him, and took him to Cluny, where the rest of his life was spent in peaceful retirement till his death in 1142. His remains and those of Heloise were transferred in after years to the cemetery of Père la Chaise at Paris.

Another event which shows St Bernard's great power in his day, and at the same time was the source of endless trials to him, was the Second Crusade.

The fall of Edessa, the attacks made on Antioch by the Greek emperor, John Comnenus, and the almost continual assaults made on the Christians by the Moslems around them, combined to show that another united effort would be needed if the Crusaders' possessions in the East were to be saved. St Bernard became the moving spirit in the effort to save them, which was called the Second Crusade. Louis VII. took the Cross at Vezelay, and after St Bernard had passed into Germany, preaching the holy war in spite of all opposition, the Emperor Conrad did the same at the Diet of Spire. Still, the enthusiasm of the First Crusade did not wake again. Conrad and Louis started with their armies, but met with many unforeseen hindrances in their march across Asia Minor. The equivocal attitude of the Byzantines taught them to look upon that empire as an advanced post of the Moslems, and as an obstacle to be overcome before they could advance further. The

**The
Second
Crusade.**
(1146).

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Crusaders laid siege to Damascus, but were forced by Noureddin, the Moslem Caliph, to retire after some weeks. In face of his power and the disputes with the Greeks, the Crusaders had no alternative but to withdraw with their weakened forces, and though Noureddin, after retaking possession of Damascus, abstained from further hostilities, the Second Crusade had ended in failure. The whole blame of this unfortunate result was laid on St Bernard, and he had need of all his sanctity to bear the obloquy which pursued him everywhere. But he had now come to the end of his remarkable life. At the age of sixty-three he passed away at Clairvaux, worn out with austerities and labours in 1153. In the same year died his illustrious disciple, Eugenius III. Suger, the pious Abbot of St Denys, was already dead, and the Emperor Conrad passed away about the same time. St Bernard had founded one hundred and sixty-three monasteries in different parts of Europe, and is rightly counted with St Benedict and St Basil as one of the great patriarchs of the monastic life.

Failure of the Crusade. (1148).

At Rome, when Eugenius was dead, the aged Anastasius IV. was unanimously elected, and held the papacy for a year and five months (1153-1154). During this time he was undisturbed by the faction of the republicans in the capital. He is said, moreover, to have been a venerable and peace-loving man. He built himself a new residence hard by the Pantheon, which he caused to be restored. He was buried in the magnificent porphyry sarcophagus which formerly contained the body of St Helena. It had been brought by him to the Lateran that it might be his tomb. But it now stands empty in the Vatican Museum. His short reign was like a brief breathing-space, ere the contest between the Church and the world entered on a fresh phase with new champions on either side.

CHAPTER V.

THE POPES AND BARBAROSSA.

(1154-1197).

WITH the death of Anastasius IV. we come to the opening of that struggle between the Holy See and the Empire which was one of the most protracted that we find in the history of the Church. The pontifical election was made on the very day after Anastasius died, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear being unanimously chosen by the thirty-two cardinals who were gathered in St Peter's Church. He was to be known as Adrian IV., and was the only Englishman ever called to rule the Universal Church. He had already played a noble part in making the ecclesiastical history of his times. Not that he had begun his career with any advantages of birth, for he was born about the year 1100, most likely at Abbots Langley in Herts, of poor working people, and wandered friendless to the Continent to seek his education and his fortune. At length he became a member of the community of St Rufus, near Avignon, and being later on chosen Abbot, went to Rome on the business of his abbey. While there, he attracted the attention of Eugenius III., who kept him near him as one of his counsellors, and in due course made him Cardinal Bishop. In 1152 he was sent on an important legation to Scandinavia, where he established Trondhjem as the metropolitan see for Norway, and tried to compose the differences which had arisen between the metropolitans of Lund and Upsala. He also introduced into those countries the payment of Peter's Pence. He had only just returned to Rome when Anastasius died, and he found himself all unwillingly his successor. He met troubles on all sides. Rome

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was in revolt, the new German sovereign but doubtfully a friend, and the Norman in Italy bold and aggressive.

It was needful first of all to deal with the difficulties nearest home. The republican party under Arnold of

Rome Brescia had become so violent that Adrian
under was almost forced to act with severity.
Interdict. As one case showing the turbulence that

reigned, Cardinal Gerard had been mortally wounded while walking in Rome. The city was laid under Interdict, which involved the cessation of Church services and of the Sacraments. And Adrian left Rome, and went to Viterbo. He demanded the expulsion of Arnold of Brescia, the extinction of the so-called republic, and the acceptance anew of papal sovereignty. In time the pressure of the Interdict made itself felt, the terms were accepted, and then Pope Adrian returned to the city in triumph, and soon after was crowned at St John Lateran. Arnold of Brescia got away for the moment, but was seized by the troops of the emperor, who had little sympathy with a republican like him, and was then handed over to the Pope. The time and circumstances of his death are by no means certain, but most likely he was degraded publicly by Adrian's order, and then executed by the Prefect of Rome. Adrian was now master in his own house, and could proceed to deal with the empire.

Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, had a reign of thirty-seven years, and his life-long struggle with the papacy scarcely ended before his death.

Frederic Adrian's part in the contest was a short and
Barbarossa. glorious one. At the time of his accession
(1153-1190).

Frederic, who had begun to reign the year before, was slowly advancing through Italy to claim the imperial crown. After receiving the Iron Crown of Lombardy at Pavia, he advanced to meet the Pope at Sutri (1155). But when they met, Frederic omitted the usual ceremony of holding the Pope's stirrup for him to dismount. Thereupon Adrian refused him the equally customary kiss of peace until the sign of homage was given in full. Another meeting was arranged at Nepi two days later, but now Frederic, who did not wish to miss being crowned, advanced on foot, and held the stirrup, as required. Then both sovereigns proceeded to the Leonine City, and Barbarossa was solemnly crowned in St Peter's. There were still so many partisans of

the republic in Rome that a fierce fight took place when these republicans attacked the imperial troops, and though the Germans were victorious, killing more than one thousand Romans, they were not able to hold both sides of the city. Falling short of provisions, and with his troops threatened with sickness, Frederic left Rome, and burning Spoleto on his way, proceeded to the North.

Adrian had now to grapple with the Normans. He refused to institute William, the son of King Roger, as king of Sicily, and when William attacked Benevento to force Adrian's assent, he was excommunicated. The Pope gathered an army, and throwing himself into Benevento, held it against the Normans. William marched off to Brindisi, took it from the Greeks who held it, burnt it down, and then reappeared at Benevento. Adrian would not have been able permanently to defend the city against the powerful Norman army, and consequently offered to come to terms. A treaty was concluded by which Adrian acknowledged William as king of Sicily and duke of Apulia, Naples, Salerno, and Capua; while William did homage as the Pope's vassal, and engaged to pay a tribute of one thousand one hundred gold pieces for these places. But, of course, the treaty was taken as a grievous offence by the emperor, who claimed imperial rights in Sicily, and moreover was unwilling to have the Normans supporting the Pope. Frederic called a diet at Besançon, and two cardinal legates, Roland and Bernard, were sent thither with a letter from Adrian to the emperor, who was ready to take offence under the slightest pretext. At the diet one of his courtiers translated for him the word "beneficium," used by the Pope in his letter, by "fief," which immediately caused his anger to flame out, as though Adrian considered him his vassal. Roland tried to explain that this was not what the Pope meant, but was not listened to, and the legate only escaped personal injury from one of the courtiers by Frederic throwing himself between them. But the emperor refused to be pacified, and set forth on another warlike expedition to Italy. After taking Milan, he began a march on Rome, and Adrian, though he had succeeded once more in making peace within the city, thereupon retired to Anagni, where he died (1st September, 1159).

It was in a time of storm and stress that the cardinals

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met in Rome after Adrian's death. Frederic was determined now to strain every point to secure a pontiff more subservient to his views than the last one had been. Count Otto of Wittelsbach and the Archbishop of Cologne were in Rome to enforce this, if possible. But the braver and better part of the cardinals knew well what this would mean for the Church, and the votes of all but Cardinal Octavian and two others were given to Cardinal Roland Bandinelli, who assumed the style of Alexander III. (1159-1181). The two dissidents then elected Cardinal Octavian, who called himself Victor III. The cardinals were dispersed by the imperial troops, and both candidates left Rome. Alexander fled south to the Normans and was crowned at Nymphae, while Octavian was consecrated at the Abbey of Farfa. Frederic, affecting to be impartial between them, called both to an assembly at Ticino, to which Alexander sent one of the cardinals to represent him. But the emperor's impartiality soon vanished, and he supported Octavian with all his might. Under his influence the Ticino assembly declared Octavian to be the rightful Pope, and denounced Alexander as an usurper. The imperial party, nevertheless, failed to draw other princes in the footsteps of the emperor, and a more numerous council at Toulouse, assisted at by papal legates, and by envoys not only from the emperor but also from the kings of France and England, ended by declaring for obedience to Alexander and the rejection of Octavian. Alexander then gathered his cardinals at Anagni, anathematised the antipope and his supporters, and excommunicated Frederic, since he remained obstinate. But, inasmuch as the German troops of the emperor were pressing on the Roman territories, the Pope made the Cardinal of Praeneste his Vicar at Rome, and fled to France by sea in the Norman ships. He was received with the greatest honour by Louis VII., and in the following year held a council at Tours, where Octavian was again condemned before seventeen cardinals and no fewer than 124 bishops from France, Italy and England. In the following year the antipope died at Lucca, and Frederic seems to have hesitated for a moment whether to make peace with Alexander or continue the struggle. Eventually, however, Cardinal

Guido was nominated by him, and is known as the antipope Paschal III. The emperor made the German prelates swear to obey him, and never acknowledge Alexander, but outside the empire his efforts were fruitless, though he strove to win for himself the favour of Henry II. of England. To popularise him with the national feeling in Germany, he got Paschal to solemnly canonise Charlemagne, and carried on the contest against Alexander with might and main. His armies overran Italy, and his officers tyrannised over the Italian cities, treating them merely as portions of the empire. After capturing various strongholds, Frederic drew near to Rome, and Alexander, who had returned thither from France in 1165, was forced to retire to Benevento. The emperor having captured the Leonine City had Paschal, his antipope, enthroned in St Peter's on the 1st of August, 1167; receiving the crown from him with his consort on the same occasion. He now seemed to be at the zenith of his power. However, the spirit of resistance was not yet dead in the Italian republics, and Pope Alexander in security at Benevento was waiting the turn of the tide in dignified seclusion.

It was the union of many of the cities of Lombardy, to defend their liberties against Barbarossa, which turned back his conquest, and changed the whole course of the war. Fortunately for them, the army of Frederic was about this time attacked by the plague, and hence the emperor was in no condition to resist their persistent attacks. At last, in March, 1168, he precipitately returned to Germany with a small following, and not without danger. Alexander now blessed and joined himself with the Lombard cities, with whom also William, king of Sicily, entered into an alliance. A new city or stronghold, meant to exceed all the cities of the North as impregnable and formidable, was founded by the Lombards, and called Alessandria after the

**The
Lombard
League.**
(1167).

Pope, to whom also it was tributary. Alexander about this time added to the excommunication of Barbarossa a formal deposition from the empire. Still, that resourceful monarch did not for all that give up the contest. Collecting a new army, he returned to Italy, and laid siege to the new fortress of Alessandria. After five months he had to give up the

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siege, but continued to wage the war with persevering determination for more than two years. At last he sustained a crushing defeat at Legnano in 1176, his army being almost destroyed, and he himself escaping with difficulty. He now tried to make peace with the Pope separately, but Alexander refused to treat except in conjunction with the Lombard League and the Normans.

At last peace was made at Venice. Frederic was absolved from his censures, and then met the Pope, falling

**Peace of
Venice.**

(1177).

at his feet, and promising him obedience, and receiving from him the kiss of peace. On the following day at High Mass in San Marco before the emperor, the Pontiff confirmed the treaty by which Alexander was acknowledged as Pope, and the goods of the Church given back, while the Lombards and Sicilians gained a peace for six and fifteen years respectively. The antipope, Calixtus III., who had succeeded Paschal when the latter died, had to be given up by Frederic, but Alexander acted with magnanimity, and conferred on him an abbacy in which he might end his days in peace (1177).

It seems very likely that from more than one point of view the scene at St Mark's, Venice, with Barbarossa on

**Rise of
Venice.**

his knees before Alexander III., surpassed in external grandeur either the triumph at Canossa or the more enduring splendours of Innocent III. Neither could the inner meaning have been much less. Venice had joined the Lombard League indeed, but in such a detached way that it was considered a practically neutral city for the meeting of Pope and emperor; and though this moment was not by any means the beginning of the greatness of Venice, still the confirmation of its privileges and constitution by the Pontiff in the hour of its victory did, doubtless, give a stimulus to its growing power. The scenes of this time, as stored in the Venetian history and portrayed by her greatest artists on the walls of their public buildings, sank deep into their minds. A few years more, and under Henry Dandolo (1196-1215) Doge and Crusader too, Venice was to treat on equal terms with the emperor of Byzantium, and with the Moslem Soldan.

San Marco was their Patron, and it was with his name as their war-cry that the Venetian mariners coursed out to the East, and under his protection that the Venetian

merchants professed to traffic. The Dogeship of Dandolo laid the foundations of Venetian glory, and the republic became the chief naval power in the Mediterranean. Then, as the treasures of the East were brought home both from Palestine and from Constantinople, there came a period of material embellishment for the city, and round San Marco, already in existence, were grouped Gothic palaces and elegant public buildings, till Venice became almost like a dream city of beauty, rising out of the Adriatic, sending forth her sailors and her merchants into well-nigh every land, whence they returned in regular succession to contribute something to the resources of their wonderful republic.

Alexander could now carry out his plans with every hope of success, and as the holding of an Ecumenical Council had been agreed on at Venice, Alexander issued summonses to it in the following year, 1178, and it met at the Lateran Palace in 1179, during Lent. It is known as the

THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN,

and was presided over by the Pontiff in person. It comprised nearly a thousand members, and the bishops were drawn from an unexampled width of territory. St Laurence O'Toole was there at the head of the Irish bishops, and seven of their English brethren were not far off, and then besides the numerous French, German, Italian and Spanish bishops, there were representatives of Hungary, Scotland, Denmark and even distant Iceland. The Greeks were represented by Nectarius, and the Latin sees set up by the Crusaders, by the Archbishop of Tyre, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, and the Bishop of Bethlehem. The acts of the antipopes were annulled, and the last stroke thus given to the schism. With a view to hinder in future the danger of schism through doubtful elections, it was enacted that the election of a pope should be made by a two-thirds' vote of the cardinals, and by them alone. The Waldenses and Albigenses and other heretics were condemned, and a Crusade proclaimed against them. The rest of the decrees refer to discipline, the most important of which (1) forbid the appointment of a bishop of less than thirty years of age, or (2) of anyone to a benefice with care

**The Third
Lateran
Council.
(1179).**

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of souls at less than twenty-five, (3) require a title for support before ordination, (4) forbid the exaction of money for the administration of the Sacraments, (5) forbid tournaments, and (6) confirm the truce of God.

The Third Lateran Council was the highest point of Pope Alexander's reign. And the rest of his days were days of peace in external things. But old age was creeping on, and illness came to warn him of the approaching end. At Città di Castello in August, 1181, this great Pope breathed his last after a long and glorious Pontificate. Voltaire thought him the greatest Pope of the Middle Ages, but he has to be matched against great competitors for fame, and if we say that he is found worthy to enter a triumvirate of genius with Gregory VII. and Innocent III., it is hard to praise mortal man with higher words.

The election was an easy one, being made at Velletri the day after Alexander died, and Cardinal Ubald

**Threats of
a new
struggle.**

Allucingoli was crowned as Lucius III. (1181-1185). He soon went on to Rome, but a riot broke out because he refused to renew the privileges granted to the city by his predecessors. So, early in the following year (1182) Lucius returned to Velletri, and after a second unsuccessful attempt to reside in Rome, spent most of his remaining years at Verona, where in agreement with the emperor Frederic, he held a council in 1184 to carry out what the Lateran Council had decreed against heretics. As a supplement to the Peace of Venice, Frederic had already made a lasting peace with the Lombard League in 1183 at Constance. For the rest there was no open breach between Pope and emperor, but there were several outstanding causes of quarrel, which Lucius refused to yield upon. In 1185 Lucius died at Verona, and was followed by Urban III., whose election was unanimous and immediate. He had been Cardinal Crivelli, Archbishop of Milan, and continued to reside at Verona. But the change in the papacy only served to accentuate the strained relations with the German emperor. One of Barbarossa's wishes was to have his son Henry crowned during his own life-time, but Urban would not do this, unless the emperor yielded on several points in dispute. The Pontiff meant to do this, once granted these conditions, and had probably kept the See of Milan after his election to the papacy for this

purpose; but the emperor was unyielding, and by the marriage of Henry, his son, with Constance, heiress to the Sicilian crown, inflicted a severe blow on the papal power in the South. Urban retaliated by making appointments in Germany very distasteful to the emperor, and all that can be said is that there was not an absolute break. Urban was on his way to Venice from Verona to excommunicate Frederic from the former city, when he died at Ferrara in October, 1187, and was interred there. It is thought he died of grief either at the news of disaster in the Holy Land, or at a quarrel he had with Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Even though Urban was dead before the news of the Crusaders' defeat had reached Europe, that calamity had already happened, and Christendom gradually came to know that their kinsman in the Holy Land had suffered a great disaster.

The Third Crusade.

After the death of Nouredin, the nephew of his general, Shirkuh, whose name was Saladin, usurped the chief power, and gradually got the whole of Syria under his domination. He then was engaged in desultory warfare with the Christian settlements for some ten or twelve years. At last, in 1187, the Christian army under Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was annihilated by him at the Sea of Tiberias, the king and his chief knights being taken prisoners, and in less than three months the Holy City was in Saladin's hands. Meantime, Cardinal Albert, who had been Chancellor of the Church in Alexander III.'s time, had been chosen Pope at Ferrara, as Gregory VIII. (1187), and had made overtures of reconciliation to Barbarossa, couched in a fatherly spirit of charity. Beyond that he had only time to dispatch circular letters to the Christian princes, calling them to the aid of the holy places, when he died at Pisa on an errand of peace-making, after a reign of less than two months (1187). Pisa holds his mortal remains. Clement III. (1187-1191), who was elected at Pisa, was a Roman of the Scolari family, the first native of the city chosen since the beginning of the republican troubles, and being therefore a welcome choice at Rome, he was able to make a triumphant entry into that city and frame an agreement with the citizens as to the government of it. He then sent legates to the various countries to urge on the Crusade. Fulk of Neuilly came nearest

to the preaching rôle of Peter the Hermit and St Bernard; and the martial spirit of Christendom was once more aflame. The old German emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, was the first and foremost, and he is said to have led a host of one hundred thousand men. The Greek emperor, Isaac Angelus, did all in his power with his Byzantines to obstruct the march, but Adrianople was taken by Barbarossa, and he was then able to proceed across Asia Minor. His great and stormy career, however, came to an untimely end, for he was drowned in crossing the River Kalycadnus (1190), and many of his troops returned in discouragement to their native land. Barbarossa is still in many ways the national German hero, for he is more distinctively German than Charlemagne, and his long reign and exploits are graven deep on the history of the Fatherland. And in the misty legends of mountain and forest his gigantic figure is floating in the air, and still inspiring the patriotism of his countrymen; and with all his faults, he died in the sacred war, journeying towards the Holy City.

What remained of his army went on to Acre under his son Frederic, and there was joined by the French, English and Scandinavian Crusaders. The siege of Acre lasted two years, and its capitulation was only brought about by the tardy arrival of Philip Augustus, king of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England (1191). After a quarrel between the English and French, Philip left the scene of war, and Richard was in sole command. He waged war against Saladin for more than a year, in the course of which he performed prodigies of valour in the field, though without attaining his goal of retaking Jerusalem, so in October, 1192, having concluded a truce with Saladin, Richard also returned to Europe. He was taken prisoner on his way home by the Duke of Austria, whom he had slighted at Acre, and only liberated on the payment of a large ransom. Henry VI. of Germany, who had succeeded to the imperial throne, now prepared to arrive from Sicily, and formally took command. His warriors were sent on in advance and landed at Acre, but Henry himself died at Messina, where his fleet was gathered to transport him to the East. The German Crusaders thereupon made a truce with Saladin, but before they returned the Order of Teutonic Knights was estab-

lished to watch over the safety and comfort of German pilgrims to Palestine (1197). Henry VI. had been excommunicated by the new Pope, Celestine III. (1191-1197), formally Cardinal Colonna, together with his vassal, Leopold of Austria, for the unjust detention of Richard Cœur de Lion. And this was not the only cause of quarrel. The Sicilian marriage of Henry with Constance brought the papacy and empire into proximate danger of a severe collision, which was only averted by the death of both Celestine and Henry in 1197.

Just as the great contest for the Investitures waged by Gregory VII. and his successors had its counterpart on a smaller scale in the struggle noted above between St Anselm and the Norman kings of England, so had the papal fight against Barbarossa its parallel in the battle fought against Henry Plantagenet by St Thomas à Becket. After the death of St Anselm, Ralph and William, two Norman prelates, followed each other in the See of Canterbury, filling up between them the space of some thirty years, until in 1138 Theobald, a former monk of Bec, was chosen to fill the see, and for nearly a quarter of a century by his ability and zeal for the Church filled a great space in English history. He supported the party of Stephen of Blois, yet the treaty between that monarch and Henry Plantagenet was chiefly his work. Consequently, when Henry mounted the throne at Stephen's death (1154) Theobald was in high favour. He seems to have been a friend to learning, and it was in his household that Thomas à Becket was trained. Thence he passed into the service of the king, and finally rose to the rank of Chancellor of the realm. Theobald had expressed the wish long before that Thomas should be his successor, and so indeed it happened. In 1161 Theobald died, and in the following year Thomas à Becket was chosen Primate. But this change in his estate was accompanied by an equally great change in his life and bearing. The former royal courtier now became the inflexible champion of the Church's rights against the very monarch who had been his friend, and against the courtly prelates who sided with his pretensions. These pretensions were embodied in the celebrated Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), which gave the king the revenues of all vacant sees, as well as the right of

**Church and
State in
England.**

deciding on all appeals whether from the ordinary ecclesiastical courts or from the archbishop, and exempted the king and his household from excommunication. These provisions were signed by all the bishops except St Thomas, but at the Council of Northampton, as he still refused to sign them, he was mulcted in a large fine, and treated as a traitor. St Thomas left the country and betook himself to Sens in France, where Pope Alexander III. was then staying. He was also kindly received by King Louis VII. He betook himself to Pontigny Abbey, where he continued to live in retirement for two years. Alexander III. appointed him legate in England, and openly approved of his action in condemning the Articles of Clarendon. However, Henry II. still resisted, and not being able to reach the archbishop in person, vented his fury on his friends and on the monks of Canterbury by means of confiscation and banishment. At last a reconciliation was made by the mediation of the French king, Louis VII. (1170), and St Thomas went home in triumph to his see. But the report reaching Henry II. that he had published censures against the bishops who in his absence had invaded the rights of his see, this so incensed the irascible monarch that he cried: "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights, taking these words literally, hastened to Canterbury, and having sought out the archbishop, slew him in his own cathedral (29th December, 1170). A cry of horror resounded through Christendom, and Alexander III. at once excommunicated Henry and the murderers. Henry did public penance at Canterbury in 1174, and the Constitutions of Clarendon were annulled. So Thomas did not die in vain. The Martyr of the Freedom of the Church, he remained "the holy blissful martyr," as Chaucer calls him, to generations of Canterbury pilgrims, till Henry VIII. scattered his ashes to the winds.

King Henry II. became the agent also of another act of aggression which was the beginning of untold bloodshed and national hostility. In response to an invitation to intervene on behalf of one of the Irish kings, a body of Norman troops under Strongbow landed at Waterford in 1170, and by their fierce valour and superior arms defeated the native armies with great slaughter. In the following year Henry II. himself decided to follow in

Normans in Ireland.

the footsteps of the first adventurers, and claim the overlordship of Ireland. He landed with a considerable force, and marched through the country, not returning to England till next year (1171-1172). At a synod of Cashel his claims were admitted by a portion of the chiefs and bishops, though others held back in protest. He claimed to have received a bull from Adrian IV. given to John of Salisbury by that Pontiff during his stay at Benevento. But the authenticity of this grant has been questioned, and has exercised the research of the learned on both sides of a long controversy. In any case the expeditions of Strongbow and Henry may be classed with those other Norman adventures which planted the same far-ranging warriors in France, in England, in Italy, and in the East. They came to every land in Christendom, and in every land gradually blended with the inhabitants, impressing on them something of the special character which they possessed.

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT III. AND HIS GREAT IDEAL.

(1197-1216).

WE now come to the Pontiff whose reign by common consent marks the highest point to which the papal power **Innocent III.** reached in the Middle Ages, and whose (1198-1216). lofty and noble character entitles him to be considered as one of the greatest of the popes. Cardinal Lothario Conti, son of the Count of Segni, was elected on the very day of Celestine's funeral. He was only thirty-seven years of age, but already had a wide reputation for learning and ability. His writings, and especially a treatise on the *Holy Sacrament of the Altar*, place him among the authors of his time, though his life as Pontiff left him but little leisure henceforward for literary composition. His uncle, Clement III., had made him Cardinal, but, while the Colonna Pope, Celestine III., reigned, he lived in retirement, and was able to write his book *On the Contempt of the World*. Very likely this retirement would have lasted longer had Celestine's dying wishes prevailed, and another Colonna been chosen to succeed him. But, as it was, in one day after Celestine's death Innocent was lifted out of his retreat, and set on the pinnacle of supreme power. The death of Henry VI. in 1197, and the vacancy in the empire, gave Innocent breathing space to set in order the home affairs of the Holy See. He won both the Prefect and Senator of Rome, representing respectively the imperial and popular factions in the city, to swear fealty to him; and then he proceeded to retake Spoleto, Assisi and Ancona from the usurpers who held them. He acknowledged the League of the Tuscan cities, but only as soon as they admitted his overlordship, and not before. Determined to reduce

to practice the great ideals for which Gregory VII. and other predecessors had struggled, and with far better prospect of success than they, Innocent dealt with the States of Christendom one by one, as the supreme father under God and arbiter of them all.

No doubt it was one great advantage towards the furtherance of his aims that Innocent did not find himself at once confronted with an arrogant imperial opponent. Had Henry VI. lived things might have gone far worse, but he had left his young son Frederic king of

**Innocent
and the
empire.**

Sicily, an infant of four years of age, hardly able with his mother Constance's help to hold that kingdom against the Norman barons. Constance appealed to the Pope, and on the revocation of the Four Chapters, Frederic was invested King by Innocent as his suzerain, and after that patiently defended by the Pontiff against all his enemies. Meanwhile, a double election had left Germany divided between Philip of Suabia and Otho IV. Both had been crowned in the same year, 1198, at Mayence and Aachen respectively; but this did not settle the question. Papal legates were sent to Germany to try and arbitrate, but in vain, and war broke out between the rival kings. At first the Pope tried to keep neutrality between them, but when his action seemed to favour Otho, Philip wrote protesting against all papal interference in the matter, and thus drove Innocent more thoroughly on to the side of Otho. In 1201 the papal legate announced at Cologne that Otho had been approved of by the Pope, and should be obeyed by all who did not wish to incur the censure of the Church. Innocent defined his position in the famous Decretal *Venerabilem* addressed to the German princes through their representative in May, 1202. This letter, afterwards put into the Canon Law, draws out the position of the papacy in relation to the empire as Innocent saw it, and embodies the following points: (1) in answer to the complaints of Philip and the princes that he had unduly interfered in the affairs of the German kingdom, the Pope admits that the election of a king is the sole affair of the German princes, and further (2) that it was the action of the Holy See itself which granted the princes the right of choosing an emperor-elect, when it transferred the Holy Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans; but (3) that

the right of examining this elected candidate, and pronouncing on his fitness, belongs to the Pope, who is to anoint and crown him Emperor, otherwise he might have to crown an unworthy prince, and (4) if the result of the inquiry is against the candidate, the princes must either make a new election, or the Pope must confer the imperial dignity upon another who is to be the Defender and Patron of the Holy Church.

This clear declaration was accepted by a large number of the princes, and the party of Otho gained the ascendant, but through his own fault he later on lost ground, and Philip of Suabia seemed likely to win. He was murdered, however, by the Count Palatine in 1208, and the murderer succeeded within the year in uniting the German princes in favour of Otho's election. Innocent

**Coronation
of Otho.**
(1209).

accepted this choice, and in October, 1209, Otho came to Rome and was crowned Emperor in St Peter's. Before his coronation he was profuse in his promises to respect both the freedom of the papal states and the rights of the Holy See. But barely crowned emperor, he came back upon all this, seizing cities belonging to the Pope, and invading Sicily to take the island kingdom from the Pope's ward, Frederic. Being deaf to all protests, he was excommunicated by the Pope in the next year, and Innocent was able to use his influence so powerfully with the king of France and the German nobles that there was a new election. and after the deposition of Otho, Frederic of Sicily was elected in his stead at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1211. Otho hastened back to Germany, but the new election stood firm, being ratified by the Pope in the following year. In concert with King John of England, Otho attacked the French king, Philip Augustus, but was badly beaten at Bouvines in 1214. He retired to Germany, and some years after died, leaving Frederic in possession of the German throne.

We left the French king, Philip Augustus, at his return from Palestine, after a series of quarrels with Richard Cœur de Lion. The quarrels were revived when both monarchs reached home, and it was only in the last year of Richard's reign that the Pope got both to agree to a truce for five years. But the hostility was transferred to Richard's brother and successor, King John, who indeed gave him

ample cause for enmity; for he strove to deprive Prince Arthur of Brittany, and had carried off the wife of Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche. The quarrel was developed into a general state of warfare, and meant for the English king the loss of his possessions in France. Innocent's legates were ever striving for peace, but with very mediocre results. And now Philip fell into disgrace with the Pontiff, through his repudiation of Queen Ingeburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, and attempted marriage with Agnes of Meran. Calling the French king to account for this through his legate, but meeting with no satisfaction, Innocent laid France under an Interdict in December, 1199. Philip Augustus held out for nine months, but at the end of this time, finding his subjects falling away from him, he made show of taking back Ingeburga, and submitting to the Pope. He succeeded in getting the Pontiff to legitimise the children of Agnes de Meran, but not in divorcing Ingeburga, whereat he was once more in opposition, and only really gave in about the year 1213, and then chiefly to gain the support of the Pope and of the Danes.

Innocent's intervention in the affairs of England was at least equally potent and beneficial. John was a cruel tyrant, and goaded his barons and many of his people to revolt. With the Pope he first came into collision over the See of Canterbury. When Archbishop Hubert died, the monks elected their sub-prior Reginald without consulting king or bishops, and this was protested against on both sides. The king proposed for election De Grey, Bp. of Norwich, and the monks seem to have ratified this, but the bishops continued to protest, with the result that both parties went to Rome to appeal to the Pope. Innocent confirmed the monks' right to elect, but on account of the informal character of their former elections, recommended them then and there to choose Cardinal Langton, Rector of the Paris University, who was at his side. King John however refused to agree to this, and would not allow Langton to take possession of the see. He went further than this, and drove away the monks of Canterbury, and seized their possessions. Thereupon Innocent laid England under an Interdict in 1208. But even this strong measure did not prove strong enough. John continued his course of cruelty

**Magna
Charta and
Langton.**

and oppression. Finally in 1212, after excommunicating the king, the Pontiff declared him deposed, and gave the execution of the sentence into the hands of Philip Augustus. Threatened with a French invasion, and deserted by lords and commons, King John made his submission to the papal legate Pandulf, and surrendered his kingdom into the Pope's hands, receiving it back as a fief of the Holy See. Thereupon the Interdict was taken off (1214). But John continued his evil courses; wherefore despairing of redress, the barons broke out into rebellion. With Stephen Langton at their head they forced the king to sign the famous *Magna Charta* to secure the liberties of the Church and of all orders of the people (1215). On the representation of the legate Pandulf, that it had been exorted from John by violence, Innocent refused to confirm the Charter, and it was only gradually and after confirmation by succeeding monarchs that it won its way to the great place it holds in English law and history.

A stormy contest grew up in the East to cause the Pope anxious hours, and at last to demand his intervention.

The Fourth Crusade. (1202-1204). There is no real break in time between what is known as the Third Crusade, which went on at least till Richard and Philip returned from Acre, and what is generally known as the Fourth, and they were both preached by the same preachers, of whom Fulk of Neuilly was the most notable. What really made the division was the deflection from the real objective, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the deep entanglement in other enterprises which made the Fourth Crusade less an honest failure than a selfish invasion. Innocent III. was heart and soul for a real Crusade, and could not but feel grief and anger when the Crusaders turned from their high enterprise. But from the first the leaders of this expedition would go their own way. Thibault of Champagne and Boniface of Montferrat, with their companion in arms and chronicler Villehardouin, were the best-known leaders, and they embarked at Venice after making a contract with the Venetians to transport them in their fleet. Henry Dandolo, the blind Doge of Venice, also took the Cross, and all along by his courage and shrewd council was the Ulysses of the army. Not being able to pay the Venetians for their passage as agreed, the Crusaders

made compensation by capturing for them Zara in Dalmatia (1202). Excusing themselves to the Pope for this first atterration, they decided in council of war, to go to Constantinople, where Alexius, the rival to his namesake, Alexius III., and son of the exiled emperor Isaac Angelus, had promised money and reunion with the West, if they would capture the city for him. Consequently they laid siege to Constantinople (1203). It held out for many months, but in 1204 was taken by storm, and ruthlessly plundered by the Crusaders. It would be hard to surpass the scenes of slaughter, outrage and plunder enacted by these soldiers of the Cross in New Rome. Churches as well

Storming of Constantinople.

(12th April, 1204).

as public buildings were stripped of their treasures. The wealthy city never recovered, so that when the Turks took it in 1453, though they were able to rival the savage brutality of the Franks, their booty was but small in comparison. The Venetians received half the plunder, and the rest was divided among the Crusaders in proportion to their rank. A Latin empire was set up with Baldwin of Flanders as emperor. A Latin patriarchate also was created, and Morosini, a Venetian, elected for the new see. The islands of the Byzantine empire mostly fell to the Venetians, while Boniface of Montferrat became king of Macedonia, Louis of Blois duke of Nicaea, and no less than six hundred fiefs were carved out of the empire for the Frankish knights. Three notable fragments remained to the Greeks: Theodore Lascaris established himself at Nicaea, Alexius Comnenus at Trebizond, and Michael Angelus, starting from his stronghold in Albania, gradually retook the whole of Macedonia from Montferrat. The Emperor Baldwin fell in battle against the Bulgarians at Adrianople, and his successor, Henry of Flanders, spent his life in constant warfare against both Bulgarians and Greeks. However, the Latin Empire in Constantinople was gradually strengthened. And it was not till 1261 that Baldwin II., after a reign of more than thirty years, had to give way to the returning Byzantines.

Innocent was bitterly disappointed at the turn things had taken, and upbraided and threatened the crusading chiefs for their want of faithfulness. The Venetians were excommunicated, as having been the cause of the first deflection. Still, when the work was over, he seems

to have accepted the accomplished fact, and hoped that the promised reunion would be a reality, and that the new Latin Empire would be a help for the holy war. He ceased not from exhortation and entreaty to the nations for a fresh expedition, until he was able to make it a subject of general decree at the Lateran Council. So that, though nothing was done in his day, he had given the impulse which led to more than one brave attempt to reconquer Jerusalem, after he was dead.

There was scarcely a country in Christendom where the power and guiding hand of the great Pontiff was not felt. Now it was an attempt to convert the Albigensian heretics in the South of France, and a Crusade was started against them when preaching proved ineffectual. Now it was intervention to save the Jews from persecution and oppression. Now it was an excommunication for Pedro of Castile, bringing him to repentance for repudiating his wife. Now it was mediation between the King of Hungary and his brother. Now it was a similar arbitration in Norway, and again in Sweden. Now it was the coronation of a king for the Bulgarians. And amid this welter of state turmoil the Pope had an eye for the inner life of the Church, and welcomed both St Francis and St Dominic, whose marvellous lives and new religious orders were to do so much for the Church of the Middle Ages. St Francis and his Friar Minors gained papal approbation, and the way was paved for a similar recognition of St Dominic and the Friars Preachers by Honorius III. a few years later. The Trinitarians and the Humiliati also owed their approbation to him.

The culminating event in Innocent's pontificate was the Ecumenical Council held at the Lateran in 1215. He

**Fourth
Lateran
Council.**

had issued the summonses eighteen months before, and being at the height of his reputation, this long interval gave opportunity for an immense gathering of prelates from all lands: seventy-one patriarchs and archbishops, four hundred and twelve bishops, and nine hundred abbots and priors gathered round the Father of Christendom. Innocent opened the proceedings in a discourse full of the lofty aims and grand undertakings which filled his heart and mind. Then he presented to the fathers for their consideration seventy decrees, which were adopted without much discussion. In fact the numbers were too

great for much effective speech-making; but the papal approval, with the consent of the Universal Church, gives these decrees the force of law of the whole Church. Innocent's position in the Church was fully reflected by his position in the General Council, which is known as the

FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN (1215),

and on account of the importance of its disciplinary decrees is sometimes called by canonists The Great Council. Many of its laws were more or less of a passing character, but there remains even now enough to justify this name. There is (1) the declaration as to Transubstantiation in the Holy Eucharist, the decree (2) commanding all the faithful to go to Communion at Eastertide, the decree (3) which reaffirmed the primacy of the Roman See, and named in order after it the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. There were decrees (4) regulating the impediments of marriage, a number of regulations on ecclesiastical elections (5), and (6) on the manner of dealing with Jews, Mohammedans and heretics. These were certainly of the greatest importance. A new Crusade was called for by the council (7) with a four years' truce among Christians to make it possible. It was to the Lateran Council also (8) that Frederic II. owed his peaceful succession to the throne of Germany.

Innocent only survived the council until the following year (1216), dying still young, but leaving an imperishable memory and a deeply cut impress on the history of the Papacy. Sometimes we may like to think of him as Giotto paints him—the youthful Pontiff on his modest

Death of Innocent III.

Gothic throne, with pensive eyes gazing into the distance, while St Francis of Assisi stands expounding that simple life of Christian perfection with which Innocent in his heart sympathised so well. But really the edifice of mediæval Christendom in his day is his spiritual throne, with holy men like Dominic and Francis grouped around, and encircled too by that band of faithful legates who went to do his messages in every land of Europe, and by that countless array of kings and knights and friars and faithful who all felt that in Innocent they had a Pope who knew in a remarkable degree what the Vicar of Christ should be in the Ages of Faith, and nobly strove to act up to that ideal.

CHAPTER VII.

THE POPES AND THE LATER HOHENSTAUFEN.

(1216-1250).

THERE was a close continuity between the policy of Innocent III. and that of his successor, Honorius III.

Honorius III. On the morrow of Innocent's death at Perugia, the cardinals who met in that city chose Cardinal Cenci, for many years Treasurer of the Roman Church, to fill the vacant see. He could scarcely be called a disciple of the previous Pontiff, for he was much older than he, but he followed faithfully in his footsteps, albeit with the mellow kindness of ripe old age. The Romans loved him because he was a Roman and had given proofs of his gentle favour towards them. Frederic II. had been his pupil, and this made it easier for him than it could be for another to try and bend the mighty Cæsar to do his will. And his will was the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church. As soon as Honorius was on the throne, a circular letter to the rulers and prelates of the various countries of Europe exhorted them to a new Crusade. The Pope and cardinals contributed a tenth, and all other Churchmen a twentieth of their income for three years. But at the moment the princes were mostly engaged with warfare of their own at home, and the response was but small.

King Andrew of Hungary was the first to start in answer to the Pontiff's appeal. Then after a while a fleet of Northmen and Hollanders came round by sea to join the Magyar, but as usual dissension hindered the full effect of these expeditions. Damietta was taken, and then very little beyond this was accomplished. St Francis tried to convert the Moslem Soldan

to Christianity, but he also saw that little could be done. The emperor had taken a vow to go, and his presence might have made the war a success. Honorius urged him not to delay, but he found one excuse after another for delay, the postponements being as many as nine. But at last, when it was quite clear that he was still putting off without reason what was for the common good, the Pontiff's patience was exhausted. Hoping to hasten his departure he had crowned him in state at Rome, whither he came in 1220, St Engelbert of Cologne being Regent in Germany. It was years later, with another Pope in Peter's chair, when Frederic really set out. Honorius next tried to promote the same object indirectly by pacifying princes and peoples at home, but this proved a nowise easier task. His turbulent and changeable subjects in Rome rebelled, and he had to retire to Viterbo. It was the military support of the emperor which at last enabled him to go back to Rome. Still in many cases his mildness won its way. Pisa and Genoa, Milan and Cremona, Bologna and Pistoja, three formidable pairs of rivals, were reconciled by him, while Spoleto, Perugia, and other places were got to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Roman See over them. In England he intervened between the king and barons, warned off the French king from his projected invasion, and acting as suzerain in accordance with John's donation of the realm, his influence secured the kingdom for the young king, Henry III. When the Earl of Pembroke died in 1219, Honorius administered the kingdom, keeping the balance, through his legate Pandulf, between the rival leaders, Peter des Roches and Warenne, all through the minority of Henry till his own death. It fact to sum up without going through all the countries of Europe, it is not too much to say that the high position of Arbiter and Father of Christendom assumed by Innocent III. was worthily maintained for another decade by Honorius.

As regards the inner life of the Church, he confirmed the approbation of the twin orders of St Dominic and St Francis, and gave approbation to the Carmelites, now become Mendicant Friars. He conferred charters on the universities of Paris and Bologna, and encouraged the frequentation of these and similar seats of learning. As for his own part in the pursuit of learning, his writings were of considerable amount, yet with all their interest,

they partook greatly of the official character of his occupations; still many of his letters are of great historical interest, and his Book of the Revenues of the Roman Church is the greatest source we possess for the history of the temporalities of the Roman See in Mediaeval times. On the 18th of March, 1227, Honorius III. died.

Cardinal Ugolino, who had been raised to the purple by his uncle, Innocent III., after being instrumental in the election of Honorius III. by compromise, was next to ascend the pontifical throne himself. It was compromise again, for he and Cardinal Conrad and a third had been deputed to make the choice, and when Conrad refused the dignity Ugolino was named. Though he knew what a series of combats was in store for him, he bowed to what he considered the Divine Will, choosing the name of Gregory IX. He was already over eighty years of age, and had been long employed as legate and plenipotentiary of the Holy See, and he was still full of energy and indomitable courage, and was able to keep up the battle for the Church and right for nearly fifteen years, with a determination that suggested least of anything senile decay.

Frederic II. was still dallying with his opportunities, and quite ready to put off the Crusade for a tenth time, but Gregory struck at once and with all his might. Three days after his consecration there was a summons to the emperor to fulfil his vow, and after a false start in apparent obedience, and a badly excused return, came the excommunication which angered and hurt Frederic, and led to an insurrection at Rome on the part of the imperial party, forcing the Pope to flee to Viterbo and thence to Perugia. As if to prove his good faith, Frederic now started, though under excommunication, but sent to the Pope to ask his blessing. This Gregory refused to give, blaming the emperor for setting out on the holy war while under the censures of the Church. In fact, instead of this he renewed his sentence, and absolved the Crusaders from their allegiance to him. This reduced Frederic on his arrival in Palestine to a state of powerlessness, and induced him to adopt a more careful manner of dealing with the Pope. He admitted the justice of his censure, and asked for absolution. As a matter of fact it was not removed till he met the Pope

**Fifth
Crusade
and the
emperor.**

at San Germano after his return to Italy. And once on the Crusade, Frederic remained in Palestine for nearly two years. He negotiated with the Sultan of Egypt, who at that time represented the Moslem power, and gained from him the restoration of all Jerusalem except the Mosque of Omar, with Bethlehem also, and Nazareth and Joppa, and a truce of ten years was agreed upon. Frederic entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in state, and as no bishop would crown the excommunicated monarch, he took the crown from the high altar and put it on his own head. With that show of great results, hardly borne out by the realities of the situation, Frederic returned to Europe, and landing at Brindisi, met the Pope at San Germano. The Peace of San Germano was a sincere effort on Gregory's part to effect a permanent reconciliation, but Frederic never really meant to keep to what he promised. He gave his word that he would restore what he had taken from the Church, would reinstate the banished bishops, and would pay an indemnity for the great losses he had caused the Church, and in return for this he was absolved from censures, and admitted by the Pope to the kiss of peace. And all the time his ambition was bent on fresh outrages, and he was already preparing to advance new claims.

Peace of San Germano.

(1230).

One weapon which Frederic meant to use to strengthen his independence of the control of the Church, was forged for him by his chancellor, Peter des Vignes, in 1231. This was a collection of laws of the kingdom of Sicily applied to the Holy Roman Empire, in which the emperor is exhibited as sole and supreme lord of Christendom, and his dependence on the Church, which was a matter of common consent among his predecessors, was ignored. This was known as the Sicilian Code, and was a challenge to the theory of papal supremacy in temporal matters. No direct protest was made at the time, but Gregory entrusted the codification of the canon law to the illustrious Dominican, Raymund of Pennafort, whom he had brought from Spain and made his confessor. St Raymund spent three years at the work, and in 1234 appeared the Five Books of Decretals, in which were embodied the chief papal pronouncements of the past, and the errors of Peter des Vignes were contra-

The Sicilian Code and the Decretals.

dicted. St Raymund, like his pontifical patron, lived to be a centenarian. He was the third General of the Dominicans, and his founder, St Dominic, was canonised by Gregory IX. Before leaving Spain Raymund had taken a leading part with St Peter Nolasco in founding the order of Our Lady of Ransom for the Redemption of Captives, which Gregory IX. approved, and later honoured in the person of another Raymund (surnamed Nonnatus), whom, all maimed and disfigured as he was by the Moors, after his return from ransoming the slaves, he promoted to the Cardinalate.

Frederic II. held such extravagant views of his own boundless power, that he was sure to be brought into collision both with popular liberty and papal prerogative. He had determined to break the power of the Lombard League, and to reduce those Italian cities to the condition of integral parts of the German Empire, but this was not to be achieved without a bitter struggle, if ever. Still, the emperor won at first, inflicting an overwhelming defeat on the Lombards at Cortenova in 1237. And this led to greater demands and further aggression. His natural son, Enzo, who was a cruel tyrant like his father, was made king of Sardinia. It seemed as if the Papal States and the whole of Italy would fall into Frederic's hands; but the Pope was now driven to use all his power, and in 1238 excommunicated and deposed Frederic. The latter declared the sentence of no avail, and an embittered exchange of letters took place between Gregory and Frederic, in which the Pope was charged with abetting heretics, and Frederic with blasphemous and infidel talk against Christianity, besides the more tangible accusation of tyranny and of invading the rights of the Holy See (1239). Frederic marched on Rome with a powerful army, defeated the Romans, expelled their Venetian allies from the south, and seized Benevento. Gregory thereupon convoked a general council at Rome, and many bishops and other prelates started to attend it. However, Frederic did all he could to impede their coming, and no less than one hundred prelates who had embarked at Genoa for Rome were attacked and murdered or made prisoners at sea by the fierce Enzo. It is said that the news of this crime had such an effect on Gregory that he died of grief (August, 1241). He was well-nigh one hundred years of age. He had fought for the Church

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with indomitable courage, but one more Pontificate was needed before the Hohenstaufen went down in defeat.

A month after Gregory's death the cardinals meeting at Naples, as the Papal States were overrun by Frederic, chose Cardinal Castiglione, who was **Innocent IV.** to be known as Celestine IV., but the (1243-1254). newly elected Pontiff only lived for seventeen days, and then there was a vacancy again. Rome was impossible as a meeting-place, and there was a long delay before the emperor could be persuaded to give free passage to two of the cardinals who were kept away from the conclave by his troops. Nevertheless, the cardinals, who protested, would not go on without them, and month followed month. At last the emperor, who professed to be anxious for an election, let the two blockaded cardinals through, and the conclave met at Anagni after a vacancy in the Holy See of a year and a half. Cardinal Fieschi was the unanimous choice of his colleagues, and took the style of Innocent IV. (1243-1254). He had been a friend of the emperor, and it was hoped would be able to effect a reconciliation with him. But these hopes were disappointed. He made an effort, indeed, responding to Frederic's insincere congratulations with proposals for peace and harmony. Moreover, a defeat inflicted on the imperial troops by the men of Viterbo went some way to curb the monarch's haughty spirit, but though conditions of peace were drawn up by mutual agreement, Frederic suddenly broke off, and demanded unconditional absolution. This being refused, he marched on Rome, and with the aid of his partisans in that city tried to get possession of the person of the Pontiff. Innocent, with his cardinals, seeing the danger, fled to Genoa, and thence betook himself to France, where he was received with the greatest reverence and devotion by St Louis, the young king of that realm. On the third of the following January Innocent issued summonses for a general council to be held at Lyons in six months' time.

This council, which is known in history as the

FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF LYONS (1245),

was attended by one hundred and forty archbishops and

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bishops, besides minor prelates. The first and most pressing business of the council was the case of the emperor, whom Innocent in his inaugural address spoke of as the greatest enemy of the Church. Frederic was ably though somewhat insolently defended by his chancellor, Thaddeus, but his ingenious sophistry could not impose on the fathers, and still less on the experienced Pontiff. The result was a solemn scene of excommunication and deposition by the Pope before all the council, and with its consent, with candle and book and stately formalities that struck terror into the beholders. Innocent used to the full the rights which mediaeval Christendom gave him, and he could hardly have used them on a more cunning, faithless, and withal potent secular ruler than Frederic II. And the battle was won. The saintly king of France, who was now beginning that career of holiness and knightly chivalry which made him the ideal monarch of the Ages of Faith, endeavoured to intervene in Frederic's favour; it was in vain. The pride of Frederic stood in the way of real submission, and his empty promises had been belied too often. And in spite of his protests against the action of the council, Frederic found few to stand by him even in Germany. Many of the princes met in diet at Hochheim, and elected Henry Raspe, Margrave of Thuringia, and then after his speedy death, William of Holland. Germany was again plunged into war between these papal nominees and Conrad, Frederic's son, who attacked them in Germany, while his father in person tried to keep up the contest in Italy. But in spite of repeated acts of cruelty, or partly perhaps on account of them, a blight seems to have fallen on his arms. The Bishop of Arezzo was killed by him, women and children murdered in Sicily, and the eyes of his quondam confidant, Peter des Vignes, put out on suspicion. But there was a general rising among the cities against the deposed emperor, and Enzo was beaten and captured at Bologna. It was on his way to Enzo's assistance, at the head of his army, that Frederic died (13th December, 1250). He was absolved, in *articulo mortis*, by the Archbishop of Palermo and, as he wished, was buried in the Sicilian city.

St Louis had fallen ill after the Council of Lyons, and while in danger of death had made a vow if he

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recovered to go on a Crusade. Consequently at Christmastide, 1245, he took the Cross and presented the nobles of his court with cloaks on which the Crusaders' red cross was woven. The Royal Court took up the hint with all seriousness and enthusiasm, and after nearly three years of preparations, King Louis set sail from France at the head of a gallant array, displaying the Oriflamme, or sacred banner of France. He directed his course to Egypt in accordance with the view then dominant that Egypt was the key of the Holy Land. Damietta was taken, and it seemed that the expedition would be crowned with success, but the Count of Artois rashly attacked the Moslem at Mansourah, and the Crusaders were defeated, Louis himself falling into the hands of the infidel (1250). St Louis in chains gave a bright example of Christian fortitude under adversity, and after negotiation was freed for a ransom of a million byzants, coupled with the surrender of Damietta. He stayed in the East for four years longer, repairing the fortresses of Acre, Sidon, Jaffa and Cæsarea, and only returned to France on the death of his mother, Queen Blanche (1254).

**Sixth
Crusade.**
(1248).

**St Louis
in chains.**
(1250).

While the outward framework of mediaeval society was undergoing the changes we have just described, great work was being done for its interior life by the rapid spread of the Mendicant Orders, which held up before the nations of Europe a splendid model of a life of evangelical perfection in accordance with the counsels of the Gospel. St Francis and St Dominic, the contemporaries of Innocent III., were already dead, but it was in the next generation that the greatest numerical development of these twin orders took place. And alongside of this came the introduction of the friars to the teaching chairs of the University. Just as St Francis and St Dominic had gone their way side by side, so did the two greatest intellectual lights of these two religious families. St Thomas of Aquin and St Bonaventure were friends even as their founders had been. It was in Thomas of Aquin, son of the Count of that place, born about 1221, that the intellectual force of scholasticism is seen at its highest. His *Summa* is the scientific development of the whole Christian faith wrought into one harmonious system.

**The coming
of the
Friars.**

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Thomas taught at Paris from about 1250 to 1270, and by the clearness and penetrating genius of his teaching surpassed all his contemporaries, even outshining his Dominican master, Albert the Great. We shall come back to his works in the chapter on scholasticism. He stands here next to St Louis, whose friend he was, embodying the science of the Middle Ages, as St Louis did its chivalry. He was the counsellor and guide of pontiffs and doctors, and yet all this was accomplished in a life of little more than fifty years. He died at Fossa Nova on his way to the Second Council of Lyons, to which he had been summoned with his friend, St Bonaventure, in 1274.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM AND ITS EFFECTS.

(1250-1276).

By the Great Interregnum is meant that period of twenty-three years which intervened between the death of the Emperor Frederic II. in 1250 and the choice of Rudolf of Hapsburg for the imperial dignity in 1273. It meant the giving up of the contest for a universal dominion of the emperor over all Christendom, and at the

End of the
line of
Hohenstaufen.

same time by reaction a beginning of vigorous national development in Germany. But as far as the central government went, the years that followed were years of warfare and chaos. Conrad, Frederic's son, succeeded in bringing under his sway a great part of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, but Innocent IV. refused him the Investiture of it. However, long before the dispute was ended, Conrad died (1253). He left an infant son, Conradin, who only survived till 1268, when he was slain; and then the line of Hohenstaufen was extinct. It is true that there remained Manfred, a natural son of Frederic, who had been made Vicar of the Pope for Southern Italy, in 1253, seeing that Conrad was but a child. Manfred, however, soon rebelled against the authority of the Roman See, and marched against the Pope with a Saracen army which he had collected. Innocent stood firm for the rights of his see over the two Sicilies, and advanced with the papal army to meet him, making his entry into Naples in state on the 27th of October, 1254. It was during his sojourn in this city that Innocent IV. died, and it was in Naples Cathedral that he was buried.

The conclave that met at Naples was a short one, and

after four days Cardinal Raynaldo Conti, a relative of both Innocent III. and Gregory IX., having received the necessary votes, assumed the style of Alexander IV. (1254-1261) and found himself in the midst of the struggle with Manfred, who had just defeated the papal troops at Foggia. Alexander excommunicated Manfred without much delay, and forthwith concluded a treaty with Henry III. of England, making over the two Sicilies as vassal kingdoms of the Holy See to that monarch's second son, Edmund. All the time Manfred was professedly contending for the rights of the infant Conradin, but when a rumour got abroad that Conradin was dead, Manfred had himself solemnly crowned at Palermo (1258). Alexander promoted a crusade in the North of Italy against the cruel tyrant, Ezzolino d'Este, and succeeded in overcoming that monster. But Rome itself was in the hands of Manfred's friends, so the Pope had to live at Viterbo. From there he betook himself to Anagni, remaining for two years in that city. But, returning in 1261 to Viterbo to hold a council there, he died on the 25th of March, and was buried there. He seems to have administered spiritual affairs with zeal and devotion, being a warm admirer of the Franciscan movement. He canonised St Clare, and testified that he had himself seen the stigmata of St Francis. However, the temporal affairs of the papacy seem to have been allowed by him to lapse into declension. His treaty with Henry III. of England gained for him considerable pecuniary help from that country, but it was at the expense of the popularity of the Roman See. He suffered the number of cardinals to decline to eight, and thus it was quite a small band which met at Viterbo to choose a pontiff in his place. Still none of the cardinal electors could secure a majority, though the conclave was protracted for over three months. But it came to pass that then James Pantaleon, patriarch of Jerusalem, came to Viterbo on the affairs of the Holy Land. At length, when the cardinals came to consider his abilities, for he had risen from the people, being a shoemaker's son, and knowing moreover his varied experience of ecclesiastical affairs, they all agreed to vote for him, and he became Urban IV. (1261-1264).

Urban was undoubtedly a notable Pontiff, and laboured

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to make up for the losses suffered during the somewhat feeble reign of Alexander IV. However, the means he employed, though strong and definite, seem to have laid the foundations for trouble which developed long after he was dead. Urban created thirteen new cardinals, but so many of them were French that he is supposed in this way to have given the first impetus to that French party in the Sacred College which afterwards played such a front part in the factions of the next age. With all a Latin Crusader's dislike of the Greeks, who, under Michael Palaeologus, had just ejected the last Latin emperor, he declared a Crusade against this prince. But Palaeologus sent envoys to protest that he wished to live in peace and union with the Latin Church, and Urban was appeased. Still in the policy of thorough-going opposition to Manfred and the line of Hohenstaufen, Urban persisted with unwavering rigidity. It had become clear that the forces of the Pope were incapable alone of reducing Sicily to submission, and the English prince, Edmund of Lancaster, was powerless to come to the rescue. Urban therefore offered the crown of the Two Sicilies to Charles of Anjou, brother of St Louis, king of France, and by this momentous act began a conflict which was waged with varying success far into the next age. The Pope did not live to see the results of what he had done. Troubles arose in Rome, part of the people having chosen as Patrician Charles of Anjou, while others had elected Manfred, the Pope's enemy. Thereupon Urban retired to Orvieto. There he celebrated for the first time the Feast of Corpus Christi in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, with an Office and Mass composed by St Thomas Aquinas, who was at the Papal Court at the time (1264). But Orvieto did not seem a secure retreat from the attacks of Manfred's supporters, and therefore the Pope removed to Perugia, where a month later he died.

The cardinal whom his brethren directed their attention to as the most suitable candidate was absent from Perugia when Urban IV. died. This was Guy Fulcodi, a native of Narbonne, at that time legate in England to support Henry III. in the Barons' War. After four months Guy arrived, and in spite of his disinclination for the

Urban IV.

(1261-1264).

Clement IV.

(1265-1268).

elevation, was unanimously elected to fill St Peter's chair on the 5th of February, 1265. As a layman he had been one of St Louis' counsellors both in the army and in the law courts, and having been married, had two daughters. But after his wife's death he entered the ecclesiastical state, and became in turn Bishop of Puy, of Narbonne, and Cardinal. He now became Clement IV. (1265-1268), and exercised his great talents and his varied experience on the complex problems which beset Rome and Italy. Manfred pushed on to wrest the double kingdom of Sicily from his rivals, and Charles of Anjou came from France with an army and a splendid retinue to claim the Investiture of the same kingdom which had been offered to him. At Rome, after promising homage and a tribute to the Holy See, Charles and his queen were crowned king and queen of Sicily by a commission of cardinals in the absence of the Pope at Perugia (6th January, 1266). From Rome the newly crowned king advanced with his army to meet Manfred. At the battle of Benevento Manfred met his death, and his army was scattered (1266). This made Charles of Anjou undisputed master of Naples and Sicily, but his rule was harsh, and his subjects had no love for the French. Young Conradin, Frederic II.'s grandson, was invited by a large party of them to come back and receive his father's realm. He responded to the invitation though a youth of only sixteen, and called his supporters to arms. He proceeded to Rome, where he was warmly received by the Imperial or Ghibelline faction in spite of the excommunication under which he lay. After some fairly successful fighting he was met by Charles of Anjou at the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268), and completely defeated. He was captured after the battle, and then executed by the orders of his victorious enemy. Still Rome was so full of the Ghibelline supporters that Pope Clement found it impossible to reside there in tranquillity. Up to this time he had lived at Perugia, but having left this city for Viterbo, he died there (29th November, 1268), and was buried in the Franciscan church. Clement IV. was a Patron of Learning, and in particular encouraged Roger Bacon in his scientific labours. Unfortunately, his early death cut short his plans for the advance of knowledge.

It was nearly three years before a successor to Clement

IV. was chosen. This is one of the longest vacancies in the history of the Roman See, being only surpassed by the interval between Marcellinus and Marcellus in the ages of persecution. The cardinals were at Viterbo, and so grave were the differences that manifested themselves that a result seemed almost hopeless. The cardinals were fifteen in number, and the growing division into French and Italians was some reflection of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions which were rending Italy at the time. The illustrious Franciscan cardinal, St Bonaventure, was there, and it is thought to have been due to his advice that the electors at last ended by looking outside their own body for a candidate for the papacy. The choice was entrusted to a commission of six, and these, after due deliberation, fixed on Theobald Visconti, the Archdeacon of Liège, who was at that time away in Palestine as papal legate with the Crusaders under Edward I. of England. On receiving the news of his election Theobald at once left the Holy Land, and proceeded first to Viterbo to meet the cardinals and have the election confirmed, and then to Rome, where he was consecrated on the 27th of March, 1272, and proclaimed as Gregory X. (1271-1276). Known during his diplomatic career as Archdeacon of Liège, he had received the order of priesthood only a week before.

**Interregnum
in the
papacy.**

The past experience of Gregory X. made him an enthusiastic supporter of the Crusades, and it was probably this reason more than any other that induced him only four days after he was crowned to issue summonses for an Ecumenical Council to meet at Lyons (1st May, 1274). This was giving two years' notice in advance, but the energetic Pontiff found many affairs, both weighty and difficult, to occupy him in the interval. The strife of Guelph and Ghibelline went on throughout Italy with undiminished fierceness; and the Roman Pontiffs had been pretty consistently anti-Ghibelline. Even now it was Charles of Anjou who graced the solemnity of Gregory's coronation, held his bridle, and served him at Mass. But Gregory aimed at appeasing the feud, and at Florence proclaimed that there should no longer be Guelph or Ghibelline, but all the citizens should live together in peace, while in the East he succeeded in effecting a

**Gregory X
(1271-1276).**

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peaceful settlement between Charles of Anjou and Michael Palaeologus.

Peace between these two monarchs was not rendered easier by the turn things had taken in the holy war.

Seventh Crusade.

After St Louis' return to France at his mother's death, there had been breathing-space for the Christian cities in Palestine through the domestic dissensions of the Moslem leaders. but in 1260 the Mameluke Bibars, having beaten the Mongols who had attacked the eastern borders of the Saracens, was chosen Sultan, and began to attack the Christian cities, and to capture them one after another. When the news reached the West, the chivalrous St Louis was determined once again to go to the rescue, and collected an army which was strengthened by Prince Edward of England, and by King Louis' brother, King Charles of Anjou, now become a powerful ruler. Charles wished to begin by an attack on Constantinople, but St Louis was persuaded to land at Tunis, and both Charles and Prince Edward followed him there. But the plague

Edward I. in Italy.

(1270).

broke out in the Christian camp, and among the victims was the saintly king of France. Charles of Anjou then concluded a treaty with the Moslems, and went home. Prince Edward with his men alone went on to Palestine, and landed at Acre, where he remained for eighteen months, but his exploits against the infidel were limited to a march to Nazareth, and the capture of a few castles. Meanwhile the news of the death of his father, Henry III., and the hopelessness of effecting anything of importance with his few followers, determined Edward to return. He passed through Italy, being welcomed everywhere as a Christian hero. He made his way to the Pope at Orvieto, and was received by him with all honour. The two companions in arms at St John d'Acre had both been lifted to higher responsibility; and with this the history of the mediaeval crusades for practical purposes comes to an end.

It fell to Gregory to arbitrate between the claimants to the Holy Roman Empire, and he did so in favour

Hapsburg dynasty.

of Rudolf, Count of Hapsburg, who was elected by the German princes on the 29th of September, 1273, and immediately recognised by the Pope, who invited him to come to Rome to

be crowned emperor. Thus the Great Interregnum came to an end, but it meant a somewhat different status for the new emperor from that which his predecessors had aimed at. He was no longer the one supreme temporal authority in Europe, but found himself surrounded by monarchs whose power rivalled his own, and whose pretensions sometimes went further still.

As the date fixed for the Council of Lyons drew near Gregory X. proceeded by easy stages to that city, passing through Florence and other notable cities of Northern Italy. The Pontiff presided in person at the council, which met on the 8th of May, 1274, and held in all six sessions until the 17th of July. St Thomas Aquinas and St Bonaventure had both been summoned to the council, but the former had died on his way. A great share in the task of guiding the deliberations of the fathers was committed to St Bonaventure. Some five hundred bishops and over one thousand lesser prelates, together with the envoys of the reigning princes, attended the council, which is known as the

**Second
Council of
Lyons.**
(1274).

SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF LYONS (1274).

The great cause of the war against the infidel was not forgotten, and in order to help on the union of Christendom in this holy enterprise it was decreed that one-tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues should be devoted to it for the next six years. Michael Palaeologus had sent his envoys, and through them accepted before the fathers a formula of union in which the primacy of the Holy See, the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son, and the pains of purgatory were all professed, and thus at least outwardly the schism in the East was once more healed. Ambassadors were also present from the Khan of Tartary; two of whom were solemnly baptized. The canons of discipline (1) restricted the rights of patronage enjoyed by princes and nobles over Church benefices; (2) regulated the proceedings in papal elections with a view to expedite them, ordaining the curtailing of food for the cardinals shut up in the conclave after three days, and making other rules to the same end; (3) forbade the founding of new religious orders so as not to have too great a multiplicity of differing rules; and finally (4) gave the unfortunate gift of

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Avignon to the papacy in return for the cession of certain rights in Provence.

When the council was over, Gregory X. went to Lausanne, where he met the emperor-elect, Rudolf, in October, 1274, and was able to arrange with him a

Death of Gregory X. Concordat favourable to the continuance of peace between the Church and the empire.

Passing then into Italy, he advanced through Milan and Piacenza to Arezzo. It was in this little city that to everyone's surprise and disappointment the able and saintly Pontiff fell ill, and died on the 10th of January, 1276. He was buried there in the cathedral, and on account of his striking virtues was beatified by Clement XI. St Louis was already dead, so were St Thomas and St Bonaventure, and they did not leave behind them those who could rival their virtues. The enthusiasm of the Crusades was dead, so was the primitive fervour of the great movement championed by the Mendicant Friars. The first symptoms began to appear of that decline which ended by breaking up mediaeval Christendom, and giving place to a new spirit which worked itself out in the thousand fresh departures of modern times.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BEFORE we go on to relate the gradual decay of united Christendom which had held together for some five centuries, it is best to pause a while and attempt some sketch of its main characteristics. It is true to say that the Church as a visible and corporate society never filled such a space or exercised such an influence on the civilised world either before or since. Mediaeval Christendom was a greater thing than the old Roman Empire had been, not only extending farther and embracing a wider sphere of action, but conceived on a higher plane, frankly acknowledging the supernatural, and making the Christian Church its support, its bond of union, and its court of final appeal. These were the Ages of Faith, not merely vivid realisations of revealed truth as it touched the individual soul, but of an unquestioning carrying out of the consequences of this in public life and action. However much pride and passion drew men aside from what they knew was right, there was no hesitation in theory about the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal—of the Church over the world. Pope belonged to a higher order of things than king or emperor, and in the same way did bishop surpass baron, and priest rise above soldier or knight. The chief confusion arose when these spiritual chiefs became temporal lords as well. For that was the only way in which they could be put on a level with the lay magnates around them.

**The Church
in the
mediaeval
world.**

Religion entered into the whole life of the age. The Church was meant by her Founder to accompany men all through their way on earth from the cradle to the grave and she had a real chance of doing so in that Mediaeval world which she had done so much to form. Men knew

that this was so, although amid the stress of their passions they did not always act up to it. And yet it would not seem that the average frequentation of the Sacraments of Confession and Communion was great. No doubt there was much ignorance, and besides the standard of preparation for these holy rites was high, with a more rigid penitentiary discipline than we are accustomed to. The primitive times, when all, or nearly all, would approach the holy table each time they went to Mass, were gone. To draw near a few times in the year, or even less often than that, seems to have been the usual practice of the average laity in this period. The Fourth Council of Lateran, as we have seen, felt bound to legislate on the subject, and made the Easter Communion a matter of grave precept. But this lack of private devotion went hand in hand with the consecration of external life and external things to the service of the Church on the largest and most generous scale. The chief buildings of the Middle Ages were religious buildings. It was in those magnificent Gothic cathedrals, which still remain all over Europe, and nowhere statelier than in England, that the Ages of Faith expressed their genius for art and loveliness. It seemed only logical to the men of those days that the House of God, which was at the same time a daily home to the best of them, should far surpass baron's castle or prince's palace. The cathedral was the centre of the city's life. And what the cathedral was to the city, that the parish church was to the village. There every Sunday rich and poor met equal before God, to take part in the one universal act of worship which bound all the parts of the Church together. And thither also they looked to be brought when dead, to be laid, not in a catacomb, nor in a distant cemetery, but in God's acre till the Resurrection. The ghosts of the departed still hovered, in popular belief, round the churchyard; and dirge and obit followed them with affectionate remembrance. The Mass was the greatest, holiest action of their lives, and the Psalms of David, whether in Latin in the office books of the clergy, or in the vernacular in the primers of the laity, formed the staple of their vocal prayers.

We have already seen traces of the influence of the Feudal System on the public life of the Middle Ages, and by consequence on the organisation of the Catholic

Church. Lands were held on the condition of performing some military or other public service, and when the Church's share in these lands grew to be a considerable portion of the whole, so that

Feudalism.

Churchmen often held larger domains than their greatest neighbours, similar services came to be required of them. Thus the Feudal System gripped abbey and diocese and benefice, and told deeply, both on the way they were held, and on the character of the men who were chosen to hold them. Churchmen had to do homage for their lands to their liege lords, just as others did, and for other temporal possessions as well. And then it came to pass that these temporalities became of such value that they formed the goal of ambition to men quite unfit to discharge the spiritual duties connected with them. Valuable benefices were conferred upon the younger sons of princes and nobles, and in some instances became hereditary in their families for a time, and this with immense loss to souls for whose sake they had been founded and endowed. It is necessary to take note of these things, if we are to understand how important was the struggle for Investitures, and equally necessary if we are at a loss to account for the simony and incontinence which mediaeval reformers had to contend against. Give the Church her full rights over the choice and discipline of her own ministers, and the battle of grace against nature in the individual may be a victory. Put her, on the contrary, in subjection to the world, and the huge forces of natural aim and passion which it contains, and these forces will drag down what should be high and supernatural to their own level.

There is nothing more characteristic of these Ages of Faith, both in their strength and in their weakness, than the history of the religious wars undertaken

Crusades.

for the possession of the holy places in Palestine. The Crusades must not be judged exclusively by their success, which was but partial, though, beyond the temporary setting up of a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem, there stand to their credit indirect results more important and more lasting. To have seized the last phase of the great Teutonic migration, together with its warlike spirit and its impetuous religious fervour, and to have guided it into so noble and inspiring a channel was no mean achievement, and it was to a great

extent the work of the Roman pontiffs. And they it was who clung to the enterprise with undying pertinacity, when zeal for it had died out in every other breast. And when we reckon up besides the collateral advantages that came into being through these wars, in the extension of trade and commerce, in the communication with Eastern knowledge and letters, in the practical working of Christendom as one huge federation, we shall not be inclined to treat the Crusades as a mere dream of enthusiasts, void of beneficial results. The pent-up torrent had to flow, and in the Crusades it was that Christian chivalry in its highest form found a suitable outlet. The warlike spirit of the age, which made the men of that period only too ready to engage in bloody feuds and in mortal combat with their fellow-Christians, was lifted to something higher when it became the instrument to wrest from the infidel Saracens, who had stolen and plundered them, the sacred spots which were the cradle of the Christian religion. And the romance which at home was ready to degenerate sometimes into sensual indulgence, and sometimes into fanciful sentiment, was thus turned into channels that were not wholly of this world. In the preceding chapters these holy wars have been noted one by one as they occurred. But it remains to be pointed out, that it was the institution of feudal service that made them possible from a military point of view, and provided the only armies and the only organisation which could in that age be used for the purpose.

The conversion of the barbarians to Christianity and the formation of the Holy Roman Empire by the German race had led to considerable modification of the hierarchy of the Church from what it had been in primitive times. Vast tracts of land far beyond the bounds of the old Roman empire had to be provided for, in which the towns were few and far between, and the population was relatively sparse and disunited. The old plan of a bishop for each considerable town was replaced by a network of large territorial dioceses, any one of which would rival a province in size and population. These mediaeval bishops were like princes in jurisdiction and wealth, and sometimes far surpassed the neighbouring counts and barons even as temporal lords. This was especially so in Germany,

where out of the seven electors who chose the emperor three were Churchmen, while there was to some extent a similar state of things in France, England, and other countries. It was only in Italy where the older system was able to persevere in anything like completeness. In that country even to this day there are two hundred and seventy-five sees. In narrating the conversion of the European countries to the Faith, we have tried to give some idea of the episcopal hierarchy set up in them. There was France with its dozen provinces and numerous suffragan sees. There was the empire with its provinces of Cologne, Treves, Mayence, Magdeburg, Salzburg and Aquileia. There was Spain with its four northern metropolitans, the sees of the south being still in the hands of the Moors. There was Poland with its hierarchy depending on Posen; there was the primate with some dozen bishops of St Stephen's hierarchy in Hungary. There were the four provinces of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam in Ireland. There were the two primatial sees of York and Canterbury in England. There was the Scottish hierarchy, remarkable for having no archbishop. There were the three Scandinavian provinces of Lund, Upsala, and Trondhjem. Even distant Iceland and Greenland had their settled episcopal sees. And then in the East there were the remains of that older oriental hierarchy with its hundreds of bishops of one or other of the eastern rites, but with their sees now in great part vacant and "*in partibus infidelium*." But even in the East, the Crusades had resulted in a large aggressive movement of the Latin Rite. Wherever a colony of Crusaders was established, there also was set up a Latin see, and even Constantinople was for long in the hands of a Latin patriarch.

The growth of the monastic orders with their abbeys and priories, many of them with vast landed possessions and extensive conventual buildings and churches, with their tenants counted by hundreds, and their presiding superiors counted as Peers of the Realm, gives almost a greater idea of the place the Catholic Church held in the Europe of the Middle Ages than even the diocesan organisation does. And the number, not only of the religious who inhabited them, but of the houses themselves, throws into the shade anything that Western

Religious
orders.

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Europe has to show in modern times. All the orders that have survived from those distant ages have to lament a sad falling-off in numbers and influence, and many of them only survive as the monuments or noble witnesses of a past that is not likely to come back. The patriarch of Western Monasticism was St Benedict of Nursia (480-543), and all through the centuries to the age of the Reformation it was the Benedictine Order which undeniably held the first place. The debt which the world at large owes to it as the depository of learning, and the nursery of missionaries of the Gospel, is simply incalculable. And although it was not always given to the rank and file of this great army to be scholars or apostles, still as cultivators of the soil and guardians of the perfect Christian life their power in the development of civilisation was mighty indeed. An historian of the order computes the number of their monasteries at the beginning of the fourteenth century at thirty-seven thousand. In such an immense number there was opportunity for relaxation, and relaxation there undoubtedly was. But from time to time reformers sprang up, even from the bosom of the institute, and accomplished a renovation of greater or lesser proportions. The most celebrated of these renewals from within was that begun at the Abbey of Cluny by St Bernon in 817. The Cluniac reform, which counted among its disciples men like St Odo and St Hugh, and later on the well-known Peter the Venerable, carried out a monastic reform which penetrated far and wide over the Christian world. The White Benedictines of Bec, founded by Herluin, who gave the English Church two noble archbishops, Lanfranc and St Anselm, form another bright example, though on a smaller scale. And then came the foundation of institutes which though grounded on the Benedictine Rule were not incorporated with that order, and became to all intents and purposes independent religious bodies. Such were the Vallombrosa and the Monte Vergine congregations, which owed their origin respectively to St John Gualbert (1038) and St William (1119). Such also in later times became the Sylvestrines of St Sylvester (1236), and the Celestines of St Peter Celestine the Pope (1264). The eremitical side of the monastic life had been developed quite early in the Middle Ages by St Romuald with his Camaldolese (1012), and

still more by St Bruno with his Carthusians (1084). But beyond all these in extent and influence comes the great Cistercian Order, founded by St Robert and St Stephen Harding at Cîteaux in 1098, and soon after receiving a second founder and propagator in St Bernard, the Holy Abbot of Clairvaux (1090-1153). The Cistercians multiplied so fast as to become almost rivals to the Benedictines, their numerous foundations amounting to several thousands. In some places, as for example in Ireland, the Cistercians, or White Monks, as they were called, far surpassed the Black Monks, or Benedictines. In England the Benedictines had one hundred and three, and the Cistercians seventy-five houses. It is evident that the other monastic congregations, which we have named, now extinct or reduced to a small and vanishing band, never had numbers to rival those great orders, but they were far more widely spread than now, even the Carthusians, considered to exceed all others in severity, at one time counting as many as two hundred houses.

**Carthusians
and
Cistercians.**

Another characteristic of the mediaeval Church was the institution of many orders of what were known as Canons Regular, that is to say bodies of clergy, devoted to the service of the Church in choir and administration of the Sacraments, and living according to a fixed community rule. The variety of these institutes is too great for all of them to be named here; but the Augustinian or Black Canons far surpassed all the others in the widespread developments that they attained, and in the number of their foundations, while the Order of the Premonstratensians, founded by St Norbert (1119) made such an important second among the various kinds of canons as to be known emphatically as the White Canons. The only religious order founded in England was an order of the canons, the Gilbertines, who owed their origin to St Gilbert of Sempringham (1130).

**Canons
Regular.**

The application of the monastic life to the warlike and wandering career of the Crusades was furnished by the Three Great Military Orders, the Templars, the Knights of St John, and the Teutonic Knights. The Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem were of these three the first in the field (1048) with their hospice for the reception of

**Military
orders.**

pilgrims to the Holy Land. The order multiplied in every part of Christendom, adding numerous hospices for pilgrims to the original one, and further undertaking the duties of fighting against the infidel and of waiting upon the sick. Obligated to leave Palestine after the last Crusade, the Knights of St John, established first at Rhodes, and then at Malta, continued to be an undaunted bulwark against the Turks, until all danger from them had died down after Lepanto and Vienna. The Templars (1118), so called from the palace built on the site of Solomon's Temple, which was given to them as a centre by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, eventually surpassed the Hospitallers in power and wealth, devoting themselves to similar works of piety and charity. These were the Red Cross Knights, distinguished by this emblem from the white cross worn by the Hospitallers, and the Black cross of the Teutonic Knights, who were established (1190) especially for the care of pilgrims to the Holy Land of the German nation. The Templars, when Jerusalem fell, settled first at Cyprus, and later on had their centre at the Temple in Paris, till their suppression in 1312.

Closely connected with the many centuries of struggle, which the Church waged against the Saracens, was the foundation of the twin orders whose object was the buying back of Christians who had been captured by the infidel and sold into slavery. The Trinitarians, founded at Paris in 1198 by St John of Matha and St Felix of Valois, had the advantage of the active co-operation and guidance of Innocent III., and being known sometimes as the Maturins, from their first church, and sometimes as the Crutched Friars, from the red and blue cross on their white habit, were instrumental in restoring to freedom many thousands of Christian slaves. In 1218 St Peter Nolasco founded, under the guidance of St Raymund of Pennafort, and with the help of King James of Aragon, a similar order under the title of Our Lady of Ransom, whose members bound themselves to remain themselves in captivity to free other Christian slaves, if they had no other means at hand to redeem them. The knights and brothers of this chivalrous body showed forth by these heroic deeds the noblest side of mediæval Christianity.

For the development of doctrinal teaching both in theological and in scientific spheres these ages were indebted above all to the Scholastics. Scholasticism was rather a method of studying than a definite body of truths, and consisted chiefly, at least in its best representatives, in applying the system of scientific philosophy, above all that of Aristotle, to Christian doctrine, and developing it accordingly. So that the scholastics were not themselves primarily philosophers, but theologians, making use of philosophy to render the teaching of the Christian revelation more methodical and philosophical. But they only gained this fullness of treatment on scientific lines gradually, and after many trials of a more traditional system of exposition. Not seldom three periods of scholastic history are distinguished, of which the chronological limits are roughly at A.D. 1000 to 1150 for the first period, 1150 to 1300 for the second, and 1300 to 1450 for the third and last division of time. But of course it is not possible to fix any iron barrier of time which will be quite satisfactory.

Scholasticism.

The first period of the Scholastic Age may be counted as beginning somewhere about the year 1000, since before that time the form of teaching and literature among Churchmen was mainly patristic. And yet long before that date there were not wanting writers such as Paschasius Radbert (860) and John Scotus Erigena (860), who foreshadowed the more methodical system of later times, though in a very rough and ready way. In fact the latter of these two writers fell into undoubted heresy, albeit apparently in good faith, while the former needed the advocacy of Gerbert, later Sylvester II., to defend his orthodoxy. Both these writers seem to have aimed at a scientific explanation of the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, and even though they made mistakes, the discussions that hence arose paved the way for more careful and exact treatment later on. But the real forerunner of the later scholastic writers was St Anselm (1033-1109), whose public career as Archbishop of Canterbury has been already spoken of. It was to his acute philosophic genius, regarded by his lofty piety, that the later scholastics looked for a model alike soaring above the mere repetition of traditional formulæ,

First Scholastic Period.

and yet free from the wild speculative excesses of such men as Scotus Erigena. The elaboration of his celebrated ontological argument for the existence of God shows this original genius at his best, treading new paths, but with a moderation born of piety and sane intellect working together. Unrestrained rationalism led the renowned professor Abelard (1079-1142) into errors in the Faith, which can only be secure in those who frankly admit the superiority of the Christian revelation to the knowledge which comes from unaided reason. The strenuous opposition of St Bernard, who is rather a mystic than a scholastic, ended by triumphing over the rationalism of the unfortunate Abelard, and the traditional school was victorious. The text-books in the university schools of this period were the *Books of Sentences*, culled from the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and then commented on by the teacher. There were many compilations of this kind, among the best known of which were that of Hugh of St Victor, and that of the English Professor, and later on Cardinal, Robert Pulleyn (1153). All these, however, were surpassed in general acceptance by the work of Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris (1164), which has gained for him the honourable title of the Master of the Sentences. Before any further progress was made in a less traditional and more systematic method, a great movement of religious fervour had almost changed the face of society.

This movement was produced by the founding and approval by the Church of the Mendicant Orders, and

**The
Mendicant
Friars.**

above all of those two which bear the names of St Francis and St Dominic. At the end of the twelfth century there were many signs of reaction against the high worldly position with its accompanying wealth which the manner in which society had grown up brought almost inevitably to the clergy. And more than one religious society, founded with the object of opposing this, being led with more zeal than discretion, had fallen into extravagance and heresy. These reformers had passed on from the luxury of the clergy to deal with society in general, had denounced its wealth, and sometimes even inveighed against all private property. Such, at least from one point of view, were the Poor Men of Lyons or Waldenses, such also the Humiliati, the Patarini, and a

crowd of other sects who, on account of their errors, were condemned and even persecuted. But Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and Dominic Guzman of Calahorra in Castile (1170-1221) engaged in the same campaign, though by other and safer methods. The followers of each were to strip themselves of all things, and to look for their future support to the alms which they begged for the love of Christ—hence their name of Mendicant Friars; but though Francis would yield to none in the striking example of thoroughgoing evangelic poverty, which took Christ's words of counsel quite literally, and though Dominic would yield to none in straightforward Apostolic preaching, even calling his brethren the Friar Preachers, yet they had a safeguard which others had failed to keep. This was a loyal submission to ecclesiastical authority, even when its decisions clashed with the desires these holy enthusiasts cherished. And thus, while others ran upon the rocks, Francis and Dominic piloted their vessels among the eddying currents. They had hit on the need of the age, and hence both Franciscan and Dominican Orders spread over the earth with an almost incredible rapidity, and profoundly influenced for good the social life of the time.

But there was another tendency of the age, and this was the intellectual movement towards a complete scientific study and exposition of the Christian faith, grounded on philosophical principle rather than on any collection of patristic sayings, or of Scripture texts; and it was into this current of thought that the Mendicant Friars, after a period of hesitancy, threw themselves, and at last produced results as signal as those they had brought about in social life. Turning back to the philosophers of pagan antiquity, they found a basis for their enterprise from the rational side, not in the works of Plato, who had been held in most esteem by the fathers, but in the methodical treatises of Aristotle, who had been hitherto but partially known, and much misrepresented. He was charged with atheism, and blamed for ultra-rationalism: even the very channel through which his writings became known—the Moslem doctors of the Moors in Spain and the East—was suspected. Decrees were published condemning Aristotle's works, and forbidding at first the use of them, yet little by little they

**Second
Scholastic
Period.**

won their way. The keenest Catholic doctors came to realise that in them they had a matchless instrument to be used, alongside of the Holy Scriptures and the works of the Fathers, in building up the complete edifice of Christian truth. This is the chief external difference which marks off the second scholastic period from the one before it. And it almost coincided with the mastery gained by the Friars over the teaching in the universities. Hence it comes to pass that most of the greatest names belonging to it are inscribed either among the Friars Preachers or the Friars Minor. Determined efforts were made to oust the Friars from teaching in the seats of learning, but after much discussion the battle went in their favour, and they were for long supreme. If we proceed chronologically, the first name of outstanding eminence we meet with in this period is that of Alexander of Hales (1245), an Englishman and Franciscan, and the preceptor of a crowd of notable scholastics. His *Sum* of the Sentences is far in advance of the older manuals in arrangement, and may be called the link between the commentaries on Peter Lombard and the various *summas* or compendiums of Christian Doctrine which were to follow. Albert the Great, the master of St Thomas, conferred on the Dominican Order at least as much lustre as Alexander of Hales did on the Franciscan, and after a long life spent in study and teaching died Bishop of Ratisbon (1193-1280). Albert the Great devoted much attention also to physical science, as did also the renowned Franciscan Roger Bacon (1214-1294) who was more truly than his namesake of Verulam the father of the Inductive Method.

But it is when we come to the illustrious pupils of these great teachers, St Thomas of Aquin, the **St Thomas** "Angelical Doctor," and glory of the Dominican Order (1227-1274), and to John **and St Bona-** of Fidenza, the "Seraphic Doctor" of the Franciscans (1221-1274), better known as **venture.** St Bonaventure, that we see the scholastic science of this period, and in truth of every period, carried to the highest point it has attained. Neither of these men had what can be called a long life, yet the creations of genius comprised in their *opera omnia* were in both cases colossal, and this, at least in the career of St Bonaventure, although much time had to be given

to the affairs of his Order and of the Church; for he served as General of the Franciscans, and he was later on Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The *Summa of St Thomas*, though he modestly declares it was written for beginners, has ever since been counted as the most enlightened and comprehensive system of scholastic doctrine which the Church possesses. But it was far from exhausting the activity of the great Dominican. With his master mind he grappled with the philosophic writings of Aristotle, and commented on them exhaustively one by one. And then too he would take the Sentences of Peter Lombard for his text, and elaborate a theology grounded on their authority. He turned the resources of his luminous mind upon the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. and has left us commentaries on a considerable number of its books. If we add to these works a large number of *Opuscula*, *Disputations*, *Quodlibets*, *Sermons*, *Commentaries on the Areopagitic Books* and on *Boethius*, and a *Catena Aurea* or chain of commentaries on Scripture gleaned from the Fathers, we may guess what a treasure of erudition and lofty speculation was given to Christendom in the stately tomes of Thomas Aquinas. There is no single work of St Bonaventure which can be put in competition with the *Summa of St Thomas*, but the fruitful variety of his works where, in a freer style and with still more attractive piety, he illuminates now one, now another subject of religious teaching, makes him quite worthy to stand by the side of the Angelic Doctor as equally with him the pharos, or lighthouse, of mediaeval science. His *Sermons* are more numerous and more fully developed. His *Commentary on the Sentences* is on a more elaborate scale. His *Breviloquium*, his *Centiloquium*, his *Itinerary of the Soul to God*, his *Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures* all shine with the same qualities of deep learning and the most exalted piety. Sometimes in some quite short work, as in that on the *Reduction of the Arts to Theology*, or even in one sentence, he touches a difficult subject with a ray of light, almost as if it had come straight down from heaven. Thomas and Bonaventure both passed from this mortal scene in the same year, 1274, and both have received the title of Doctor, not from the enthusiastic acclamations of eager disciples, who found high-sounding titles of "universal," "irrefragable,"

“subtle,” for their favourite masters, but from the authoritative declaration of the Church.

Although there could be no doubt as to the predominant part which the twin orders of St Francis and St Dominic took in the revival accomplished in society by the Mendicant Friars, the flattery of imitation called

**Other
Mendicant
Friars.**

into existence several other institutes with a like scope. And at the same time the spirit of the movement led others already existing in another form to accommodate their rules to the Friar's manner of life. It was thus that the Hermits of Mount Carmel, who had lived an eremitical life on that sacred mountain, having received a Rule in 1209 from Albert, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, gradually approximated to the Mendicants' life. Having been forced to leave Palestine, and under the celebrated general, St Simon Stock, having spread widely over civilised Europe, they became reckoned in 1245 as the Third Mendicant Order. The same thing happened to the Augustinian Hermits, who became later on the Fourth Mendicant Order. But already before this a fifth body of Friars had been founded at Florence in 1233 by Bonfilio Monaldi and his companions, known as the Seven Holy Founders, in order to honour in an especial manner the Dolours of the Blessed Virgin. These are still known as Servites, and owed their rapid expansion to the holiness and genius of St Philip Benizi (1233-1285), who as General of the Order took quite a prominent part in the ecclesiastical affairs of his day, well seconded as he was by St Juliana Falconieri, the founder of the Servite nuns. The Servites are not known to have possessed any foundations in the British Isles before the Reformation, but the other four orders were known respectively as the Grey, Black, White and Austin Friars, and there was scarcely a town of any importance in old England but contained a house of each one of them.

The history of the Third Scholastic Period (1300-1450) does not fall chronologically within the limits of the

**The Third
Scholastic
Period.**

time we are discussing in this chapter; to carry on the subject to an end it may not be out of place to add a few lines here concerning it. In popular estimation the rival to the teaching of the disciples of St Thomas was not any similar school claiming St Bonaventure as leader,

but was found in another Franciscan teacher, John Duns Scotus (1270-1308). His subtle and almost excessively acute mind elaborated a system of doctrine to be found in the twelve folio volumes of his works, which, though in method as scholastic as that of St Thomas, yet took a somewhat different point of view in theology, and then by the employment of fine distinctions traversed the Thomist conclusions on a series of points, which thus became battlegrounds for discussion. He founded the school of Scotists, just as St Thomas was founder of the school of Thomists. And the long disputes between Scotists and Thomists fill up a goodly portion of the theological life of this third period. As they tended to degenerate into endless discussions over topics worn threadbare, and led to thin-spun distinctions in theories, they paved the way for the decay and fall of Scholasticism. William Occam, the Nominalist, was a disciple of Scotus (1347), and Thomas Bradwardine (1349), Archbishop of Canterbury, was another renowned Scotist doctor. The Dominican Durandus developed in his *Rationale* (1286), the liturgic aspect of scholastic science, while in Aureolus and Henry of Ghent and others the Thomist theories were handed down unchanged and inflexible. The *Book of Sentences* still enjoyed its popularity down to the time of Gabriel Biel (1450), who is counted as the last of the commentators upon it.

The chief educational work which went on during this Third Scholastic Period was the organisation and development of university life. Most of them owe their origin to this time, and the few already in existence owe their chief colleges to it. It may seem at first sight repugnant to assign this development to a period which is at the same time called that of the decline of the Middle Ages. But the facts are there to support this view, if we are speaking of universities in the stricter sense which that name has since borne. And in very truth it goes to show that the decline was not all decay, but that, alongside of the break-up of the political theory of Christendom, united in one commonwealth of nations, considerable life and growth were taking place in intellectual centres, and cultivation was becoming more generally diffused in the different lands. Of course in the wider sense there had been universities for centuries. The old schools of

The
mediæval
universities.

Ireland, when it was "the island of saints and doctors," are sometimes called universities. Legend attributes the foundation of Oxford to King Alfred, of Paris to Charlemagne, and of Bologna to Theodosius II. But these were not universities in the mediaeval or in the modern sense. And the first tendency of the great revival of studies in the eleventh and twelfth century was to localise one branch in one place, and make that the centre of study of that branch for all the world. It was in this way that medicine found its centre at Salerno, canon law at Bologna and theology at Paris. And there was a moment when Paris was almost a universal school of theology for all nations, the number of students amounting to many thousands. But the life of an institution like that was a stormy one, and there were repeated migrations, which brought down the numbers, and at the same time helped on the growth of other centres of learning. It was in this way that Oxford gained by a large exodus from Paris, and Cambridge in its turn by a similar migration from Oxford, while Vicenza, Padua and Arezzo received their prosperity in great part through bodies of students who withdrew from Bologna.

It is an exaggeration to suppose that a University could not be founded without the approval of the Holy See.

Papal approbation. Many were "de facto" so founded, sometimes by kings, sometimes by emperors, and sometimes even by independent or quasi-independent cities, but it was recognised that none of these was a *studium generale* in the sense of a centre which transcended national limits, and gave degrees which were recognised throughout Christendom; and it was here that the international position of the Papacy came in, whose charter gave that character of universality that was otherwise lacking. Hence it was that the papal bulls were eagerly sought for, and it is not too much to say that the popes nobly acted up to the proud position of protectors of all Christian learning, which the custom of the age gave them. And not only by their charters, but by the grants of many exemptions, as for example from the law of residence in the case of professors or students who held benefices, and again by endowments drawn from ecclesiastic or monastic sources did the pontiffs foster these seats of learning. A modern

writer computes that in all eighty-one universities were founded before the Reformation, of which thirteen had no charter at all, thirty-three had only the papal charter, fifteen had only imperial or royal authority, and twenty had both papal and civil charters. These figures, which seem drawn up with care, speak eloquently of the intellectual lead which the Roman pontiffs took as the Patrons and Protectors of University Life. As Cardinal Newman says, it was arts that constituted the staple of a university. but as we shall see in the next period, canon and civil law gradually attained a very great influence over the other faculties, and it would be hard to find a time when the lawyers of the universities played a greater part in the government of the Church than in the days of those councils of Pisa and Constance about which we are soon to speak.



BOOK VI.

THE DECLINE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(1276-1417).

CHAPTER I.

THE WEAKENING OF THE PAPAL POWER.

(1276-1305).

It is very difficult to fix one definite year, and to say that the decline of the Middle Ages began just then; and hence we find that the historians of the Church are by no means at one in drawing a dividing line between the years when mediaeval Christendom flourished, unimpaired save by the inevitable imperfections belonging to human nature, and those other years when a process of decay had undeniably set in. It would seem however that there are more indications than one establishing a change for the worse between the years after 1276 or thereabouts and the previous period. The general temporal power of the Pope over the European princes grew less, and when put to the test on the old lines by Boniface VIII., broke in his hand. And at that time the Crusades were over, and along with them the enthusiasm that had urged them forth. Scholasticism still filled a large place in the life of the Church, but its greatest doctors, Thomas and Bonaventure, were dead; and at the same time the long absence of the popes at Avignon was preceded by absences of considerable duration, sometimes amounting to whole reigns, at Viterbo and Perugia.

First begin-
nings of
decline.

The Interregnum in the empire had been matched to some extent by longer intervals than formerly between the death of a pontiff and the election of his successor. Although Gregory X. had

Innocent V. (1276). tried to legislate against this, the difficulties were too great, and his enactments produced but little result. The first time, it is true, after his premature death, a choice was made at once, the Dominican cardinal, Peter of Tarentaise, being chosen after a brief conclave (1276). This illustrious churchman, who had been associated with Albert the Great and St Thomas in drawing up the Dominican order of studies, took the name of Innocent V. He seemed to be embarking on the distinguished reign which men expected from his learning and his talents, when the hand of death was stretched forth, taking him away from this mortal scene five months after his election (22nd June, 1276).

Adrian V. known before as Cardinal Fieschi, nephew of Pope Innocent IV., was then chosen after only a week's conclave, and he gave at least equal promise with his predecessor, judging from

Adrian V. (1276). his antecedents, that he would have a reign of glory and success. Yet, even swifter than before, came the blow of the Universal Destroyer, and there at Viterbo, where the Papal Court continued to reside, struck him down five weeks after his election, and before he could be either ordained or consecrated. The inhabitant of Viterbo now seem to have lost all patience at the course things had taken, and broke out into tumult, clamouring for a speedy election. The cardinals gratified them in less than a month by electing the learned Portuguese doctor, Petrus Hispanus: "And he of

John XXI. Spain with his twelve volumes shining," (1276-1277).

as Dante sings, whose varied attainments were so well known that he was called the Universal Scholar. Born in Lisbon, he had devoted himself almost equally to philosophy and to physical research, and his two chief works, the *Logical Summa*, for three centuries a favourite text-book, and the *Treasure of the Poor*, prescribing medical remedies for all the diseases of the body, vied with each other in renown. He became physician to Gregory X., and after a long career as a married layman and doctor of medicine, was counselled by Gregory X. after his wife's death to become an ecclesi-

astic, and later on was made by him Archbishop of Braga in his native land. At the time of the conclave which elected him, he was known as Cardinal Julian, this being his father's name, but he now chose the style of John XXI. (1276-1277). He set his hand to the various labours needed in order to arrange the various unsolved problems of his day. The Constitution with regard to papal elections was suspended, as John no doubt expected he would live long enough to arrange it still better. Embassies were sent to the Emperor Rudolf, to Edward I. of England, and to the king of Portugal; and missionaries despatched to Tartary in response to an embassy from the Khan of that country. To Constantinople went in his name two bishops and two Dominican friars, and there at a synod held by John Veccus the patriarch, a warm supporter of union with Rome, the Emperor Michael Palaeologus solemnly ratified the promises of unity made in his name at the Council of Lyons, and all the bishops present acknowledged the Roman Primacy. The patriarch then sent a letter to the Pope to explain that the seeming differences were merely minor ones, and did not prevent essential union between East and West. Cardinal Gaetano Orsini was at Pope John's side in the general administration of the affairs of the Church. A man with the lifelong habits of study of John XXI. had almost necessarily to reserve for himself both space and time to carry on his favourite pursuits. It was with this aim that he undertook the building of an addition to the papal palace at Viterbo, to which he might retire to be alone with his books, doubtless expecting from his skill in curing bodily ills a long life for himself; but on the 14th of May, 1277, a scaffolding collapsed at the Pope's new apartments, and he was so severely injured that in six days he breathed his last. Scarcely any of the shortest reigns of St Peter's successors draws such a striking lesson of the uselessness of human foresight against the stealthy approach of death as the fate of this learned and illustrious Pontiff.

The Constitution of Gregory X. on papal elections having been suspended by John XXI., a six months' interregnum was the result. But at last a sufficient number of votes was united to choose **Nicholas III.** (1277-1280). Cardinal Gaetano Orsini, who had seemed in his predecessor's time to be a good administrator,

and was a man of edifying life. He selected the name of Nicholas III. (1277-1280). As far as his short reign gave the opportunity, he justified the high hopes formed from his ability, and did all in his power to strengthen the position of the Holy See. Of the two ways in which he laboured at this, the former was quite unexceptionable, and that was the winning from the Emperor Rudolf a confirmation of all the grants made to the Holy See by himself or his predecessors. The other means adopted by Nicholas to the same end was of more questionable character. He secured for himself the dignity of Senator of Rome for life, and then gave the administration of the office into the hands of his family, the Orsini, on whose powerful influence he relied to fortify the pontifical position. Out of six cardinals made by him three were members of the Orsini, though it is only fair to add that one of the others belonged to the opposite faction of the Colonna. One reason for centring in himself and his relatives the political power in Rome was the laudable desire to shut out the foreign influence of Charles of Anjou, king of Naples. But in 1280 Nicholas died suddenly of apoplexy, and as soon as he was dead King Charles showed that he was not finally excluded from all share in Roman affairs by coming to Viterbo, where the Pope had died, with the object of securing that the new election should be one favourable to his interests. The Orsini cardinals were imprisoned, and though the Sacred College seems to have protested against this, and put off the election, after six months the king of Naples succeeded in having a candidate favourable to himself chosen. This was Simon of Brienne, a Frenchman, henceforth to be known as Martin IV. (1281-1285). Though made Senator of Rome, he continued to live at Viterbo, and afterwards at Perugia; and it was in the latter city that he died and was buried. The dignity of Senator of Rome he made over to Charles of Anjou, but it was an empty honour, for Charles and his friends—the Pope above all—would have had a hostile reception in the city. Neither could he go to Viterbo, still under Interdict for the imprisonment of the Orsini cardinals, so he was crowned and began his reign at Orvieto. He consistently supported the power of Charles of Anjou, and however well meaning, was not sufficiently free from

WEAKENING OF PAPAL POWER 373

his domination to be effective as Father of Christendom. The Greek schism, always smouldering, if not in flame, was renewed by the severity of his action in excommunicating Michael Palaeologus, who seemed to him to have cooled in his attachment to the union, and to have delayed sending troops to the Crusade. Sicily made a violent effort to throw off the yoke of Charles of Anjou, and by a treacherously planned conspiracy executed the massacre of the French, known in history as the Sicilian Vespers (1282). Pope Martin IV. was thoroughgoing in his support of Charles, and excommunicated the Sicilians who had taken part in the rising. In the same year Michael Palaeologus died without having thrown over the union with the West, though he had had the name of Pope Martin removed from the diptychs, but his son and successor, Andronicus, completely broke with Rome, John Veccus the patriarch was exiled, and eight years after the Council of Lyons there was thus once more a complete Eastern schism. When Martin himself died in 1285, the aged and infirm Cardinal Sabelli

was immediately chosen in his place, and reigned as **Honorius IV.** (1285-1287). He was grand-nephew of Honorius III.

and, though he had reached the age of seventy-five, but little is known of his life before he became Pope. He had been captain of the Pope's army under Martin IV., and was only a cardinal deacon. However, he was ordained priest in the following month, when he pushed on from Perugia to Rome, and was consecrated and enthroned in St Peter's. He was so infirm that he had to say Mass seated, and to have his hands raised at the Elevation by mechanical means. His reputation for prudence and skill must indeed have been high to induce a unanimous vote in favour of such an invalid. And in fact it was long since the papal dominions, and above all the city of Rome, had enjoyed such a time of tranquillity as during his brief pontificate. His brother Pandulf was chosen Senator of Rome, and the Pope's authority was acknowledged in every part of his dominions. After residing at first in the Vatican palace, he built himself a new one on the Aventine, and went to live there. Though Charles of Anjou was dead, Honorius would not desert his son, Charles of Salerno, and excommunicated James, king of Aragon, who endeavoured to take advan-

tage of the popular rising against the French to win Sicily for himself. However, in spite of the excommunication, James of Aragon got possession of Palermo, and was crowned there. But still Honorius held out, and refused to ratify a contract by which Charles of Salerno renounced the kingdom in his favour. He died at the palace on the Aventine on the 3rd of April, 1287, and was buried in St Peter's.

The cardinals assembled for a new election in the palace where Honorius had died, near Santa Sabina, on the Aventine, but dissensions, and the approach of a very hot summer, which proved fatal to six of their number, led to an adjournment to Ascoli and to long delay. It was only after ten months' interregnum that Cardinal Jerome of Ascoli, formerly General of the Franciscans, was elected, and took the name of Nicholas IV. (1288-1292). He had twice before refused the papacy, so very likely his resistance was one of the causes which prolonged the interregnum. Once seated in the papal chair, however, he undertook several works of considerable magnitude. With the true missionary zeal of the Franciscan order, he dispatched preachers from that body both to Bulgaria and to Tartary. The best known of these was John of Monte Corvino, who was consecrated Bishop for the Tartar mission. But in the affair of the Sicilian succession his intervention was not crowned with success. The arrangement concluded by the mediation of Edward I. of England, confirming James of Aragon in possession of that crown, was not ratified by him. On the contrary, he crowned Charles of Salerno, son of Charles of Anjou, at Rieti, after this prince had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Holy See, but in spite of all this the Angevins did not succeed in retaining the Sicilian crown. He also entered into the dispute as to the crown of Hungary. Ladislaus IV. having died without children, the Emperor Rudolf was minded to confer the kingdom on his own son Albert. But Nicholas attempted to vindicate the right of the Holy See to consider Hungary as one of its feudal possessions, and nominated Charles Martel, Ladislaus' son-in-law. The Hungarians finally took the matter into their own hands, and chose Andrew, a prince of the line of Arpad, as king, and once chosen he maintained himself in the kingdom against all comers. If it be added

that all the strenuous efforts made by Nicholas IV.—even the fitting out of a fleet of twenty vessels—to unite the Christian princes in a Crusade proved fruitless, we shall see that all his energy and good intentions did not save him from much external failure and labour in vain. But he was not spared by death beyond the early part of 1292. When he died he was buried in Santa Maria Maggiore, and when later on a still greater Franciscan, Sixtus V., sat in Peter's chair, a stately monument was raised to him in that church. It was to be two years before a successor could be agreed on. This was an unusually long interval, even in those days. It is true that the Holy See had no interregnum to compare with the Great Interregnum in the empire, but these repeated intervals of from six months to three years must have had a prejudicial effect on the prestige and influence of the Holy See. We seem to see in them, caused as they were by the dissensions of the cardinals, some warning shadow of the troubles of the Great Schism, and perhaps with even greater force we can make out in the long residence of the popes at Perugia and Viterbo, the latter extending to a period of from twenty to thirty years, a foretaste of the Avignon Captivity. And when these two dire calamities had come to pass, we may say with all truth that the decline of the Middle Ages was proceeding at a rapid rate.

Having failed after the space of two years to unite on a suitable candidate out of their own body, the cardinals at Perugia looked outside the Sacred College to fill the still vacant papacy. The steps by which their suffrages were united upon the holy hermit, Peter Celestine, already known as the founder of an order of enclosed Benedictines, called Celestines after him, are unknown to us. He was already an old man, and so far from coveting the honour of the Popedom, shrank from it in fear and trembling. The influence of Cardinal Gaetani, then the foremost statesman in the Papal Court, must have been great, but how he used it is by no means clear. Yet Celestine, once assured of the reality of his election, and bending to what he sincerely believed to be the Will of God, began to use the great powers entrusted to him, though with an awkwardness and want of skill which betrayed at once his total unfitness, from a human point

**St Celestine
V.**
(1294).

of view, to bear the burden that had been laid upon him. To the summons of the cardinals, inviting him to come to them for the formal confirmation of his election, he replied, directing them instead to betake themselves to meet him at Aquila, and even if disconcerted and vexed, they were fain to obey. King Charles II. of Naples was already there with a view to keep the simple old monk, who was nearly eighty years of age, under his tutelage. He had Celestine crowned at once at Aquila, though only three cardinals had arrived; but this ceremony had to be repeated when all the cardinals had come. It is strange that a Pope who reigned for only five months, and who knew so little how to rule, should be the only one to be twice crowned. He now passed along from mistake to mistake. In one day, inspired by the Neapolitan king, he created twelve new cardinals, seven of whom were French. He wished to have a monastic cell constructed in the pontifical palace, where he would be free to follow the exercises of prayer and contemplation to which he had been accustomed, and was only deterred by the counsel of the cardinals, who told him that such a proceeding would be a scandal to the whole Catholic world. He tried to impose the severe rule of the Celestines upon the great Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino, but this impracticable plan met with the opposition that might have been expected. Desirous to be generous to the petitioners who approached him with their requests, he scattered favours on them with prodigal lavishness, only that in his forgetfulness he sometimes granted the same gift or the same benefice to three or four claimants in succession. And all the time he was most unhappy, and soon began to think of what Dante calls "*il gran rifiuto*"—the great renunciation. Influenced by the violent and overbearing Charles, king of Naples, he went to reside at Naples, but the press of State affairs and official duties frightened and troubled him. He found that he had to give to these things time that he wanted for prayer and devotion. Then there rose before his mind the idea of abdication. He consulted canonists, who assured him that he had the right to do so; and even if the entreaties of the Neapolitan king and people for a time shook his resolution, before the end of the year he came back to it as a fixed purpose, announced it to the

Abdication.
(13th Dec.,
1294).

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cardinals, and declared them free at once to begin a conclave. This they did, and after eleven days elected Cardinal Benedict Gaetani, who took the name of Boniface VIII., and immediately entered on the duties of the papacy. (24th Dec., 1294).

The new Pontiff was considered the greatest canonist of his day, and was about sixty years of age. The noble house to which he belonged was long settled at Anagni, and was connected with the house of the Conti at Segni, which had already given to the Holy See Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Alexander IV. Although he had been cardinal since 1281, he had only come to the forefront of influence and position during the few months of his predecessor's reign. He has been accused of inspiring the resignation of St Celestine, but the best-informed historians believe that the idea originated with that harassed Pontiff himself. Cardinal Gaetani's part was limited to that of a counsellor, who saw clearly the unfitness of the holy hermit for his task. The conclave was held in the Castel Nuovo at Naples, but Boniface was determined to free himself from Neapolitan influence at once, so after revoking some of the prodigal grants made by Celestine, he set out for Rome, and reached the Eternal City early in January. He was crowned with unparalleled splendour in St Peter's (23rd January, 1295), King Charles of Naples and King Charles of Hungary on either side leading his horse in the procession, and serving him at table. Celestine was given into the custody of the Abbot of Monte Cassino, but effected his escape. However, he was recaptured, and shut up in the castle at Fumone, where he died after ten months (1296). It is abundantly true that considering the circumstances of the case, to have at large a Pope who had resigned, especially one who was so guileless and easily imposed on as Celestine, was a real danger to the new Pontiff; only, it must be admitted that his custodians treated him with a severity that was neither necessary nor merciful, and it seems likely that this treatment hastened his death.

Boniface was deeply imbued with the high views of the papal position in Christendom which had been the animating principles in the victories of Alexander III., Innocent III., and such as these, but the times were

**Boniface
VIII.**
(1294-1303).

changed, and instead of tempering his words to meet the occasion, his manner of proclaiming his rights was harsher and more absolute than theirs. And thus it came to pass that where they had triumphed he failed, and his personal greatness did not save him from multiplied misfortunes. From an historical point of view his unsuccessful conflicts with an ever-strengthening opposition witness to the decline of the mediaeval power of the Holy See. But it was not from want of knowledge of the canons, nor from want of invincible courage either that he failed. He knew his rights and he insisted on them to the full in the face of all his enemies, nay even face to face with violent death.

Sicily demanded his attention before all, as the massacre of the French in 1282, called the Sicilian Vespers, had left the island kingdom in a state of anarchy. Boniface sought to compose the differences of the warring parties. In England he became involved in dispute with King Edward I., who had made very exorbitant claims on the property of the clergy to carry on his war against Scotland. Boniface was appealed to by Archbishop Winchelsea, and decided against the king, though through fear a great part of the English clergy yielded to his demands. The Scots appealed to the Pope against this war with England on the ground that Scotland was a fief of the Holy See, and Boniface upheld this, but the English king declined to admit it, and the Scottish war went on. In the affairs of the empire he was called upon to decide between Albert of Austria, son of the late Emperor Rudolf, and Adolph of Nassau; and though the Pope was inclined to support Albert, Adolph seemed to be winning. Adolph at length was killed by his rival, and then Albert succeeded in establishing himself in the empire. So the Pontiff's intervention was exercised in almost all the countries of Europe, though he could not claim any great measure of success. The idea of a united Christendom transcending national distinctions was passing away, and the development of the national resources in the various lands led the kings to consider themselves each one a sovereign, and little disposed to treat either Pope or emperor as their lawful superior. The growth of material wealth and security no doubt contributed to this; and in Boniface's time the material side of the

opposition between clergy and laity came to the front more than it had hitherto done, and much of the struggle went on over Church property and Church benefices. From one point of view Boniface was the precursor of those canonists and taxing ecclesiastics who afterwards were so prominent at Avignon. The dauntless Pope never abated one jot of his claims, and often couched them in language which was unnecessarily offensive and arrogant, as for instance when he began the celebrated bull, *Clericis Laicos*, with the sentence: "That the laity have always been hostile to the clergy is well known." Thus an amount of opposition was stirred up which partly accounts for the vindictive bitterness of his enemies.

But the greatest of Boniface's battles, which was in the end to cost him his life, was with King Philip the Fair of France. In the first years of his reign somewhat friendly relations subsisted between them; and though Philip's view, that in temporal matters he had no superior but God, was well known, the action of the Pontiff was of a kind to stave off all definite hostility. He canonised St Louis, Philip's grandfather, and being accepted as arbiter both by Edward I. of England and Philip in the dispute about Guienne, his decision was rather in Philip's favour. But Philip's rapacity in taking large revenues from the clergy, and his making an alliance with Duke Albert of Austria, the candidate for the empire, who by this time was in disfavour with the Holy See as a traitor, excited the Pope's resentment, and it was not long after this before Boniface and Philip were deeply engaged in hostile action against one another.

There was one break in the bitterness and strain of conflict, in 1300, when Boniface celebrated the Jubilee in Rome with a splendour hitherto unexampled. Never had such throngs of pilgrims flocked to the Eternal City; and it is but fair to say that up to that time never had Rome had a pontiff who did so much for her architectural and artistic glory. Cardinal Stefaneschi, the Pope's nephew and biographer, was quite a distinguished patron of the arts. Giotto painted for him, and the services of distinguished builders and architects were employed to restore what had fallen into decay, and to erect new edifices. Boniface was in his element presiding over

Philip the Fair.

Jubilee of 1300.

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these scenes of pious magnificence, and it was the one brief season of glory and prosperity which came to the unfortunate Pontiff.

Boniface had made choice of Bernard de Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers, as envoy to Philip; and he was a prelate particularly obnoxious to him. And Saisset, on behalf of his master, took a tone of such authority and command with the king that he was driven away with contumely, and Philip was roused to the utmost resentment. Choosing the Chancellor, Peter Flotte, and Nogaret, a canonist, as his advisers, he got up against Saisset a prosecution for treason, but Boniface defended his envoy. In the bull, "*Ausculata Fili*," after suspending the payment of tithes, he indicated that he would meet the French bishops and the king's envoy at Rome to go into the abuses in the French Church. Philip had the bull falsified, then read aloud before the assembly, and burnt. He called an assembly of all the Three Estates of the realm, and by the misrepresentations of Flotte, and by his threats, got them to present a united front to support him against the Pope. He further wrote an insulting note to the Pope, whom he calls "Your Supreme Foolishness," declaring that in temporal matters he had no superior but God. Boniface, before the cardinals, protested against the falsification of his bull, and continued to call the French bishops to Rome. In spite of Philip's threats forty-five French prelates came to a council, where the matter was discussed, and it was the conclusions of this council which were embodied in the famous bull, "*Unam Sanctam*," issued in November, 1302. "As there is *one* holy Catholic Church, so has it but *one* Head, the invisible Head, Jesus Christ, whose visible representative is the Pope. There are two swords in the Church, the temporal and spiritual. The spiritual, Christ has entrusted to the priesthood, the temporal to kings, but the temporal, being inferior, is subject to the spiritual as higher, and if it departs from its duty it belongs to the spiritual to recall it to the right path." The bull is made up in great part of citations from St Bernard, Hugh of St Victor and St Thomas, whose theological authority weighed much in France. But the receipt of the bull worked Philip into a fury of anger. He called the Three Estates together again in June 1303, and his advocate drew out before

them a long and artfully composed accusation against Boniface accusing him of heresy, simony, murder. Whereupon the king and estates for the first time in history appealed from the Pope to a future General Council, the Abbot of Citeaux being the only one who had the courage to protest.

Nogaret was sent to Italy in the king's name with Sciarra Colonna, the Pope's enemy, and made his way to Anagni, where Boniface was staying. The Pontiff had been informed of the line taken by Philip and his counsellors, and was just about to lay France under Interdict, and release Philip's subjects from their allegiance, when Nogaret and Colonna burst into the town with their followers, sword in hand. Boniface, who thought his last hour was come, robed himself in the pontifical vestments, and seating himself on his throne with cross in hand awaited the coming of the conspirators. They rushed in as though they would slay him on the spot, but the Pope was undaunted still. "Here is my head," he said; "I, a Catholic, lawful Pontiff and Vicar of Christ, desire to die for the faith of Christ and His Church." They carried him off roughly into prison, but after three days he was rescued by the indignant inhabitants of Anagni, and returned to Rome, where he was received in triumph, but the shock to an old man was severe, and he was soon in a dying state. On the 11th October, 1303, he died in Rome. His remains lie in the crypt of St Peter's, in a chapel built by himself.

Shut up in the Vatican, the cardinals proceeded to an election ten days after Boniface VIII. had died, as was prescribed in the Constitution made by Gregory X., and on the following day **B. Benedict XI.** unanimously chose the Dominican, Nicholas (1303-1304). Boccasini, a former general of his order, who had been made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. He had been legate for Boniface VIII. in Hungary, and had loyally stood by that Pontiff to the last. Choosing the name of Benedict XI., he was consecrated at once in St Peter's. He released Philip the Fair from the excommunication which the Pope Boniface VIII. had levelled against him, but renewed that against Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret, on whom the guilt of the ill-treatment of that Pontiff ostensibly fell, though they were indeed only the instruments of the hostility of the French king.

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The Guelph and Ghibelline factions continued to struggle against one another, and nowhere were the dissensions worse than in Rome. Benedict XI. betook himself with the cardinals to Perugia, and while there was carried off by a sudden death after a reign of twenty months (7th July, 1304). There is a well-founded suspicion that he was killed by a basket of poisoned fruit which was there brought to him by a disguised conspirator. He was a learned and pious Pontiff, and was beatified by Benedict XIV.

CHAPTER II.

THE CAPTIVITY OF AVIGNON.

(1305-1378).

THE stormy times of Boniface VIII., scarcely tranquillised by the brief reign of Benedict XI., left a body of cardinals so divided and agitated that the next election was very difficult. The electors were at Perugia, and month followed month without any choice being made. The chief controversy was whether a candidate should be elected who would show favour to Philip the Fair, or one likely to persevere in the inflexible opposition to him which was the policy of Boniface VIII. It was eleven months before, looking outside their own body, the cardinals thought they had secured a suitable candidate in Bertrand de Goth, Archbishop of Bordeaux, a prelate who would be friendly to the French king, and at the same time reverent to the memory of Boniface. Having sent to Bordeaux to notify him of his election, they invited him to come to Italy. But he replied by summoning the cardinals to France for his coronation. He announced that he would assume the name of Clement V. (1305-1314).

It is not likely that he had already determined to reside permanently in France, though some have thought so; neither is the prior compact with Philip the Fair, which the hostile Villani asserts to have existed, historically probable. But he had a great desire to bring about a peace between Philip and Edward I. of England, and for this his presence in France was needed. Neither is it wonderful that this Frenchman, even though he felt that to Rome he must go at last, should value highly the reasons for delay. And he knew that Italy was a prey to warring

Clement V.
(1305-1314).

factions. The coronation took place at Lyons in the presence of King Philip, the English envoys and a large concourse. Then came the creation of ten new cardinals, all French, except Thomas Joyce, an Englishman, thus changing the composition of the Sacred College. All this helped to draw the Pope in the direction of concession to Philip and the French. First and foremost, the French king called for a condemnation of Boniface VIII. If he had had his way, that Pontiff would have been tried after death as Formosus was, condemned as a heretic, and his body disinterred and burned. But Clement V. conscientiously refused to condemn his predecessor. He sought to put off Philip by delay, and by the granting of favours which might buy off his hostility. He renewed the absolution from censures given by Benedict XI., he granted the king the tithes from the French dioceses for five years, he modified the obnoxious bull, "*Clericis Laicos*," and also published a declaration explaining that the bull, "*Unam Sanctam*," was not to be interpreted as changing in any way the old relations between the papacy and the French crown. Moreover, expressions annoying to Philip in Boniface's letters were erased, and the erasures are still visible in the "*Regesta*" in the Vatican archives. But having got all these points and more, Philip the Fair, after making peace with England in 1307, returned to the charge, and once again demanded that Boniface VIII. should be branded as a heretic and blasphemer, and as an immoral priest. Clement finally yielded so far as to name 2nd February, 1309, as the time, and Avignon as the place, for a juridical inquiry into these charges. There was much further delay, and in fact Philip did not appear to support his accusations, but the process was really begun in a consistory at Avignon in 1310. Finally, after another negotiation, Philip agreed to wait for the coming general council to have the matter gone into, and was further gratified by the absolution of Nogaret, Colonna, and all those who had been excommunicated for the Anagni outrage. Another matter which was awaiting the decision of the council was the process which had already been proceeding against the military order of the Templars. This only awaited the final judgment of the council to which the Pope had committed the case, to result in their suppression.

This celebrated trial, which competent judges have

held to be, by reason of the vast interests involved and the number of witnesses called, the greatest criminal trial in history, took up a great portion of the Pontificate of Clement V. The order, whose origin has been given above, had gradually grown in numbers and wealth, until at the time of its suppression it counted some fifteen thousand members, and owned large possessions in nearly all the European countries; and it had long been felt that this increase had brought with it much weakening of the early spirit, and also the fostering of many abuses. The special character of the order lent itself to abuse, for it admitted military men, whose lives until their repentance had often been disorderly, and then professed them without any novitiate, such as other orders require. At the same time, the Templars' wealth and privileges made them an object of envy to the mighty. Kings and princes found them formidable and troublesome. Hence, when an accusation made against the order by an apostate knight came to the ears of Philip the Fair, he was only too willing to take it up. He took advantage of an interview which he had with Pope Clement at Poitiers in 1307, to urge upon him the necessity of an inquiry into the state of the order; but the timid and cautious Pontiff was unwilling to enter upon the matter, and it was only after a challenge or request from the Master General of the incriminated body that he consented to go into the case. King Philip, however, would not wait, and, having made all preparations secretly beforehand, arrested all the Templars in France on the same day (13th October, 1307), and cast them into prison. He managed to avoid seeming to infringe on the rights of the Pope by getting an inquiry made by the Inquisitor General, William Imbert, who was also his confessor, and when Clement made a protest, the action of the Inquisitor covered the intrusion. The Pope could hardly object to the Inquisitor inquiring. And the result of this process was a large body of evidence, given by the Templars who were examined, pleading guilty to many grave charges which were laid against them. The denial of Jesus Christ, spitting on the Crucifix, certain obscene practices, and unnatural immorality were the chief charges, and the most serious arguments for the guilt of at least many members of the order are those drawn

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from these spontaneous confessions, made, at least in Paris, without torture, and numbering one hundred and forty. Clement V. now suspended all faculties of bishops and inquisitors in the matter. Philip, for his part, took this action of the Pope very badly, and having secured in 1308 a condemnation of the Templars from the estates of France assembled at Tours, got Clement to agree to the inquiry taking its course. This inquiry was made by the king and the bishops with regard to those within their territories; the Pontiff reserved to the Holy See the final sentence on the Master General and the whole order. Consequently, not only in France, but in the other countries of Europe, the Templars were arrested and interrogated. Not less than fifty-four were burnt at once at Paris. Clement at last committed the decision to the general council, which he summoned to meet at Vienne on the 1st of October, 1311.

This council, which is known ever since as the

ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF VIENNE (1311-1312),

was attended by one hundred and twenty bishops and a great number of other dignitaries, bringing up the whole

Council of Vienne. number of fathers to fully three hundred. The affair of the Templars came forward

(1311-1312.) at once, and a commission was selected to deal with the charges in detail. The

majority of the commission held that before a juridical condemnation of the whole order was issued, the Templars should be allowed to defend themselves, as they boldly offered to do. But such an elaborate prosecution and defence seemed to Clement to present so great inconveniences that he decided not to give a definitive sentence, declaring the guilt of the order as a whole, but to suppress it, as a matter of policy and discipline, by his supreme authority without further inquiry. The

Suppression of the Templars. bull (1312), "*Vox in excelso*," by which this was done was read to the council and approved by it. The goods of the order were adjudged to the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem. As to the persons

of the knights, having reserved to himself judgment on the Grand Master and dignitaries, the rest were left to the disposition of the local authorities. But here again

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Clement weakly left too much to the violent and impatient character of Philip the Fair. Jaques de Molay, the Grand Master, and the Superior of Normandy were tried by a papal commission at Paris, and persisting in their confession of guilt, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Then, breaking out into complaints against their judges, they retracted their former confessions. As soon as this came to the ears of the king, he had them seized, conveyed to an island on the Seine, and there burnt alive the same evening. Jaques de Molay and his companion are said to have died protesting their innocence, and, as some assert, calling Pope and king before the judgment-seat of God within a year.

The rest of the business of the council comprised a decree against the Manichean sects, which were showing themselves in the South of France and the North of Italy, several decrees to establish chairs of Oriental studies in the universities, a decree for a new Crusade, and also a declaration that Boniface VIII. had been a legitimate Pope. Another Decree defined the rational soul in man as the *forma substantialis* of the body. Early in 1312 the fathers separated.

Clement had already confirmed the election of Henry VII. Duke of Luxemburg, to the empire, and had appointed a commission of cardinals to crown him in St Peter's. Henry proceeded to Italy, and gave his support to the Ghibelline party there. He was crowned in 1312. But, unfortunately for the peace of the empire, he died next year; and within another year both Pope Clement V. and King Philip the Fair also passed away. On the whole Clement had acted a weak part, for though he meant well, he allowed the influence of Philip and the French to predominate in the affairs of the Church, and thus by his adhesion to his own country, coupled with the bestowal of many favours on his own family, had sown the seeds of immense future trouble.

Clement, who in the earlier part of his reign had lived at various places in France, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Poitiers, appears to have taken up his abode in the Dominican convent at Avignon. Avignon. in 1309. If the Pope was to stay in France at all, what more natural than to select a city which was already in his possession, and was soon to become by purchase a part of the papal states in the fullest sense of the term?

Yet Clement did not die there, but at Roquemaure on the Rhone, and was interred first at Carpentras, and then later on transferred to his native Gascony. It was at Carpentras that the cardinals assembled in conclave, but it was very long before they could decide on an occupant for the papal throne. They were twenty-three in number, of whom the majority were French. While the six Italian cardinals wished to secure a pontiff who would return to Rome, this was resisted by the majority. In this way two years (1314-1316) elapsed without any result being obtained. After this the Sacred College was summoned to Lyons by the Count of Poitiers, afterwards known as King Philip V., on the pretext of State affairs demanding their presence, and once there, they were shut up in a conclave already prepared, and threatened that they would not be suffered to depart until they had elected a pope. Pressure applied in this way induced them to think seriously of putting an end to the interregnum, and they gave their suffrages to James d'Euze, a native of Cahors, who, after being Bishop of Avignon, had been made Cardinal Bishop of Porto. Taking the title of John XXII., the new Pontiff at once took up his abode in the bishop's palace at Avignon, which he had already possessed as bishop of that see, and thenceforth Avignon gradually took on the character of a court residence. But of course the full development of this was not attained in the course of one reign. First, the bishop's palace was enlarged, and then when this proved insufficient, a new papal palace of imposing stateliness was built in its stead. Then came the erection of palaces for the cardinals grouped round that of their sovereign, and then came homes for the army of lawyers, brokers and bankers and tax-collectors who gathered round the papal court. And lastly, when dangers from without threatened the safety of the city, came strong fortifications with towers and bastions, which still survive, and give a great idea of the magnificence of that city of the popes. That mediaeval court almost seemed to overwhelm amid luxury and splendour the whole spiritual purpose of the papacy. A whirlwind of trouble, schism, scandal and heresy was the price which posterity would have to pay for the gorgeous residence at Avignon.

John XXII. was over seventy years of age when he

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was elected, but though small and spare, was of such a strong constitution that he lived to govern the Church during a long reign, being very nearly **John XXII.** ninety when he breathed his last (1316-1334). He was an energetic and methodical **and Avignon** man, a professor and an expert in the **finance.** canon law. He was not responsible for the growth of luxury at the Avignon court which we have just remarked upon: it was a thing which increased gradually; but with all his measured moderation, he was responsible to some extent for the bureaucratic system of finance, which ended by stirring up such hostility to the papacy in the various countries of Europe. The origin of it goes back indeed to the time of financial stress in which the Roman See found itself when the papal dominions were in confusion, and the whole of Italy in a state of chaos. To meet those needs new taxes and contributions were imposed on the countries beyond the Alps, and this began even before the Popes had left Italy; but once they were settled at Avignon, money from Italy ceased to come in, and the difficulties were thus still more increased. The very fact that the Pope was in France and under French influence dried up the sources of revenues from other lands. Then it was that the Avignon system was brought into order, and developed into a world-wide administration, which in the minds of many overshadowed the spiritual functions of the papacy. There had been for ages collections of Peter's Pence, and there were the customary feudal aids from fiefs and tributary kingdoms of the Holy See. These things were acknowledged, and excited no comment; but it was the newer system which provoked both complaint from the multitude and legislation on the part of the civil rulers. By the exaction of Annates the Curia claimed an annual tax from the holder of every benefice which the Roman See had conferred, while by what were called Reservations of appointments, and by the fees for Expectancies of future benefices, fertile and irritating sources of revenue were invented. In fairness it must be said that there was a reciprocal action: the finances acted on Avignon, and Avignon reacted on the finances. **John XXII.** was not a spendthrift, nor was he a miser; he simply developed the system with his cool, legal, canonist's mind, but he left at his death a treasure of some eight

hundred thousand crowns. He had spent much, but he had saved more, and he had worked hard for the Church. The vast correspondence of his reign, and the codification of the mediaeval Church law, carried out under his auspices, bear witness to the life-long activity of the Pontiff, and to his attention to every part of the Universal Church.

The echoes of the remonstrances which the above-mentioned system of finance caused are to be heard in the dispute which arose in the great Franciscan order on the nature of evangelical poverty; and as the discussion grew it was joined in by learned doctors outside that religious body. The stricter spirits, supported by such scholastics as William of Occam, maintained that the counsel of Christ as to poverty was against the possession of temporal goods, not only on the part of the individual, but likewise on the part of corporate bodies; and they defended this opinion with texts taken from the Gospels. The opposing party held that the evangelical counsel only touched individual possession, and these in their turn appealed to the words of the Gospels in defence of their view. They claimed that such was the practice of our Lord and of the Apostles. A heated controversy spread far and wide, and led to the formation of two violently opposed parties, known respectively as the Spirituals and the Conventuals. At last an appeal was made to the Holy See to decide the point, and John XXII., after examination, pronounced a decision which was in the main in favour of the Conventuals. His decision failed to meet with a submissive reception at the hands of the Spirituals. In fact, in his contest with the German sovereign, Louis of Bavaria, the Spirituals were to be found ranged on the antipapal side, and when the Pope's enemy, aspiring to the empire, was crowned in Rome it was an antipope, drawn from the Franciscans of the Spiritual party, Peter of Corbière, known as Nicholas V., who performed the rite of coronation.

When the emperor, Henry of Luxemburg, died in 1313, the rival claimants for the empire were Frederic of Austria and Louis of Bavaria, each of whom was supported by some of the electors. The Pope pronounced a decision in favour of Frederic of Austria, but notwithstanding this a long and bitter struggle supervened. Both the

competitors flew to arms, and the two armies met on the field of Muhldorf in 1322. The result of the battle was a crushing defeat for Frederic, and for a time Louis of Bavaria had it all his own way. Then, as soon as he thought it safe to leave Germany, the successful Bavarian passed into Italy, and advanced to Rome, which fell into his power. As the real Pope was his opponent, and would not consent to bestow upon him the imperial crown, he received it from the antipope, Nicholas V., who had in fact been set up almost expressly for this purpose (1328). As a counter move, John XXII. made King Robert of Naples his vicar in Italy, and excommunicated and deposed Louis of Bavaria. Robert of Naples advanced upon Rome, and Louis retreated before him, leaving his antipope in the hands of the Neapolitan army. Nicholas was captured and taken to Avignon, where he made his submission to John XXII. He remained in captivity for some months, and then died. This was the end of this ephemeral schism, but it was by no means the end of the struggle with Louis of Bavaria, who, after his return to Germany, kept up the contest, disregarding the Pope's censures, and upheld by the majority of his countrymen, almost until his death, which did not happen till 1347.

Strange fate for such a legal-minded canonist as John XXII., but it fell to his lot to be accused of heresy, in supporting an erroneous opinion on the beatific vision. The question was agitated in the schools as to whether the saved after death and purgatory enjoyed the beatific vision at once, or only after the final resurrection of the body. Certain theologians, mainly Franciscans, were teaching that it was only after the resurrection of the body that the souls of the blessed enjoyed the beatific vision of God. The contrary opinion was warmly defended, as being the true doctrine of the Church, by Valesius, a Dominican, and by the doctors of the University of Paris. John XXII., in discussion with learned men, had brought forth the arguments for both views. Now it happened that two envoys to Paris, sent by the Pope, while there warmly argued for the opinion that the beatific vision is deferred. Thereupon King Philip V. boldly accused the Pope of holding it, and threatened him with the pains decreed against heretics. The Pope

wrote in reply that he had left it an open question, and had defined or even meant to define nothing (1333). Then on his death-bed he made a public declaration that not only had he defined nothing, but that he did not even hold it as a private opinion that the beatific vision was deferred after death. His successor, Benedict XII., published a bull by which he defined the opposite opinion, and the controversy was closed.

Benedict XII. (1334-1342) was not the first choice of the cardinals assembled in conclave after the death of

Benedict XII. John XXII. The Cardinal of Porto was their selection, but he was then passed over because he would not take a vow not to transfer the Curia from Avignon back to

Italy. They then gave their suffrages to the Cistercian cardinal, Peter Fournier, who became Benedict XII. He was beyond all doubt a learned and pious man, but seems to have been devoid of that experience of affairs which was needed to rule the Church, and also wanting in sufficient firmness of character to make head against the influence of the Curia. He was swept off his feet by his surroundings, and after two vain attempts to return from Avignon to Rome, creditable as these no doubt were, he settled down to the building of the new papal palace of which mention has already been made. This served to establish the papacy at Avignon still longer, and this disastrous example was followed by the cardinals, who then surrounded the Pontiff's residence with a ring of palaces of their own. The deliverance from captivity seemed to fade into the distant future. Neither could he escape from the interference of the French king in the affairs of the Church. Louis of Bavaria at last made repeated offers of submission to the Pope, sending no fewer than six successive embassies to Avignon for the purpose, but King Philip VI. encouraged the Pope to lay down unacceptable conditions, and indulged in threats of revolt if his view were put aside. Louis then entered into alliance with Edward III. of England against the French, but as a further step towards reconciliation he later on gave up this alliance. However, further conditions were imposed, which the emperor would not accept, and the absolution was not given. Benedict was occupying himself in the task of keeping the peace between France and England, a work often given as a reason for the

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Avignon residence, when death came to him, after seven years of reign, on the 25th of April, 1342. He was buried in Avignon cathedral.

It was in the next reign, that of Clement VI. (1342-1352), that the highest point of magnificence was reached in all the period of residence of the pontiffs in France. Cardinal Peter Roger de Beau- **Clement VI.** (1342-1352). fort was born near Limoges of a noble family of that country. His brother, the Count de Beaufort, had the singular lot of having his son as well as his brother in turn Pope, and of having a brother, two nephews and five cousins cardinals. Clement had entered the Benedictine order, and had been chosen Abbot of Chaise Dieu; but after a year in each of the bishoprics of Arras, Sens and Rouen successively, he was made cardinal by Benedict XII. In less than a fortnight the conclave had made choice of him, and his coronation and the procession which followed it were spectacles of rare pomp and magnificence. Clement seems to have given free reign to his love of generosity, lavish display and stately ceremonial. As he announced that all favours were to be expedited gratuitously for the first two months of his reign, suppliants flocked to Avignon from all parts of Christendom to the number, it is said, of one hundred thousand. All vacant benefices were filled up, and when remonstrances were made to the Pope on the immense number of grants he had made, he is said to have replied: "Our predecessors did not know how to be Pope." By the purchase of the county of Avignon for eighty thousand crowns, he created one tie more to fasten the Holy See to that abode, and the disturbed state of Rome, where in 1347 Cola di Rienzi succeeded in setting up an ephemeral Republic, did not make the prospect of a return thither any more welcome. It was in vain that the Romans sent a distinguished embassy with the Poet Petrarch among its leaders to beg the Pontiff to return to his capital. The envoys were received with all honour, and arrangements were made before them for a Jubilee in 1350, but then they were put off with the excuse that the Pontiff had to remain for the present to make peace between France and England; and it would have been well if Clement had held the balance level between them. The long struggle between these countries, known as the Hundred Years' War, had just begun with Edward III.'s

claim to the French throne. But whatever may be thought of this pretension, there are fears that in all his career the interests of his native land prevailed with Clement. Out of twenty-five cardinals created by him nearly all were French; and among the provinces of the land Limoges took the first place; hence the jealousies that led to the epithet of "hated Limousins." And there was yet an inner circle of his thoughts and affections which was filled by his own family, several of whom were raised to the Cardinalate or otherwise favoured; and all this time the Court of Avignon was a centre of feasting and luxury. The Pontiff loved festive celebrations and high banquets, and the company, both male and female, was not always above reproach. Still, alongside of these extravagances went good and admirable qualities. Amid the arrogant lords of his day who flocked around him, Clement was ever gentle, kindly and even-minded. When the Great Plague came to Avignon in 1347 the Pontiff showed both courage and piety, and also had the manly justice to defend the Jews, who were accused by the ignorant populace of causing this scourge by poisoning the wells.

After the failure of the negotiations in the reign of the preceding Pontiff, the struggle between Louis of Bavaria and the Holy See went on. The electors met at Frankfort, and the majority pronounced in favour of Louis not seeking any further absolutions from censures. In the same year, 1338, they met again at Rhensee, and drew up a declaration that election by them sufficed to confer the Holy Roman Empire without the need of any papal confirmation. Whatever might be said of this from the standpoint of German national right, with regard to the kingdom of Germany, this was clearly against the theory of the Roman Empire as understood by Charlemagne and the Othos. These empire builders postulated a far closer union between papacy and empire. Even now the Pontiff had princes, such as John of Bohemia, who loyally supported his claim, and the canonists argued the point with all the legal weapons at their command. In 1346 Charles of Luxemburg, the son of John of Bohemia, was named by the Pope as emperor-elect in place of Louis of Bavaria, whose excommunication and deposition, already published by John

XXII., Clement VI. renewed. Germany seemed to be embarked upon a hopeless civil war, of which no one could see the end, when Louis of Bavaria unexpectedly met his death at a boar hunt in 1347. This was all in the direction of a settlement favourable to the papacy. Charles of Luxemburg gradually got the upper hand over the partisans of his rival, and in 1355 was able to go to Rome, where he was crowned emperor by a legate of the Holy See.

At the death of Clement VI. the cardinals pledged themselves to an arrangement by which whoever was elected Pope bound himself to divide more of **Innocent VI.** his power and revenues with the cardinals. (1352-1362).

The result of the conclave was the election of Cardinal Aubert of Ostia, who became Innocent VI. (1352-1362). One of his first acts was to annul the previous arrangement, or so-called "capitulation," made by the cardinals, and then he laboured hard to reduce the luxury and abuses of the papal court. Non-resident prelates were sent home to their sees, plural appointments and benefices annulled, and, setting an example which he urged the cardinals to follow, Pope Innocent lived in a simpler and less magnificent style than his predecessor. Another embassy from Rome recounted to him the miseries of Italy, and begged of him to return, but though he did not see his way to comply with this request in face of the opposition of the court, he sent Cardinal Albornoz, a Spaniard, who had already distinguished himself in war against the Moors, as papal vicar, with full powers. **Albornoz.** (1353).

The martial energy and genius of Albornoz met with complete success. He went on from victory to victory, taking possession one by one of the Pope's cities and castles, ejecting usurpers and reducing rebels to submission. After Charles of Luxemburg had been crowned at Rome in 1355, he issued in the following year what was known as the Golden Bull, **The Golden Bull.** regulating the rights of the German electors to the empire, but this was condemned by (1356). Innocent on account of its tacit ignoring of the rights of the Pope to confirm the election. Little by little the emperor gave way on this and the other points demanded by the Holy See, and by mutual concessions peace was re-established between the Church and the

empire. Innocent was attacked at Avignon by some of the bands of mercenary soldiers who were at that time ranging over France and Italy, ready to sell their services to anyone who would engage them. For the moment the pontiff had to buy them off by paying a large ransom; but for the safety of the future he improved the fortifications of the city, and endeavoured to engage the services of the mercenary troops with their leaders, or Condottieri. as they were called, in a Crusade against the Turks. Innocent died in 1362, and was buried at Avignon.

Urban V. (1362-1370) was not elected to succeed Innocent until after considerable dissension and delay among the cardinals. He was not a cardinal,

Urban V. (1362-1370). but Abbot of the Monastery of St Victor at Marseilles, and was known as William Grimoald, one of the first canonists of his day; and he was not less illustrious for his virtues than for his learning. The worst that can be urged against him is his special love for France and the French. His appointment of his brother as cardinal can be justified by the worthiness of this man; and he it was who, urged both by the Emperor Charles and by the supernatural warnings of St Brigid and St Catherine of Siena, determined in spite of all opposition on the part of the French king and the cardinals to go back to Rome. Albornoz had done much to prepare the road by his recovery of a great portion of the papal states. It was in 1367 that, amid the lamentations of his kindred and the protests of the cardinals, Urban nerved himself to the effort, and set out. Embarking at Marseilles, and sailing across the Gulf of Lyons, he landed at Corneto, and was greeted by the Italians, who came to meet him with shouts of joy. He did not, however, proceed immediately to Rome, but remained for some time at Viterbo, which Albornoz had fortified with a strong castle. Trouble soon came to the Pontiff in this seemingly secure post. Albornoz died, and a tumult broke out both there and in other places against the French attendants of the Pontiff. It was not long before Urban was glad to leave Viterbo and advance to Rome which he entered in triumph on the 16th of October, 1367, rendering fervent thanksgivings to God for his return to his see. He was visited in the following year by the Emperor Charles IV. (1355-1378), who humbly led the Pontiff's steed as they entered the city

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together, and in 1369 he had a visit from John Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor. But Charles IV., sometimes called the "Pope's emperor," was only a shadow of the emperors of the past, and Palaeologus had only come to seek help against the Turks. The French cardinals looked on Rome as exile, and Urban himself fell into bad health. He spent the summer of the next three years (1368-1370) at Viterbo and Montefiascone, trying to recover, and while at the latter place formed the design of going again to Avignon. After appointing eight new cardinals, six of whom were French, Urban found that he had much strengthened the forces that counselled his return, and he still cherished the hope of being able to end the war between France and England. Vehement voices were raised in protest, Petrarch the Poet, and the ecstatic St Brigid being the foremost, the latter even warning Urban that he would shortly die if he carried out his project. Still, wrapped in sadness, for he was a conscientious and holy man, he set out on the return journey, and reached Avignon to the joy and exultation of its inhabitants, in September, 1370. Here all the same his ailments did but increase, and on the 16th of December he expired in the most pious sentiments, clad in the habit of his order, and was buried, as he had willed to be, in the Abbey Church of St Victor at Marseilles. The "cultus" of B. Urban V. was approved by Pius IX. in 1870.

Peter Roger de Beaufort, nephew of Clement VI., was the choice of the cardinals, and is known as Gregory XI. (1371-1378). He had been made cardinal at the age of eighteen, but was not yet a priest. He was ordained, consecrated and crowned in the course of a few weeks, and, though pious and gentle, was of too frail a constitution to make headway against his surroundings. It was not long before he got earnest messages from St Brigid and St Catherine of Siena to come to Rome. Soon after this St Brigid died, but St Catharine of Siena made the long journey to Avignon on the part of the Florentines to try and arrange a peace with the Holy See. She also redoubled her entreaties with the reluctant Pope that he should come to Rome. But the opposing influences were strong, and Gregory added to them by creating nine new cardinals, seven of whom were French. One of these, Gerard du

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Puy, Abbot of Marmoutiers, was the papal vicar of Italy, and had earned for himself an evil reputation for fierceness and rapacity in the Florentine and other wars. Miserable indeed was the condition of Italy. Petty tyrants, such as Visconti at Milan, Malatesta at Rimini, and the Salimbeni in Tuscany fought and plundered incessantly. The republics at Genoa, Siena and Florence were seething with chronic revolution, and mercenary bands under such leaders as Hawkwood and Duguesclin wandered over the land. But St Catharine was urgent in her warnings, and at last Gregory, convinced of their supernatural character, listened and prepared to obey. Accompanied by most of his court, he took ship at Marseilles, and landed at Genoa, nervous and shaken by the effort of the journey, and sickened by the evils he seemed powerless to remedy (1376). From Genoa he sailed to Corneto, and landing there, succeeded in making an arrangement with the Romans by which the papal government of the city was restored. He then made a solemn entry into the capital (17th January, 1377). Cardinal Robert of Geneva was now the Pope's vicar in the North of Italy, and he passed from city to city reducing them to submission. At Cesena the mercenary troops under his command perpetrated a frightful massacre, in which thousands perished; meanwhile Florence and other cities continued to be at war with the Pope. The Pope spent the summer of 1378 at Anagni, and when he returned to Rome, found the hostile elements quite in the ascendant. Broken in spirit and shattered in health, he at last yielded to the advice of his French courtiers, and made up his mind to return to Avignon. However, at that very time his illness became worse, and soon was clearly fatal. He died on the 27th of March, 1378, in the midst of gloom and apprehension; and there was ample ground for both. The residence of the popes at Avignon had been disastrous to many of the best interests of the Church. It had removed the Pope from his see, and had weakened the true international character of the papacy in the world, by giving its surroundings and officials a French character which provoked hostility and suspicion on the part of other nations; and concomitantly with this, the increase of the financial aid demanded for the support of the papal court led to bitter resentment. And yet to break radically with the system

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which had grown up, and to come back to Rome under the old conditions, was a labour of Hercules. At any rate Gregory was not the man who could face this, and thus he died in pain and sorrow, confronted with a dilemma that seemed insoluble.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

(1378-1417).

THE death of Gregory XI., so soon after his return to his see, plunged the papacy into a trial, if possible more searching than any it had hitherto gone through. At once it was felt on all sides that a moment of crisis had arrived, but preparations were immediately made for the conclave. While the cardinals were keeping the usual nine days' celebration of Requiems for Gregory, the Romans were holding meetings to secure from them an Italian pope. Their only answer to the requests of the people was that they would choose one who would satisfy all. The Senator of Rome and the Bannerets of the "Rioni" or "Regions" seized the city gates and the shipping in the river, and likewise drove out certain prominent nobles, who were likely to oppose them. There were sixteen cardinals in the city, and six others had remained in Avignon. The cardinal legate was in Tuscany. Out of the sixteen ten were French, four Italian, and then there was Robert of Geneva, and the Spaniard, Pedro de Luna. Signs of the ferment among the people were visible to the cardinals as they passed through the crowd into the conclave at the Vatican. Many were armed, and loud cries went up for a Roman or, at any rate, an Italian pope. Then the Bannerets above-mentioned waited on the Sacred College to formally present the same demand. The electors were shut in, but all through the night they could hear the tumult outside. Early in the morning the "tocsin" rang out, and the report spread that the papal wine cellars had been looted. At last Cardinal Corsini appeared at the balcony and promised that the people's request should

be granted. Thus under some amount of fear, but not such as to take away their liberty, the electors proceeded to discuss the candidates, and after some time all but two voted, at the suggestion of Pedro de Luna, for Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari; but they did not at once proclaim him. However, as the uproar outside was renewed, after a hasty meal, the electors formally renewed their choice of Prignano, and then strove to announce it to the crowd. But the name was taken up wrongly in the din, and the people understanding *Bar*, an unpopular French prelate, not *Bari*, a yell of execration went up to the windows. The cardinals now concluded that their choice was an unwelcome one, and bethought them how to escape in safety. The aged Cardinal Tebaldeschi was robed as Pope and enthroned (as a stratagem), the bells ringing, and the *Te Deum* being intoned. In spite of his protests, he was held down in the papal chair, and when the Romans broke in, they swarmed to kiss his feet, regardless of his denials and protests. Meanwhile, the others fled as best they could, six to St Angelo, four to the country, and six to their palaces in the city. The Archbishop of Bari had been all this time in hiding, but Pedro de Luna sent a messenger to assure him of the reality of the election, and to offer him troops and a place of safety. With dramatic suddenness Bartolomeo declined all help, affirming that he was the Father of the Roman people, and needed no protection from anyone. When twelve of the other cardinals arrived, he was robed and enthroned and proclaimed to the people as Urban VI.

The die was cast, and the cardinals had elected a hard master. He was a swarthy-faced Neapolitan, short and stout, and though they had relied on his **Urban VI.** experience of affairs and successful career, (1378-1389). he was not the man they took him for. He showed a rudeness of manner, a self-confidence in his own judgment, and contempt of others that vexed and offended them. They were the cardinals who had lived in luxury at Avignon on easy though courteous terms with the Pontiff, and here was an outsider who, as soon as he was secure, scolded and upbraided, and once even made as though he would strike a cardinal who displeased him. Could it be that this sudden elevation had turned his brain? He announced himself as the champion

of reform and the enemy of abuses, but even good measures became hateful when undertaken in such a spirit. At first they treated him unquestioningly as lawful Pope, and he notified his election to the Catholic powers. The cardinals at Avignon were also notified, and one of them, the Cardinal of Amiens, came to Rome angry that an Italian had been chosen. In fact he seems to have been the first cardinal to openly question the validity of the election. Meanwhile, Urban went on offending first one then another, and when he disgraced Gaetani, Lord of Fondi, it was this man whom the Cardinal of Amiens made use of to support the growing opposition. One after another the cardinals withdrew to Anagni, under plea of avoiding the heat of Rome, Pedro de Luna being the last to go, while the chamberlain slipped off to join them with the tiara and other regalia. Pedro went, still holding Urban to be lawful Pope, and in fact they all wrote to him from Anagni in similar strain, but it is quite doubtful whether this was sincere. Having gathered a body of mercenary troops to their side, they called the three Italian cardinals to join them, but as they did not come, and since Urban refused to abdicate as Pedro de Luna advised, they held an election at Anagni, but without result. Then they moved to Fondi, where three Italian cardinals joined them, and they unanimously chose Robert of Geneva as Pope. He took the name of Clement VII., and was crowned and proclaimed in the customary fashion. Old Cardinal Tebaldeschi having died, Urban was now left quite alone, and he and Clement were both claiming the obedience of Christendom.

With all his faults, Urban was both brave and energetic, and he strained every nerve to assert his authority. The Emperor Charles IV. **Christendom divided.** acknowledged him, so did Richard II. of England. Flanders, and Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, did likewise. But the kings of France and Scotland and the Spanish monarch held to Clement and the cardinals. So did Joanna, queen of Naples, but after some efforts to win her over, Urban gave the Investiture of her kingdom to her cousin, Charles of Durazzo, and with the assistance of a Hungarian army overcame Joanna, who died in prison, probably a violent death. And the division of

obedience was quite as remarkable among the learned and holy as among the princes of the earth. St Catharine of Siena was enthusiastic for Urban, calling the rebellious cardinals "incarnate demons." So later on was St Bernardine, but St Vincent Ferrer and St Colette were on the side of Avignon. So too, though the doctors of the Italian universities were Urbanist, those of Paris espoused the other side. In fact, it is quite easy to believe that the question was an insoluble one to the contemporaries of the schism, and that merely some local or personal make-weight was enough to turn the scale. But now that we can view the affair from a distance, the mists seem to be clearing away; and the more historical study and theological principles are employed upon it, the stronger grows the conclusion that all along Urban was lawful Pope, albeit a very trying and dangerous one. That being so, neither cardinals nor councils had any power to depose him, and consequently all those who stood by Clement and the Avignon cardinals were abetting an antipope, though certainly in most cases in the best of good faith, having made a mistake, which was so easy amidst the strong passions roused and the large interests compromised by the conduct of Urban.

Perhaps the most remarkable figure in many respects that the history of the Great Schism brings before us is that of the great Dominican preacher, St Vincent Ferrer. It would be difficult to match his career as an apostolic preacher during the twenty years that he spent journeying through Spain, France, Italy, Flanders, and the British Isles, drawing crowds of all nations to listen to his fiery warnings of the Judgment to come. His simple, austere, unvarying life consisted of daily-sung Mass, daily sermon, and daily fast, and his mission was confirmed by wondrous graces and remarkable conversions. It was a time of darkness and perplexity in the minds of men, and one of the lessons of St Vincent's career comes from the fact that he was on the wrong side in the schism, and supported the Avignon pope, or, as it seems to us to-day, unmistakable antipope, until his unworthiness of support was proved to the hilt. It was when the Emperor Sigismund had come to Narbonne to treat with Pedro de Luna, now become Benedict XIII., and the latter would yield neither to emperor nor to

**St Vincent
Ferrer.**
(1357-1419).

confessor, that this confessor, who was no other than Vincent himself, relinquished the untenable position and left Benedict to his fate. When the Council of Constance deposed Benedict, Vincent's last act was to publish the deposition, and then in 1419, he who had been called the Apostle of Judgment went to give an account of his own career.

When the death of Queen Joanna became known in France, Louis of Anjou was crowned King of Naples by Clement at Avignon, and in 1382 set out to conquer his kingdom at the head of a brilliant French army. Charles of Durazzo made ready as best he could to oppose him, and though he had not the forces to risk open battle, manœuvred with such great skill that the French army was able to do but little. Urban, meanwhile, was little satisfied with the king he had named, and his fiery temper drove him to go to Naples in person. On arrival there he was honourably received, and there were various ceremonies of much splendour in his honour. Still Urban felt himself to be in a sort of half-captivity, lodged in the royal palace or castle. Moreover, the licentious behaviour of Butillo, the Pope's favourite nephew, helped to widen the breach between Urban and Charles. Hence it was that in 1384 the Pope got away from Naples, and took up his residence with his court in the castle of Nocera, which had been given over to Butillo. It was an inconvenient abode for the cardinals, but the Pontiff liked it, and it was strong. It was near to Naples, and in the hands of the papal nephew. Already from Naples Urban had proclaimed a Crusade against Louis of Anjou, but the French and Neapolitan armies never met in a pitched battle. Charles persisted in his harassing tactics, and Louis finding his army gradually dwindling away, fell back. The plague now came to attack both Louis and his army, and in September, 1384, he died. Charles of Durazzo became so hostile to Urban that he besieged the Pontiff in his castle, and was solemnly excommunicated from the walls by him. Urban appeared on the battlements of Nocera day by day to fulminate this sentence repeatedly in person. Eventually the siege was raised by Raimondello Orsini, Count of Nola, and under his escort Urban got safely away.

But even before the siege began Nocera was a hateful

abode to the cardinals; and Urban was not an easy master of the house to live with. A conspiracy was hatched among the cardinals to seize the Pope, and, at least as he thought, to put him to death. That many of them should think that in view of his violence it would be for the good of the Church for Urban to be put under restraint is likely enough, but it is quite possible that the latter part of the plot, involving his murder, may have existed only in his suspicious mind. But as soon as Urban came to hear of it, he took a swift and fierce vengeance. Six of the cardinals were seized and handed over to the Pope's nephew, Butillo, who cast them into a dungeon, and subjected them to torture to make them confess, Butillo himself being present in the torture chamber. When Urban got away from Nocera, he took his captive cardinals with him. But one died on the way, and Adam Easton was released at the prayer of his sovereign, Richard II. of England. Genoa was the place in which Urban found a safe retreat, and there he remained till December, 1386. Before he left, however, he had the five guilty cardinals put to death. To make up for those he had lost by this, and by the departure of those who had gone to Avignon to join Clement VII., Urban now named twenty-nine new cardinals, of whom it is not wonderful that four at least refused the honour. The violence and arrogance of the Pope had grown to an alarming degree. The most charitable hope is that these passions had almost disordered his mind. It would be one trial more for the Church, but it is the most obvious explanation of such frightful inconsistency between a life of seeming piety and periodical exhibitions of violent anger and cruel vindictiveness.

Urban
and his
cardinals.

All this time Clement VII. at Avignon with his own court was carrying on the campaign for his own cause with the same weapons of bull and brief and censure which Urban was using. It was at first a war of words, but later on it became a strife with arms and armies. Though the greater part of Italy was with Urban, Florence held out, and Naples was often hostile enough. Now it was above all at Naples, his native city, that Urban passionately desired to triumph; so when he found that Louis II. of Anjou and the Queen Regent Margaret had

The Avignon
rival.

got the upper hand there, he prepared for war both with spiritual and temporal weapons. He laid the city under an Interdict, and in order to get the means for the support of an army proclaimed a Jubilee for 1390. This led to changing the Jubilee period to an interval of thirty-three years—the span which was supposed to be the length of Our Lord's life on earth, and also the average duration of a generation of mankind. However, on 15th October, 1389, Urban died at Rome in the Vatican, and was buried in St Peter's.

It was thought at Avignon that Urban's death would end the schism, and that all would now acknowledge Clement, but to the great disappointment of **Boniface IX.** (1389-1404). that court the cardinals at Rome at once held a conclave, and elected Cardinal Tomacelli, who took the name of Boniface IX. (1389-1404). He was an imposing and capable personality, but more a man of affairs than a scholar. Clement at once launched against him a sentence of excommunication, and the reply was a letter from Boniface to Clement, exhorting the latter to resign, and promising complete indulgence for the past. But of course this was disregarded, and then Boniface in turn renewed the excommunication against Clement. Being desirous to put an end to the schism, though keeping the rights which he believed were undoubtedly his, Boniface now wrote to the king of France exhorting him to use all his influence to this end. The result was that the king consulted the University of Paris as to what could be done. The University suggested a threefold alternative: (1) the resignation of the two competitors, (2) the arbitration of chosen judges, and (3) a general council. Nicholas de Clemengis, the Rector, consigned this opinion to a written document, and forwarded it to the king. But neither Boniface nor Clement would hear of resignation. The envoys of the French king pressed their views on Clement with great energy and vehemence. Though unwilling to yield, Clement was much angered and hurt by the tone of their letters and remonstrances. In fact the vexation and excitement hastened his end. On the 16th of September, 1394, having heard Mass, he had a sudden stroke of apoplexy, which carried him off.

At this juncture the Spanish and French kings both wrote to Avignon to persuade the cardinals to put off any

election, but in vain. They proceeded to an election all the same, and voted for the celebrated Spanish cardinal, Pedro de Luna, who was the foremost man in reputation, and perhaps in skill, of both colleges. He assumed the name of Benedict XIII. Once more the doctors of the University of Paris proposed abdication to both Boniface and Benedict. Once more both raised difficulties, and finally both in their own way sent off the delegates with harsh and threatening words. The envoys sent to Boniface made such a stinging reply before they left, and it must be remembered these Paris doctors were the most learned body of divines of their day, that Boniface's state of health was greatly affected by it, and he died some days after. He was accused by them both of avarice and simony, but it does not seem that the charge of simony can be maintained. The charge of avarice rested chiefly on the rigorous upkeep of the system of finance begun at Avignon. *This* it was much more than the Pontiff that must bear the blame—and on this really fell the reproaches of the doctors.

Things went badly too with Benedict XIII., though the envoys do not seem to have retorted on him without respect, as they did on Boniface. The result of his obstinate attitude was that the king and prelates and doctors assembled at Paris withdrew all obedience to him. For a time also most of his cardinals left him, but later on, when he had left Avignon, a reaction in his favour set in, and he was once more able to count on the obedience of the French. The cardinals at Rome, meanwhile, had chosen Cardinal Meliorati, who then became known as Innocent VII. (1404-1406). He had, before his election, joined the others in an oath, if elected, to do all in his power to extinguish the schism. In the encyclical in which he announced his election he called an Ecumenical Council of his obedience, to be held in 1405, to deliberate on restoring union. On account of the hostile action of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who made trouble at Rome, Innocent had to put off the opening of his council, and before it could meet he himself died on the 6th of November, 1406. After an oath to work for the extinction of the schism, the cardinals met in conclave, and chose Correrio, a Venetian cardinal, who assumed the title of Gregory XII. (1406-1417), and for a time it seemed as if union was in sight. Deputies

from the two Pontiffs met to discuss the matter with every protestation of willingness from both; but when the request to change the place of meeting for conference from Savona to some place in Gregory's dominions was refused, that Pontiff declined all further negotiation. The cardinals endeavoured to urge the point, but, following the advice of his family and of Ladislaus of Naples, Gregory shrank back. All the cardinals thereupon left him except three, and Gregory created others, among whom were two of his own nephews. As things now seemed in a more desperate plight than ever, the cardinals who had left Gregory joined with those who had abandoned Benedict, and at Leghorn drew up an encyclical, summoning both pontiffs and the prelates of both obediences to an Ecumenical Council to be held at Pisa in the following year. But neither Benedict nor Gregory admitted the legitimacy of their action. In fact Gregory put the cardinals of his party under censure, and protested as strongly as he could. However, the common feeling of the Catholic world was against him, and the council met.

COUNCIL OF PISA (1409).

The first session was held on the 25th of March and the last on the 7th of August. The rival pontiffs had already held each his council: Gregory at Cividale, and Benedict at Perpignan, but neither had had much following; the eyes and the hope of the world were on the assembly at Pisa; and the number of those who actually attended the council was very considerable. When at its maximum it comprised twenty-two cardinals, over eighty bishops, and some six hundred others, being mainly procurators of the bishops, abbots and princes, and doctors of the universities. Cardinal Maillesec, the senior out of either obedience, presided at the earlier sessions. Malatesta, Count of Rimini, proposed in the name of Gregory XII. the transfer of the council to a city not in Florentine dominions. The answer was to propose Pistoja, but when Malatesta returned to Gregory, he complained, weeping the while, of the manner of acting of the cardinals, but refused to go to Pistoja. Thereupon in the next sessions of the council both Gregory and Benedict were thrice cited to appear, and then by a solemn decree declared to be deposed as heretics, schis-

matics, and perjured scandal-givers; all Christians being at the same time released from their obedience to either of them. Proceeding to the election of a new Pontiff, the cardinals, under the influence chiefly of the worldly Cardinal Cossa, but declaring that they acted in the name of the council, unanimously chose the distinguished Cretan friar, Peter Philarghi, who having joined the Franciscans while quite young in his native island, had won his way by the brilliancy of his abilities from post to post until he was made Archbishop of Milan and Cardinal. He chose the name of Alexander V., and great things were looked for from a man of such impartial views and such large experience. Unfortunately, as happened so often before, these hopes were doomed to disappointment. Alexander, when the council was over, began to move towards Rome, but reaching Bologna, was detained there almost by force by Cardinal Cossa, whose power was great, and whose views seem to have been mainly selfish. Many had presumed on Alexander's generosity, and gained from him favours which he scattered with a lavish hand, above all in respect to the Mendicant Orders. At Bologna, he died on the 3rd of May, 1410, after only ten months of Pontificate. The cardinals who gathered at Bologna, in number seventeen, held a conclave there, and elected John XXIII. to succeed him. This was the Baldassare Cossa, who had been instrumental at Pisa in securing the election of Alexander V. to rule the Church, and then had tried to rule him. He was not a priest when elected, and though cardinal deacon, had led a licentious, immoral life, and had been remarked for his unscrupulous policy and avaricious grasping after money. He was a skilful administrator of temporal things, but the spiritual side was unknown and unnoticed by him.

It is pretty clear to us, now that the clouds of contemporary controversy have rolled away, that the Council of Pisa has small claim to be called an Ecumenical Council. Its claim can only at best be based on the doubtful, or more than doubtful foundation, that the Holy See was vacant at the time, and then its having been neither confirmed by subsequent popes, nor admitted by a large proportion of the bishops of Christendom of the period, seems conclusive against it. But of course at the time the ablest and holiest men could not judge of the circumstances as we can now, and no doubt were animated with

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the best and purest intentions to end the schism. In fact the dire confusion and trouble which the schism had brought on Christendom must have filled the minds of the multitude who were neither able nor holy with a strong wish to have *this* evil at any rate put an end to; and all the more bitter must have been the disappointment when it was found that the net result had been to change two competitors into three, and thus bring in a new element of disorder. However, the council and the Pontiff it had made carried the majority of the Church with them then; only the schism was not healed.

The Council of Pisa had decreed that another council should meet in three years, and another in five, and

Further efforts.

thereafter at regular intervals. As might have been expected, this unpractical proposal did not live long. It had, nevertheless, impetus enough to lead John XXIII. to call such a council together at Rome in 1412, which was so poorly attended that it was adjourned till the year after. But, even then, beyond a condemnation of the heretical writings of Wickliffe, nothing was done. Pope John was at war with Ladislaus, king of Naples, and this indirectly led to a council being called in Germany. The king of the Romans, or Emperor-elect, Sigismund, already desired to act as traditional protector of the Church, and urged on the holding of a council to end the schism, and the hostility of Ladislaus made John very dependent on Sigismund; so at the end of 1413 John XXIII. at Lodi convened a general council for the following year to be held in the city of Constance.

The first session was held on the 5th of November, 1414, in the cathedral at Constance. John XXIII. looked

Council of Constance. (1414-1418).

forward to the council with great anxiety, and was inclined to take advantage of the freedom given by the death of his enemy, Ladislaus, to remain in Italy. However, the pressure put by the cardinals and the German monarch prevailed, and John reached Constance with nine cardinals in time to preside at the first session. Sigismund, who hoped great things from the council, both for the Church and for himself personally, as his hold on the empire was precarious, arrived at Christmas, and exercised a great influence on the progress of the assembly. Legates came from both Gregory XII. and

Benedict XIII., and were honourably received. It soon became the prevalent idea among the fathers that the abdication of all three competitors was the only way to end the schism. Sigismund supported this view, which was also that of Cardinal Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal Philaster, and the Chancellor of Paris, John Gerson. John XXIII. had a majority of the Italian bishops in his favour as sole legitimate Pope; and he was inclined to hold to his position. But the composition of this council was very unlike that of the older Ecumenical Councils made up of bishops alone. It was more like a Catholic Congress or a gathering of the nations. At a maximum there were twenty-nine cardinals, one hundred and eighty-three bishops and archbishops, over one hundred abbots, etc., and three hundred doctors, with five thousand monks and friars, so that the total number of ecclesiastics reached some eighteen thousand. A very much larger number of laity, reckoned at from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand, were in the town at the time. It was the scholastic and popular character of the assembly which led to the determination, imitated from the universities, to vote not by individuals but by nations, of which at least five were recognised: Italian, German, French, English and Spanish. Of course this weakened the support John could look for from the Italian bishops. Moreover, a very fierce attack on his life and conduct, drawn up in seventy-two points, was handed in, and the prospect of these things seems to have led him to promise on oath that he would resign the papacy; yet before another session could be held John fled to Frederic, Duke of Austria, at Schaffhausen, and thus imperilled the continuance of the council. Sigismund, nevertheless, held up the waverers, and the council went on. Envoys were sent to John to induce him to return, but in vain. Finally he was brought in custody to the neighbourhood of Constance, but fearing to face the ordeal of a trial before the council, declared his willingness to submit to the decision of the council, albeit he declined to appear. Whereupon, in the following session, the council deposed him as guilty of simony and scandalous life, and he was condemned to imprisonment under the custody of the emperor. Eventually in later times he was freed by the intercession of Martin V. and died at

**Fate of the
three
competitors.**

Florence as Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum (1419). Gregory XII., having first stipulated that the council should be called anew by himself, a session was held under the emperor as President. At this session Cardinal John Dominic, Gregory's legate, solemnly re-convoked it in his name, and then Gregory made a dignified resignation. Being confirmed as Cardinal Bishop of Porto, he died before the end of the council at Recanati in his ninetieth year, and in the odour of sanctity. To overcome the obstinacy of Benedict XIII. Sigismund repaired in person to Perpignan, as he had requested him, but he could not induce him to resign. However, when the Spanish king and St Vincent Ferrer gave him up, his party became an insignificant one. Unbroken even then, the haughty Spaniard shut himself up in the fortress of Peniscola, on the Valencia coast, where he died in 1423.

Though Sigismund and many of the council wished to proceed with the work of reform before electing a pope, still, mainly through the influence of Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, the opposite course was taken. A normal conclave being considered out of the question, thirty deputies, six from each nation, were added to the twenty-three cardinals, and after three days Cardinal Otto Colonna was elected as Martin V., and the schism was at an end.

Those who thought that the Reform of Abuses was at least as important as the election of a pontiff now pressed on with their plans as well as they were able. The council had already passed the celebrated Articles of Constance in the fifth session, declaring (1) that the council was a general council representing the whole Church, (2) that all are bound to obey it in faith and morals, (3) that all who do not obey are subject to ecclesiastical, and if need be civil punishment, (4) that Pope John could not call away from Constance the Curia or other officials, (5) that all the censures of the same Pope since his departure are null and void. As to practical measures for reformation, however eloquent pleadings were made and denunciations given out, the multiplicity of views and want of unity made progress almost impossible. Some things, however, were decided in agreement with the new Pope.

Martin gave up all claim to the revenues of vacant benefices, simony was forbidden, Tithes, Annates, Reservations and Indulgences were considerably reduced, the clergy were ordered to wear the dress of their order, and the number of cardinals was fixed at twenty-four. Martin consistently refused to confirm to decrees of the fifth session, or to allow any appeal from Pope to council.

With regard to heresies, Wickliffe's doctrine was examined, and forty-five propositions from his writings were condemned. His disciple, John Hus, who had preached his errors in Bohemia, was summoned to Constance, and travelled thither under a safe conduct from the

**John Hus
and Jerome
of Prague.**

Emperor Sigismund. During his stay at Constance, however, he disregarded the Pope's prohibition to say Mass, and thereupon was arrested and thrown into prison. Meanwhile, his trial and the examination of his writings went on. Finally, thirty propositions out of them were condemned by the council, and Hus steadily refused to retract them. He was brought before the fifteenth session, at which Sigismund assisted, and there condemned, deposed, and degraded, and then handed over to the secular arm. By this he was sentenced to the full legal penalty of obstinate heresy, and burnt at the stake (July, 1415). Jerome of Prague, a friend of Hus, was tried, and condemned, and then burnt at Constance in the following year (1416). These executions made a great impression on those assembled at Constance, and not at Constance alone. Hus being considered by the Bohemians as at once their religious and national leader, the wars in that country and the long rebellion against the empire may be considered almost direct consequences of the executions at Constance.

With the Council of Constance we may say that the history of the Middle Ages comes to a close. This numerous and learned gathering of doctors and theologians, with no certain pope, and three doubtful popes under its feet, was the lowest point of the mediaeval papacy.

**End of the
Middle
Ages.**

Sigismund, the emperor, was there, but he had neither the power nor the security of the earlier heads of the Holy Roman Empire. At first he was heart and soul with the council, partly for selfish ends, and when these were no longer to be served, his participation grew less.

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In John Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, Filaster and other doctors of the universities, the canon law and theology of the period found illustrious exponents. But these men were the last cycle of the great scholars of the Middle Ages. Meantime from the presence of Bruni, Poggio, and such as these, young but ambitious men, and even from that of the learned Greek Manuel Chrysoloras, could be caught a breeze springing up of the new spirit which under the name of Humanism was to transform the intellectual forces of the age, and claim for its own the Renaissance.

BOOK VII.

THE RENAISSANCE

(1417-1534).

CHAPTER I.

NEW FORCES AT WORK.

ALREADY, while the framework of mediaeval Christendom was showing signs of decay, forces were springing into activity which were to combine in producing a new state of society. Their energies were exerted in different spheres, yet they were curiously connected together. As the elaborate structure of scholasticism was over refined and over divided into decay, a new intellectual impulse called Humanism invited the leading minds to a freer and more general culture. As the central authority of the empire grew feebler among the nations of Europe, there came upon them a keener sense of Nationalism, or separate national existence. And as the whole sum of science appeared to become more circumscribed and hide-bound in its limits, so did the new Spirit of Discovery enlarge both man's knowledge of the world and of the wonders it contains. **The three chief forces.**

To take first the intellectual force known as Humanism, —it sprang up in the midst of ruin and desolation at Rome, and obvious decline among the scholastic doctors. If we have to personify Humanism, the new power in its earlier phase, we must do so in Petrarch (1304-1374), whose life coincided with the

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seventy years of the Avignon Captivity. Though his boyhood was passed at Avignon itself, a visit to Rome awakened in him a love for the past glories of the city, its culture and literature, and a longing for the return of those classic days. And his genius embodied these ideas in his celebrated poems. With Petrarch we must count also his friend, Boccaccio (1313-1375), who shared his aspirations. The impulse was at first mainly a literary one. There was the study of the classical authors, both Latin and Greek, for their own sake—not that these masters of verse and prose had ever been forgotten in the Middle Ages, but rather relegated to a place of secondary importance—while this was an attempt to reproduce their thoughts, their style, and their sentiments in the actual world of the day. And alongside of this was the work of training to grammatical rule what were contemptuously called the vernacular languages, now growing into national speech. The Italian came first under the guidance of such men as we have mentioned, not to speak of Dante, who had already made it a mighty instrument of poetry. But the idioms of the other nations had their Renaissance too, though somewhat later than was the case in Italy. In England, where the Normans had, so to speak, edited the Anglo-Saxon tongue, the same influences which told on Boccaccio are to be seen in Chaucer (1340-1400) and Gower (1410), but in other respects these writers still belong to the Middle Ages, and still speak the Middle English language. It was when Erasmus (1466-1536) came to England and gave the powerful aid of his genius to the revival of classical studies that the English Renaissance, properly so called, appeared. B. Thomas More (1478-1535), Colet and Linacre are the most prominent scholars, if names are to be given. In Germany Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485) was both a scriptural and classical scholar, and in Wimpfeling (1450-1516) and Reuchlin (1455-1522) we see excellent models of men who were Christian Humanists, alive to the extravagances of the extreme partisans of the movement. France was somewhat later in the field. The Italian Aleander became Rector of the University of Paris in 1508, and promoted Greek, Latin and Hebrew studies there. Francis I., was a great patron of the Renaissance and of its spirit, but perhaps the most characteristic example of the Renaissance in France pushed

to its extreme limits was the poet Rabelais (1490-1553), in whom we have the system of Christian philosophy, as well as its accidental eccentricities, held up to ridicule.

These scholars, and others like them, too numerous to be named, arrogated to themselves the name of Humanists, as being the accredited professors of "*Litterae Humaniores*," or the literature of the classic tongues. And to the study of this they devoted themselves with almost an exclusive ardour. Flinging aside with contempt both the systematic treatises of the scholastics and the law books of the canonists, they looked to find all they wanted in the great authors of Greece and Rome. If they wanted poetry, they had Virgil and Homer and Horace. If they wanted history, they found in Livy and Tacitus models hard to surpass. If they turned to philosophy, the divine Plato offered them speculations far more to their taste than the cut and dry treatises of Thomists and Scotists. And there were some who went further still; men who cast overboard not only the mediaeval writers, but the very books of the Gospel themselves. Filled with aversion for the non-classical form of the New Testament writings, and revolting against the sterner morality of the Christian Law, they were minded to turn away from these things and find their religion in the heathen worship of Jove and Apollo, of Venus and Minerva. In many cases it was only a matter of language, and the affected diction that spoke of the Gods and Olympus and Erebus hid souls that really believed in Christ and His saints. But there were others with whom these older things were the reality, and Christianity a myth. They had made shipwreck of the Faith, and were pagans pure and simple in belief and conduct. The distinction between these two classes of Humanists goes very deep, and should never be forgotten. The one strove to give a classic form to the Christian civilisation in existence; the other sought to pluck it up by the roots, and to plant the old heathen culture in its place.

Beginning with the Great Interregnum (1250-1273), and helped on by the period of the papal residence at Avignon, the Holy Roman Empire had been gradually losing ground. The very idea of an all-embracing Christendom with one supreme ruler over all its parts, as there was one Pope over

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the Universal Church, had grown pale and dim. And it had many hostile forces working against it. There was the ambition of every king in Europe to be reckoned with. Every one of them would fain be a sovereign; not one loved to pay homage to an emperor as to a liege lord, and support was never wanting to the assumption of each one's supremacy. Each of the European nations was evolving a national life, which they strove to make independent and complete in itself. They were growing up in diverse and even rival activity; they were becoming articulate in various languages, and they felt interests of their own, which were competitive, and by no means identical with the common good of Europe. In some cases the tie, binding them to union with the empire, had always been of the slightest, and now it snapped altogether.

There is little doubt that something similar in character was at work, modifying the temporal position of the Holy See. After the return from Avignon, the consolidation of the dominions of the Roman Church, carried out above all by Alexander VI. and Julius II., made them more and more of Italian princes and less of international mediators than they had hitherto been; and the consequent identification in some minds of the temporal power with the possession of a certain measure of territory in the Italian Peninsula told to the prejudice of the general power of the papacy. When a Protestant historian, equally notable for his learning and his candour, strives to justify the breach with Rome, which men often speak of as the Reformation, his most plausible excuse is that the popes, losing their strictly international character as Fathers of Christendom, sank to the level of Italian princes. The fact is overstated and distorted, but there is no doubt that the tendency was there.

But the energy which had been developed in the mind of scholars by Humanism, and in politics by Nationalism, sought other outlets still. Prompted by a new spirit of enterprise men were drawn on to explore new regions, both in the abstract world of science and in the concrete world which makes up our earth. Travel, adventure, navigation took on proportions which "trifled all former knowings." Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), the well-known Portuguese hero, personifies this spirit in a very noble and

attractive form. His aims were of the highest, even when actual performance on the part of his comrades did not attain the same elevated level. His swift caravels passed along the African coast, discovering Madeira and then Cape Verde, and then doubled one cape after another farther along the western shores of that continent. Then came the Genoese, Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) and his still bolder voyages to the West, in the course of which, half-missioner, half-adventurer, he discovered the American continent, and in the words of his epitaph:

"A Castilla y a León, Nuevo Mundo dió Colon."
"Columbus gave a new world to Castile and Leon."

And there came also Amerigo Vespucci (1451-1512), disputing something of these honours with Columbus. There came also another who was a Portuguese, Vasco di Gama (1469-1524), passing East as Columbus passed West, and laying bare beyond the terrible Cape of Storms the ocean track to India. And there came John and Sebastian Cabot, passing to the north of Columbus' discoveries, and possibly reaching the mainland before him. There came Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil in 1500; and following close on the path of these men there came others who were rather conquerors of what had been already discovered than themselves explorers, such as Hernando Cortes (1485-1547), the conqueror of Mexico, and Pizarro, the equally celebrated but more culpable conqueror of Peru; and with these Alfonso Albuquerque (1453-1515), who with greater humanity and equal success founded a colonial empire for the Portuguese which was not inferior in extent and importance to that of Spain. The joint effect of these discoveries and conquests was to open out a wider view of development for this earth of ours, and to enkindle a fresh spirit of enterprise and ambition. The New World showed the men of Europe distant races they had never heard of, wide expanses of land and water that made the seas they had hitherto sailed over seem like lakes, vast treasures of gold and silver that promised to throw into the shade all they had up to now possessed.

Even putting aside any lesser advances in civilisation, and there were many such, the three things that we have now noted had in them force enough to make life in Europe henceforward a very different affair from what it

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had hitherto been. They provided a new frame to the picture, and must not be lost sight of in studying the fortunes of the Church in a period that begins with the Middle Ages, and ends in the commencement of that modern world in which we live. But there were not wanting certain material inventions which, though they did not always lead to unmixed good, yet are rightly considered to be signs of progress and advancing civilisation. The discovery of gunpowder led inevitably to considerable changes in the art of war; and almost unnoticed mechanical inventions, due to such men as Lionardo da Vinci, were not without their effect upon

**Invention
of
printing.**

public life and the arts of society. But a still greater result on the diffusion of knowledge was brought about by the invention of the art of printing. Germany seems to have been the first country to get such a system of printing as was practical enough to supersede the handwritten volumes of the past. Gutemburg (1453), Fust (1455), and Schoeffer (1456) divide the honours between them as far as the Fatherland was concerned; and close after them follow Wynkin de Worde at Antwerp (1491), Caxton in London (1471), and Aldus Manutius (1450-1515) in Italy. The power to diffuse books by this means was therefore anterior to Protestantism, and no lack of energy was shown in taking advantage of it as soon as the material difficulties could be overcome. Even before the fifteenth century innumerable publications came forth in the various countries, showing what a powerful new engine had been placed at the disposal of scholars and literary men. The chief encouragement came from the Church and Churchmen, whether it was question of the Holy Scripture, or of the classics, or of newer works in the spheres of secular and religious thought. It is of importance to note what was done to make the art of printing a vehicle for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, as soon as it was at men's command for that purpose. Complete versions of the Bible had been printed in French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Bohemian before the time of Luther. In England the so-called Wickliffite Version existed, and is claimed by Cardinal Gasquet as the Pre-Reformation Catholic Version. In Germany, beginning with 1466, as many as seventeen editions had proceeded from the Press prior to the publica-

tion of Luther's version. Though somewhat later, the printing of the Complutensian Polyglot at Alcalá (1502-1517), through the care of Cardinal Ximenes, in five versions, was the earliest achievement of that kind, and cost the great cardinal fifteen years of labour and twenty-five thousand pounds. Though finished in 1517, it only saw the light in 1520; six hundred copies were printed.

This century (1417-1534), so fertile in progress, so teeming with new ideas and aspirations, seems by all the evidence at our command to have been also a period of greater relaxation in morals than either the years before or the years after it. Had the Renaissance remained faithful to the Christian ideals that ever shone before the eyes of its best representatives, this need not have been. But in reality it was quite otherwise. Classical antiquity was pagan, and in drinking in the culture of those Greek and Roman masters, its partisans imbibed also their pagan spirit. Sometimes this appears only in an under-current below the surface of Christian thought and works. But in other places the pagan gains the upper hand, and Christianity languishes and dies. Heathen customs and the heathen standard of conduct are openly embraced. Thus we find brilliant and accomplished Humanists scoffing at religion, questioning its supremacy, and leading lives of pagan immorality. And they set the fashion to the multitudes who looked up to them. The sanctity of marriage was treated with contempt, and on many places rested the shadow of darker and unnatural crime, for sensuality was carried to pagan excess. A very large number of the public men in the State, and even in the Church, had to own to one or more illegitimate children, and could do so without incurring disgrace or ostracism. And even when the greater vices were absent the smaller ones seem to have grown apace. Both history and painting put before us extravagance in dress and luxury in manner of life as one of the characteristics of the times. It was one that the preachers of the day fastened on as a crying abuse that called for a remedy. Gambling also seems to have caught the age in its toils. While the Renaissance by no means shook off the cruelties of barbarism, as practised on prisoners, or the vanquished, or the wretched, it took on an effeminacy which earlier ages had been free from—so the dictum

State of
morals.

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holds good that, while it was a period of prodigious intellectual progress, it was also an age of moral decay.

The noblest minds indeed were conscious of the evil, and failed not to cry out against it from highest to lowest. There was the perennial cry for the reformation of the whole Church in its head and members. There was the voice of zealous and saintly preachers, urging the people to penance, and at given times and places they did so with marvellous results. In Italy it was still above all the Mendicant Friars who distinguished themselves as preachers of reform. The long career of St Bernardine of Siena (1380-1444) was given up to a spiritual crusade throughout central and northern Italy, in which he, by his sermons, drove home the gospel truths in the most homely and convincing fashion to throngs of hearers, obtaining at least for the time almost miraculous conversions and amendment. Still more striking were the outward results of the apostolate of Jerome Savonarola (1452-1498) at Florence. These two men have often been compared together, and not to the Dominican's advantage. But that Savonarola used the power he wielded at Florence in favour of morality and against sensuality, luxury and feuds of revenge is beyond dispute. The Friars Minor could also point to such missionaries as St John Capistran and St James of the Marches, while the Dominicans could boast of the B. John Dominic and St Antoninus, "the angel of the counsels." A literature of sermons in the vernacular began to spring up. Old England was among the first with sermons like those of B. John Fisher and Roger Edgeworth, while Germany had her Wimpfeling and her John Geiler.

The protest against relaxation in morals was made not only by word, but by deed also. Some there were who went to the opposite extreme of fanatical severity. This was the case with the Flagellants, who carried to excess the practice of public penance by scourging, and the Fratricellæ, who did the same with regard to what was called evangelical poverty. But at least one notable effort for setting before men's eyes the highest standard of detachment from worldly goods was that of St Francis of Paula, who died in 1507, after living through almost the whole of the fifteenth century, and after trying by his founda-

Efforts at reform.

Saintly example.

tion (1457) of the Order of Minims to go beyond even the poverty of St Francis of Assisi. Alongside of this foundation of almost the only order of importance which dates from this period we must place the reforms of other existing orders which were then undertaken, and notably that of the Dominicans by the B. John Dominic. Again though many of the prelates were worldly and even unworthy men, this was by no means universally so. The first Patriarch of Venice (1455) was the illustrious St Lawrence Giustiniani, and St Antoninus filled the See of Florence at about the same time. Hemming, Archbishop of Upsala, was canonised in 1513; and if we wish to find examples of heroic sanctity among the laity we shall find them in the ranks of royalty in St Casimir of Poland and St Ferdinand of Castile, while the lower stations in Christian society were graced with such models as St Didacus, St Lidwina, St Frances of Rome and others. In the Flemish Brethren of the Common Life we find the virtues of the religious state practised on a large scale without the honours of a religious order, properly so called. Instituted by Gerard de Groote (1340-1384), it owed its organisation to his disciple Florentius of Deventer (1351-1400). It is to this pious union that we owe the ascetic master, Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471), whose book on the *Imitation of Christ* is sometimes called the last word of the Middle Ages on the Christian life of perfection.

CHAPTER II.

RESTORATION AT ROME.

(1417-1453).

THE happy ending of the Great Schism by the election of Martin V. filled the hearts of men with joy. The new Pontiff became the instrument and guiding spirit of a great work of reconstruction at Rome. Never had the Church to meet such a crisis before, and had she been less than divine she might have succumbed. Yet so marvellously was she strengthened by the divine element within her that even out of this conflict she emerged immortal and ever new. Cardinal Otto Colonna, who was now elected, was a noble Roman indeed, but only in subdeacon's orders, so that he had to be both ordained priest and consecrated bishop before he was equipped for the task before him. The Council of Constance held its last session under his presidency, and then separated, leaving him at the helm in Peter's bark. The emperor tried to draw him to Germany, the French suggested Avignon, but the Pope listened to neither, and six months after his election left Avignon for Rome, which was suffering grievously from so long an absence of its father and lord. And yet it was another two years before Rome was reached at last. The city was in the hands of Joanna of Naples, and Martin had to wait and negotiate. The interval was spent by him in Florence at Sta Maria Novella. Thither came the antipope, John XXIII. (Balthasar Cossa), and humbly made his submission. He was very kindly received by Martin, and given the honours of a cardinal bishop, but in less than six months he breathed his last, and was buried in Florence.

As soon as an arrangement was come to with Queen

Joanna, Martin proceeded from Florence to Rome, and at his solemn entry was hailed as deliverer of the city. He must have found the papal city little more than a ruin; but he set out with energy upon the laborious task of restoring and in great part rebuilding it. What houses of the nobility remained standing were like castles, and the ruinous streets were infested by robbers. Many of the churches were even unroofed, and the walls of Rome were in places broken down. Wolves prowled by night in the *Campo Santo*, or cemetery. Martin began by repairing the Vatican, and by cleansing the streets and having the debris of fallen buildings removed. Then came the turn of the churches, and while Martin himself cared for St Peter's and St John Lateran on a very munificent scale, each cardinal was invited to take in hand the church of his title. The Pope built a small palace to live in at Rome, and a strong castle at Genazzano; for though most of his works were those of real necessity, he loved grandeur and fine buildings as a Roman noble would, and he bought plate and vestments of artistic excellence, and restored the papal mint. Moreover, to cow the rebellious and the brigands his military forces were kept at a high level, and he used the Colonna power to increase his material position. Many cities were handed over by the Pontiff to his own family one by one, and in the fortress he had built at Genazzano he spent his summer recreations in their midst.

Reconstruction.
(1420).

But all the restoration was not merely material. There were saints in Rome, and under the papal protection spiritual men were working at the supernatural welfare of society by higher and holier means. The most illustrious of these was the eloquent Franciscan missionary, St Bernardine of Siena (1380-1444), who preached through the length and breadth of Italy, during an apostolate which lasted eight and thirty years. He inveighed against the spirit of faction which made the fair land of Italy the scene of so many bitter feuds, as well as against gambling and vanity in dress. His preaching and its effects were the marvel of his time. But a success so phenomenal was certain to produce jealousy and opposition, and charges of heresy were preferred against him, especially with

Saints in Rome.

regard to the honour he paid to the Holy Name of Jesus. St Bernardine being called to Rome to answer these charges, triumphantly justified himself, after a careful inquiry on the part of the Pope.

Another figure just as saintly as Bernardine's, and still more familiar to the Romans of Pope Martin's day,

St Frances was that of the holy lady, Frances Ponziani.
of Rome. All her life long she was to be seen frequent-
(1384-1440). ing the old church of Sta Maria Nuova at
the Forum. There she came in sorrow and

in joy, and there was the centre of that inexhaustible charity towards the poor which made her the model of noble womenkind to the people of her day: the faithful Christian wife, the tender, pious mother, the devoted friend of all her circle. At length at the end of her career, when her husband was dead, she was able to take up her abode with the religious community she had founded, and in their midst she passed away, and is buried in the church which had been her dearest home, now called after her, Sta Francesca Romana.

Yet another noble matron graced Rome by her coming, albeit it was after her death. The relics of St Monica

St Monica's were brought to Rome from Ostia through
relics. Martin's pious care, and deposited solemnly
in St Augustine's church. On this occasion

the Pontiff preached a discourse which is remarkable at least for one passage which shows how aloof he was personally from the Renaissance movement: "While we have Augustine," he said, "what care we for the sagacity of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the prudence of Varro? We do not need these men. Augustine is enough for us." Still, whatever the Pope held personally, the position of the Humanists in his court increased. Among the papal secretaries were counted Poggio, Bruni, Manuel Chrysoloras, and others. And among the cardinals of Martin's creation were patrons and protectors of the same movement. Such were Capranica, who stood in the front rank both for piety and learning; Cesarini, with his devout and generous mind; and the faithful Carthusian, Cardinal Albergati. The Pope's nephew, Cardinal Prospero Colonna, and the representative of the rival house, Orsini, were also champions of the same cause. The choice of such men was a pledge for the future advantage of the Church. But there were

other cardinals whom Martin had not made, and who needed a sovereign to rule them, and so thoroughly did Martin do this that a foreign envoy writes: "He has so crushed all the cardinals that they turn red and pale by turns when they speak in his presence."

The false theories current at Constance on the relations between Pope and councils had given Martin a horror for the very name of council. However, as the decree of Constance, that they should be held periodically, was popular, Martin would not so soon oppose it, and called a council at Pavia in 1423. But few put in an appearance, and when from fear of the plague it was transferred to Siena, the same thing happened, and the Pope took advantage of the scant attendance to dissolve it. Basle was, however, accepted by him for a council in 1431. And the schism was practically killed about the same time. Benedict XIII. continued to reside at Peniscola in Spain, and when he died Canon Muñoz was chosen by a few cardinals to succeed him. He was called Clement VIII., and was for a time supported by King Alfonso of Aragon. The latter, however, at last submitted, and Clement resigned. Pope Martin V. expired from a stroke of apoplexy (23rd February, 1431), and was buried before the high altar in St John Lateran, where his effigy is still on one of the most notable tombs in the Church. He has not undeservedly been termed the Second Founder of the Papal Monarchy.

The Sacred College, smarting under the stern sway of Martin, drew up a capitulation, or summary of rules, to be observed by the new Pope before they proceeded to an election at all. The effect of these would have been to transfer more of the papal power to themselves, and bind the Holy Father to them more closely than before, but the capitulation, though duly published, was too sweeping in character to remain the guide of the papal government; and the new Pope went his way very much as before. Cardinal Condulmaro, an Augustinian from Venice, nephew of Gregory XII., was the choice of the conclave. In public his dignified bearing, and the majestic piety with which he presided at great functions, won him awe and reverence. In private he kept up the frugal, simple habits of a religious. He said the whole office

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with his chaplains, but had no fixed hours for meals, so that a light repast had to be always kept ready for him. He often awoke at night and then would call for a book and read for an hour or two in bed. He cared not for money, so long as his own relatives did not get the Church's treasure. But though his liberality put him often into debt, he continued to give, and is said to have encouraged one needy suppliant who took sparingly from the proffered purse: "Take plenty, I give you the money willingly."

The council that was to have met in Basle by the arrangement made by Pope Martin was now appointed to meet in Ferrara, but this change was very badly received; a small number of fathers went to Basle after all. Eugenius disavowed their proceedings, while they, on their part, becoming more numerous and influential, summoned to Basle both Pope and cardinals. There seemed danger of a renewal of the schism; so both Cardinal Cesarini the Legate and St Frances of Rome joined their efforts to press the Pope to come to terms with the fathers at Basle. Eugenius at length gave way, and acknowledged the council as Ecumenical at least in its "origin and celebration." And the Pope's hand was forced, not only by persuasion, but by the plots of his enemies. They gathered round from all quarters. The Colonna family tried to seize the castle of St Angelo; and Visconti, Duke of Milan, sent an army against Rome, which before long stormed the city and compelled the Pope to take flight.

The Pope in exile. A republic was proclaimed, and the Pope's nephew thrown into prison, but the Pope himself, disguised as a Benedictine, escaped by water to Florence. In Florence he remained at Sta Maria Novella for the space of nine years; but as soon as he could gather sufficient force, Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, was sent as legate to Rome. He speedily brought the republic to an end, and then proceeded to take fierce vengeance on the Pope's enemies. The Orsini and Colonna were rooted out of their strongholds, Palestrina was razed to the ground, and tranquillity from the North to the Neapolitan border reigned supreme. Vitelleschi was rewarded with the Cardinal's hat and the See of Florence; and when he fell into the hands of his enemies and was killed, the Pope

provided Rome with an equally stern ruler in Scarampo, who managed to keep Rome quiet for the rest of the time till the Pope's return.

But Eugenius had a greater contest by far to engage in with the partisans of the Council of Basle. As time went on, their antipapal theories became bolder, and their conduct more violent. Cardinal Allemand was their chief leader, and all their policy tended to make councils permanent and sovereign, the Pope becoming the mere executive officer of the council. The conciliatory attitude of Pope Eugenius at this time only increased the audacity of the party of the council. First, a decree to renew the declarations of Constance, then another to abolish annates payable to the Holy See, and then others to regulate future papal elections, could only be opposed by the legates with formal protest. But matters were brought to a head by the arrival of the Greek envoys to treat of reunion. They suggested adjournment to an Italian city, convenient for the Pope and for themselves; but amid scenes of great violence this was negatived by the majority. Upon this came a letter from the Pope approving of the proposed adjournment. The majority now in desperation summoned the Pope to Basle, and on his non-appearance declared him contumacious. Eugenius next transferred the council to Ferrara, and the Legate Cesarini, Cardinal Krebs of Cusa, and the more moderate members of the council betook themselves to that city. The more extreme members, who remained, carried on what further sessions they chose, and finally sank into contempt and oblivion.

Though summoned to Ferrara the council was, on account of the plague, soon moved to Florence, and is known as the

ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF FLORENCE (1438).

The conferences with the Greeks, so long delayed, were taken up again immediately; and the assembly presided over in person by Eugenius IV. was indeed a great and illustrious one. The Greek emperor, John Palaeologus, had come from his capital with a long train of dignitaries and theologians. The patriarch Isidore of Moscow, with a band of Muscovite clergy, was there on behalf of that growing church, and the other Eastern patriarchs

**Council of
Florence.**
(1438).

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had sent their representatives. Meanwhile, the Western Church put forward its worthiest and most learned doctors. Then eminent theologians were chosen from either side to discuss a Dogmatic Act of Union. Not to attempt an exhaustive list, it may be noted that among the Orientals were Mark of Ephesus, Isidore of Moscow, and Bessarion. Among the ten on the other side stood Albergati, Cesarini and John Torquemada. The discussion turned on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Use of unleavened Bread, and the Primacy of the Holy See. After interminable discussions, and in spite of the opposition of Mark of Ephesus, agreement was at length reached, and the Bull of Union was subscribed by Pope, emperor, cardinals and prelates, making the union between East and West a reality as far as councils could make it so. A separate document handed to the Armenians, and accepted by them, is the well-known *Decretum ad Armenos* so often quoted in Dogmatic Theology.

The nine years of exile passed by Eugenius at Florence reached their climax at this council; and during that

Florence under the Medici.

time Florence became, if not the centre of Christendom, at least the rendezvous of both learned and noble in the Church of God. Cosmo di Medici, the reigning duke, was the chief patron in Italy to whom the men of the Renaissance looked. So round Pope and duke gathered, besides the fathers of the council, many illustrious scholars. Gennadius and Gemistes Pletho represented the still existent Byzantine culture, and inflamed both the duke and his people with enthusiasm for Greek antiquity. In Valla and Poggio, and their compeers, the Humanist secretaries of the Pope, might be found a band of men in whom much licence of writing from a moral point of view found excuse among the enthusiasts of the Renaissance because their briefs and rules were written in such excellent classic form. And there were saintly religious too: St Antoninus, then Prior of the Dominicans, and later on Archbishop of Florence; B. John Dominic, a noble reformer of the Preaching Friars and one of the lights of the Council of Florence, as well as the great Franciscan St John Capistran, and many others too numerous to be here recalled. And the city was worthy of its distinguished guests. Florentine artists painted, and Florentine sculptors and architects made their

masterpieces in order that it might become the centre of the fine arts. The city that bred and supported them was their treasury, their Alma Mater, their earthly paradise.

Meanwhile the Pope's success in religious union at the Ecumenical Council had been matched by equal success with his temporal enemies. The way was open for his return to Rome. It is true the schismatic assembly at Basle was only vexed at the signs of concord shown at Florence. They elected an antipope, Duke Amadeus of Savoy, who took the name of Felix V. (5th November, 1439). But this election made by one cardinal and eleven bishops brought no strength to the party. The king of Aragon, though at first on his side, was won over by the papal envoy and the Investiture of Naples; and soon after the Duke of Milan came over to Eugenius. Thus all obstacles being cleared away, Eugenius entered Rome in triumph (28th September, 1443). He was warmly welcomed, though he found ruin and decay almost as distressing as Martin V. had met with after the schism. But with Scarampo as his vicar he quietly took in hand the interrupted work of restoration. Aeneas Sylvius, the envoy of the emperor, came to him to arrange terms of submission for the empire. Much was demanded by Germany—a new general council, the redress of grievances, and much that the pope hesitated to grant. But these demands had been drawn up by emperor and princes at the Diet of Frankfort; and influential men, such as St Antoninus, Aeneas Sylvius, and the Chancellor laboured hard to effect a settlement. So at length bulls were issued granting most of the German demands, and round the bed of the now dying Pontiff the ambassadors took the oath of obedience. This arrangement, which was called the Concordat of Princes, only took effect on the 7th of February, 1447. A fortnight later Eugenius IV. expired.

The quiet scholar, Thomas Parentucelli of Sarzano, who emerged from the conclave as Nicholas V. (1447-1455) was to many a very welcome choice. He was well versed in the culture given by Humanistic studies, and proficient at least in the elements of theology, philosophy, law and even medicine. Besides, he had spent his years in the society

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of the most cultivated and illustrious men of the time. A man thus many sided in his attainments, gifted moreover with a remarkable power of ready eloquence, was better fitted to be the munificent patron of learning than even a profound specialist would have been. He was not yet fifty when elected, but looked prematurely aged: small in stature, but with an intellectual, sharp-cut face that made him look the professor still. Choosing the beautiful device: "My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready," he set forth on the great work of general pacification that he had set himself. First came the Concordat of Princes, negotiated by his predecessor. By this the Pontiff indeed gave up much, but it also involved the surrender by the German princes of presentations to benefices and other patronage, which had gradually been taken from the Holy See. After the confirmation of this, Nicholas sent envoys to prepare the way for reconciliation with France, which had long been the chief support of the schism. Scotland had already come over to the Pope's side. At last there remained only the city of Basle, and the few members of the council who were within it, to carry on the opposition. Menaces from Frederic, king of the Romans, and offers of conciliation on the part of the Pope, combined to bring about its dissolution. The antipope, Felix V., was given the first place among the cardinals and the right to most of the papal insignia. He retired to the shores of the Lake of Geneva at Lausanne, where he died in 1451. And now to the great joy of all, the Schism of the West was entirely at an end.

The Jubilee of 1450 was a fitting celebration of restored unity. Vast multitudes were attracted to the city which is the centre of unity. From every country in Christendom pious crowds flocked to Rome—princes, artists, prelates, peasants. Amid the festivities there was an outbreak of pestilence. The papal court left the city until it had subsided, but holy men like St Didacus might be seen among the plague-stricken, exposing their life for charity. As soon as the scourge abated, the stream of pilgrims began anew, and lessened not till the jubilee time was over. But in order that those in distant lands, unable to come to Rome, might feel the good effect of that special bond of union with the Roman See, legates were sent to the

various countries to push forward the work of pacification. Cardinal Bessarion had gone to Bologna, and with considerable skill and prudence had led that warlike city to submission to the Pope. Cardinal Nicholas Krebs of Cusa was sent to Germany, St John Capistran to Hungary, Cardinal d'Estouteville to France. The climax of this reunion and peace was the coming of the Emperor Frederic III. to celebrate his marriage and coronation in St Peter's. He was given a superb reception amid all the splendours of Renaissance Rome. Frederic was the first and last Hapsburg to be crowned by the Pope in Rome.

Long before he was Pope, Nicholas had said that he would wish to spend all that he possessed on books and buildings. And now he had the opportunity of going very far towards gratifying this desire. The men of the Renaissance

The Vatican library.

looked forward to his reign with bright hopes, and they were not disappointed, so that one of them said of him: "The Renaissance mounted on the papal throne in the person of Nicholas V." Colossal were the plans he formed to make Rome the centre of Christendom, not only as she must be in religion, but in culture, art and science as well. He began with architecture. The fortifications were repaired, and also strengthened, especially in the Leonine City. Then there were churches to be restored, aqueducts to be built, and institutions of all kinds to be erected. After this Nicholas took in hand the rebuilding of St Peter's, though his early death left this vast enterprise for other hands. Yet much indeed had been done to beautify Rome before the enlightened Pontiff passed away. A very galaxy of talents came around him. Alberti drew plans for his buildings; Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolomeo painted frescoes for his churches; Poggio, Valla and a host of literary men placed their skill at his service; and Nicholas had encouragement and generous rewards for all, according to each one's need, and almost up to each one's expectation. But the centre and masterpiece of all was to be a grand library in the Vatican Palace. Never did man work better or secure better help for a favourite scheme than Nicholas did for this. Every manuscript that money could buy, every translation that any learned scholar could be got to make for him, was promptly stored in his book-cases. An inventory of the books has been pre-

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served; probably there were some five thousand volumes in all. Works on Scripture, fathers of the Church, scholastic theologians, and many works on canon law. Nor were the heathen classics forgotten, but in translations and in original formed no small part of the whole. Perhaps there never was a more enthusiastic lover of books than Nicholas. He lives in the memory as he is seen depicted in one of the Vatican halls, arranging his books and glancing over their pages and their handsome bindings. That is his characteristic place. He passed away after a reign of eight years in 1455, after devoutly receiving the last Sacraments. The sad news of the fall of Constantinople had fallen on him and on Europe like a thunderclap, and was combined with the fear that the Turks might now advance further into the heart of Christendom. As a preliminary step to a new Crusade Nicholas summoned the nations to a Peace Congress, which, however, broke up without anything of importance being agreed on. Venice and Milan made peace by the Treaty of Lodi (1454), but the general prospect was disappointing. The Pope fell into a mortal sickness, no doubt aggravated by the troubles that had fallen on the Christian world, and the reign which had been graced with such splendid promise came to an end in the midst of clouds, with Nicholas still young in years, but disheartened and prematurely aged.

CHAPTER III.

FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

(1453-1492).

BEFORE Pope Nicholas died the news was already spreading that the Turks under their redoubtable Sultan Mohammed II. were pressing hard on Constantinople. It had been the goal of their ambition for centuries, and for centuries their attack had been warded off. But now more than ever the chief champions of the city were not the Byzantine Cæsars, but the brave Magyars under their heroic captain, John Hunyadi. These had been now twice defeated: at Varna in 1444, and at Kossovo in 1448, and the Turks were free to close upon their prey. The Greeks had long ago proved unworthy that Christian blood should be shed in their defence. Too weak to fight for themselves, too avaricious to pay for foreign defenders, they were an almost helpless prey to the savage Moslem. They could only turn to the Pope for assistance, but they had already proved faithless to him. The solemn engagements of union made at Florence had not been kept, and they were jealous schismatics still. But even now the Pope did not turn a deaf ear. The Russian cardinal, Isidore of Kieff, was sent as legate, with instructions to see that the points agreed on—renunciation of the schism, restoration of the patriarch, and prayers for the Pope—were kept to, and conditionally on this to give and promise what aid he could. He was met with hatred and contempt. Many of the Greeks even declared that they would rather fall into the hands of the Turks than unite with the West, and they had their choice. The Mohammedans pressed on. They surrounded Constan-

**End of the
Roman
Empire in
the East.
(1453).**

tinople and cut off communications on all sides. The Byzantine emperor, Constantine Palaeologus, a sincere Catholic, seems personally to have acted like a hero. His engineers broke up the Turkish mines, and his scanty soldiers, scarcely a few thousand men, multiplied themselves in the vain effort to hold the vast line of fortification. But this could only be for a time. As soon as the artillery had made a suitable breach in the wall, swarms of infidels came rushing in, irresistible on account of their numbers. Constantine fell fighting sword in hand, like a hero, almost a martyr. After this all resistance was soon at an end, and on the 29th of May, 1453, Constantinople, the capital for one thousand years of the Christian Cæsars, from Constantine to Constantine, was in the hands of the Sultan. It was given over to all the horrors of sack, and rich plunder fell into the hands of the enemy, for those Eastern Christians were wealthy. Untold cruelties took place even in the churches. These splendid monuments of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, numbering over two hundred, were desecrated, many destroyed, and the wonderful Sta Sophia turned into a mosque. Cardinal Isidore and great numbers of the inhabitants were sold into slavery, and New Rome became the capital of the Moslem empire.

The news fell on Europe with threatening voice, for terror spread far and wide lest the Turks, having taken what was after all the chief bulwark against them, might advance into the heart of Europe, even invade Italy, and repeat at Old Rome what they had done at New Rome. Pope Nicholas fitted out a fleet, and also proclaimed a Crusade, but in vain. The time had gone by when a call like this could rouse Christendom to united effort. Once again Hungary alone responded. The other nations were at first at war with one another; so the first thing that the Pope, so eminently a peacemaker, had to strive for was peace among Christian kings and princes. He summoned all the Italian powers to a Peace Congress. None refused to attend, but little came of the meeting at the time. However, step by step treaties and truces were patched up among the powers. Venice and Milan made peace at Lodi. And then falling sick amid the anxieties of this crisis, Pope Nicholas, as already mentioned above, breathed his last.

After something of a deadlock in the conclave, the votes fell at last on the Spanish Bishop of Valencia, Alfonso Borgia, who had been scarcely dreamed of as a candidate. He was nearly eighty, but still active and vigorous; and he was a sincere, high-principled man of stainless reputation. St Vincent Ferrer, the story goes, had prophesied to him his election, and, though others might mock, he himself had believed in it. Now it was given to him to canonise that wonderful servant of God. Calixtus was unpopular with the Humanists, for, a formal, quiet canonist, his talk was of legal matters, and then he was a foreigner. But after all, considering the times, surely Divine Providence had turned the hearts of the electors towards him for the one great aim to which he devoted his reign. The election of Calixtus, says an historian, was the best answer to the fall of Constantinople.

Calixtus began by consecrating himself by solemn vow to the war against the infidel Turks. Copies of this vow were circulated through the Christian world that the nations might be stirred by the example of their common father; and a new bull confirmed the indulgences already offered by Nicholas V. Moreover, legates were sent in every direction to encourage the States of Europe, even the lesser and weaker ones, to the holy war. All the Pope's revenues were spent on the war. The antiquaries who dug and the architects who built for the late Pope might now cease their labours. Calixtus' welcome was for engineers and shipwrights. Soon Rome beheld the unusual sight of war galleys building and fitting out on the banks of the Tiber. The Pope would sell his plate and jewels for the same great cause: "Away with these things," he said, "take them for the Turks. Earthenware will do well enough for me."

When the fleet was ready, Cardinal Scarampo was placed in command, and no pretexts availed, but he must show the papal banner in Greek waters, and hasten against the Turks. Scarampo fixed his headquarters at Rhodes, and thus was able to act in concert with the Knights of St John, whose centre was there. Very little was to be got from any of the Western powers, but, as before, Hungary came bravely into the field. Mohammed

The Turkish War.

(1455).

Relief of Belgrade.

(1456).

II. felt that Hungary was his most formidable foe, and in June fell upon the country with a host of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and three hundred guns. His progress was arrested at Belgrade, which was the key to the Hungarian kingdom. Through the efforts of Cardinal Carvajal, the legate, a diet met at Buda, but King Ladislaus and his nobles could not be made to take the field. The defence of Christendom was left to Carvajal, John Hunyadi and St John Capistran. Hunyadi raised what troops he could, St John Capistran animated his Crusaders, and Carvajal guided supplies to the front. On the 14th of July, though small in numbers, the brave Christian army attacked the hostile swarms of the Sultan, and drove them back with great slaughter. Another battle a week later completed the work, and for the time Belgrade and Christendom were safe. The Feast of the Transfiguration (6th August) is a memorial of this victory.

Besides the stronghold of the Knights of St John at Rhodes, there was one outwork of the line of defence against Islam which held out firmly and perseveringly, and this was the mountain-land of Albania, held for the Faith by its dauntless prince, George Alexander Castriota, better known in romance and history as Scanderbeg. He maintained the freedom of his country for twenty years (1447-1467) against all the hordes that the Sultan could launch against him. Victory after victory won by him cost the unbelievers dear, and in 1457 another battle, in which thirty thousand Turks fell and all the stores were taken, was a check for them only second to Belgrade. Yet even now none could be found to do anything in support of the champion of Christianity, for such Scanderbeg really was. However, Scarampo with the Pope's fleet gained a naval fight in the same year, and the Pope wrote to encourage them both.

Meanwhile, discontent was growing at Rome against the Pontiff, which sprang chiefly from two causes. The one was that the Pope kept back his treasures instead of spending them, and though all was for the holy war, yet this did not prevent the complaints of the short-sighted Romans, who liked money to be spent liberally in their midst, and were content to leave the Turks and their advance unnoticed till the morrow. The other charge, and a more serious one, was Calixtus' partiality

for his countrymen, and above all, his nephews. Rodrigo and Luis Borgia had both been created cardinals in spite of the opposition of the Sacred College. Rodrigo was a profligate and worldly man, but the Pope showered dignities on him, and it seemed that power and place were passing more and more into the hands of the Borgias. But the Pontiff was now eighty-three years of age, and hence none were surprised when, on the 6th of August, the festival of the Transfiguration which he himself had made, he passed away.

The illustrious Capranica passed away about the same time as Calixtus, so that there was little doubt who was the ablest man in the conclave; and in fact the most capable and distinguished personage of his age was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Pius II.
(1458-1464)

He was now elected to the Papacy, and became Pius II. —“the pious Aeneas”: more truly than Virgil’s hero. Poet, historian, statesman, his culture was universal, and sat well on a first-class man of high intellectual power. The vicissitudes of a stormy career, not unmarked by excesses and ill-health, had broken his strength, but he was grave yet kindly in manner, and a foe to all formalism and ostentation. Though he was methodical in his daily life, and the conduct of necessary business, and gave audience to anyone who would, he did not let the official life even of the papacy absorb the whole man. His heart was in literary occupation, to which he devoted every leisure moment of the day, and much of the night, for five or six hours’ sleep was all he took. He would escape from Rome whenever he could, and spend his time in quiet retreat amid the hills and woods. Rome and her people hated this, but Pius held on his way unmoved. Nor was papal business neglected. Yet it was a novel experience to see consistories and audiences held on the green sward under the shady trees of some hill-side in Central Italy. Pius composed memoirs of his time extended enough to be an historical work of high value. He could only devote odd moments to their composition, and this told on their unity and proportion, but it is the general view that in them we have lively and valuable pictures of those years, drawn by him who of all men commanded the loftiest tower of observation. Pius also professed a special veneration for the Blessed Virgin, claiming her as his patroness, and he composed

several hymns in her honour. And he was a patriot too, only that in this regard it was Siena, the native home of his race, and not Rome, that was the centre of his affections. He made a prolonged stay there, he raised its diocese to archiepiscopal rank, and found a place among the cardinals for the Sienese Francesco Piccolomini, his nephew; the memorials of him there to be found prove what a large place it filled in his life, and in the bull of canonisation of his marvellous fellow-countrywoman, St Catharine, he is able to testify, in skilful literary fashion, to the love he bore the city. Close by, he erected at Corsigliano a new see, which was to be called after him, Pienza.

The great legacy handed on to the Pope by his predecessor was the holy war against the Turks; and the embassies of congratulation sent in such numbers at his accession were scarcely ended before Pius announced his intention of calling a congress of the Christian Powers at Mantua, at which he himself would preside. And in spite of all obstacles not many months had gone before Pontiff and cardinals were on the road through Spoleto, Assisi, Perugia, Florence and other cities, until at last they came to Mantua. But no royal envoys came there to deliberate with the Pope; the Powers seemed not to heed the call of the father of Christendom. The months rolled on, and still Pius remained, and still no congress could be gathered. It was only in the fifth month that the arrival of a small number of envoys made the first session possible, but scarcely had the proceedings commenced, when the rival claims and complaints of the ambassadors and the contrary interests they spoke for led to quarrels and dissensions so obstinate and protracted that Pius had to close the congress, having gained little but vague promises; and after a stay of a year in Mantua he proceeded to Siena. Bad news came to him there that in spite of all the efforts of the Cardinal Vicar, condottieri were ravaging the Roman land and banditti plundering at will. The Pope went to Rome, and his coming did something to restore tranquillity, but there were tyrants and rebellious subjects to deal with, and it was from Tivoli that Pius gave orders for war against the notorious Malatesta of Rimini, who finally submitted to the papal troops under Vitelleschi, while with the Pope's

assistance King Ferrante of Naples defeated the Angevin party, and established himself firmly on his throne.

Pius sent reminders to the Powers of what they had promised at Mantua, and naught but excuses could they win. Doubtless more effect was produced by pressing embassies from the East imploring help; more still by the object-lesson of the arrival of the dethroned princes, such

**The Papal
Crusader.**
(1464).

as Thomas Palaeologus and the Queen of Cyprus. But despairing of all other means to rouse the Christian princes to action, the Pope now determined, in spite of age and infirmity, himself to lead the Crusade against the infidel, or perish in the attempt. The plan was first mooted in private with a few of the cardinals, and then published to all in full consistory. Henceforward all was activity and preparation for the setting out. Pius wrote on all sides to secure what aid he could, and bitter were the disappointments he underwent as one after another declined to follow him to the holy war. Naturally even at Rome feeling was strong against his departure, but Pius would not be deterred. Unshaken in his resolution he took the Cross in the Vatican Basilica and set out on the 18th of June, 1464, exclaiming: "Farewell Rome, never again will you see me alive." A sufficiently brilliant array started with the Pope, both horse and foot, but the Pope was so unwell that he travelled partly by water and partly in a litter. It took more than a month before he reached the rendezvous of the Christian armies at Ancona. As he passed through Loreto he offered a golden chalice, inscribed as an offering, to his heavenly patroness. And now the Bishop's palace at Ancona became the scene of the last pathetic stage of his career. French and Spanish Crusaders had come in considerable numbers, but no start could be made without the Venetian fleet; and it came not. The crusading knights might beguile the time with their jealousies and quarrels, but delay and disappointment were breaking the heart of the Pope. As time wore on, many of the Crusaders left, tired of waiting for the Venetian ships, and their departure was like his death-blow. When at length the ships were signalled he was too ill to go and meet them, so he had himself carried to a window to see them come in, and he sighed as he thought of his unaccomplished hopes. Death was at hand, and a few days later, after making his last

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address to the cardinals with Bessarion at their head, urging them still to the war, he died on the Assumption, 1464.

The death of Pius II. came as a great discouragement to the long-delayed Crusade. But whoever might give

Paul II. up the plan as chimerical, successive Roman pontiffs, dissimilar as they might be in character and home policy, were at one in

prosecuting this design. So it was now. The new Pope, Paul II., was the nephew of Eugenius IV., and he had been raised to the purple by his uncle. He had been known as Cardinal Pietro Barbo, and had won much popularity by displaying all a Venetian's love of splendour and generosity. He had restored the church of St Marco in the Piazza Venezia, and had built a vast palace by the side of it, where he collected a most artistic museum of coins, gems, mosaic and statuary. He was so handsome that men said he might take the name of Formosus, not Paul. As usual, attempts had been made by the cardinals in conclave to bind him by a capitulation to the Turkish War, and to grant a fuller share of privileges and power to the Sacred College, but as usual also, he consulted legal advisers after his election, declared he was not bound, and called on all the cardinals to sign a paper modifying it. Only Carvajal refused, but all were angry and chagrined, so that the relations between Paul and his court became and remained strained for some time. A commission of cardinals was named to assess tithes from the various parts of Christendom for the Crusade. If the Powers would not fight, perhaps they would pay for others to fight for them. But neither the Pope's voice nor fear of the Turks could spur on Europe to united action. Only Matthias Corvinus in Hungary and Scanderbeg in Albania kept up the unequal contest. The latter was welcomed to Rome by Paul, and strengthened by the blessing and alms he received, went home to new victories at Croja, and to a hero's death (1468).

The practical and yet liberal character of Paul II. enabled him to do much for the Eternal City. He fixed

Rome under Paul II. his residence at the magnificent palace of St Marco, which he had built as cardinal, and thence was able to continue the life of

Patron of the Arts and Collector of Art Treasures that was according to his genius. The new art of printing found also in him an enlightened protector.

He loved to look down from his windows upon the public banquets given at his expense in the square beneath, while the carnival and the horse races in the Corso were approved of to please the people. The municipal laws were revised. The streets were cleaned; the aqueducts and sewers renewed. The extreme partisans of the Renaissance indeed had in him no friend; he distrusted their writings and their spirit, but he was far from being an enemy to the new learning in itself. The fact is that the best-known accounts of Paul II. come from the scholars who had incurred his displeasure, and who repaid his severity by blackening his memory as the enemy of all learning. The quarrel began with a regulation touching the abbreviators or writers of the Chancery, which cost some of them their place. Platina, one of the boldest, wrote an insulting letter threatening to appeal to a council. For this he was shut up for four months in the castle of St Angelo, and when he was released at the prayer of Cardinal Gonzaga, he came forth full of anger and vengeance. He consorted with the members of that Roman Academy which comprised the more pagan Humanists and met under the presidency of Pomponio Leto. The house of this man on the Quirinal was the centre of the new paganism of the period and, report said, of schemes of political revolution as well. It is impossible to be sure whether the charges of conspiracy against the Pope's life and government were well founded or not, but the house was raided and both Platina and Pomponio Leto imprisoned. Finally, after an abject expression of submission and extravagant flattery of Paul, they were let out. But these facts explain both the distrust Paul felt of the Humanists, and the ill-favour in which his memory was held by their friends.

Paul was a Venetian, but his relations with Venice were far from friendly; in fact war was only averted by the skilful diplomacy of Cardinal Carvajal, who was sent there as legate (1465). In France the crafty Louis XI. (1461-1483), while increasing the royal domains so greatly that he may almost be called the founder of an absolute monarchy of any size and authority in that country, meant to be master in Church as well as State. He succeeded in getting his favourites, La Balue and Jouffroy, made cardinals, and was pushing on to other demands, when war

General
state of
Europe.

with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, demanded all his attention and strength, and diverted him from his designs upon the freedom of the Church. If we turn to the empire we find Frederic III., whose long reign (1440-1493) was not marked by any notable achievements, preparing for a second visit to Rome; and it was viewed there with some alarm. But this time the emperor came with quite a moderate train as a pilgrim fulfilling a vow, and the meeting between Pontiff and emperor was really a very cordial one. Paul loved the magnificence of public ceremonial, and himself arranged every detail of the public reception. The empire was in fact in a state of weakness, and the king of Bohemia and other German princes took advantage of the emperor's inactivity to encroach still further on its rights.

The most formidable Power in Europe was now the Moslem conqueror, Mohammed II. Negropont was wrenched from Venice, and Albania was gradually subdued. Then came the conquest of the Crimea, which led the Venetians to make a separate treaty with the Sultan, abandoning their Eastern possessions, but securing their trade. Meanwhile there had been a terrific struggle at Rhodes, which was only saved from capture by the heroic exertions

Rhodes.

(1479).

of the Knights of St John under their Grand Master, Peter d'Aubusson. Foiled at Rhodes, Mohammed sent a powerful fleet to Italy, and captured the town of Otranto, butchering the archbishop and twelve thousand inhabitants. Now at

Otranto.

(1481).

length something had to be done, and the united armies of Naples and the Pope under King Ferrante and Giuliano delle Rovere attacked the Turks at Otranto. The resistance was stubborn, but after two months' siege by the king and cardinal, the place was re-taken. Following upon this, the death of the mighty Sultan was a greater blow to the Turks than the loss of many towns could be, and the extreme peril from the Mohammedans was for a time at an end.

Long before these events there was another Pontiff in Peter's chair. Paul II. died rather suddenly,

Sixtus IV.

(1471-1484).

and Francesco delle Rovere had succeeded him, taking the name of Sixtus IV. He had been a well-known preacher, and as general of the Franciscans had gained reputation

by his reform of the order and his defence of its privileges. His exterior gave the impression of great force and strength, and in more than one respect he invited comparison with Nicholas V., being a good scholar, and equally desirous to make Rome splendid and artistic. Rome owed to him the Ponte Sisto, the Fountain of Trevi, and the Sistine Chapel. But the circumstances were different, and there was a weakness in Sixtus that marred the effect of his good intentions and princely plans. The blight was to come from his fondness for his family, and the weakness that made him put all power into their hands. A whole colony of his kindred flocked around him, and the Pope tried to find positions of emolument for them all. Already in 1471 two nephews, Giuliano delle Rovere and Pietro Riario, were admitted into the Sacred College and had rich benefices bestowed on them, and later on four other nephews found an entrance into the same august assembly. Lionardo delle Rovere was made Prefect of Rome, and the Pope's sisters well provided for in the city. Riario, who was first in the Pope's counsels in the early years of his reign, was a profligate and worthless man. The acme of his influence was reached when he made a princely progress through the cities of Italy to take possession of his see of Florence. His career, however, was not a long one, and early in 1474 he died, the victim it is said of his own excesses. Cardinal Giuliano now took the place his brother had held at the Pope's side, and had an opportunity of displaying equal magnificence, though with more order, at the reception in Rome of Christian X., king of Denmark. There was an ominous contrast between the grave, sober bearing of the Danish king and his suite and the gay, half-pagan glories of the Roman Court. But Giuliano proved a trusty right arm for the Pope against his rebels, and effectively reduced to submission in turn Todi, Spoleto and Citta di Castello.

Sixtus was on very unfriendly terms with the Medici, as Lorenzo had consistently opposed the line he had taken. He had supported the tyrant of Citta di Castello, and refused to acknowledge Salviati as Archbishop of Pisa. All seemed ready for an outbreak, but unexpectedly it took the form of conspiracy and attempted murder. The Pazzi, a powerful Florentine family, made

**The Riario
plot at
Florence.**

common cause with Archbishop Salviati and Girolamo Riario, the Pope's nephew, who was ready to push forward his uncle's interests by the most extreme methods. On the occasion of a State High Mass to receive Cardinal Sansoni, another papal nephew, a band of conspirators attacked the ducal party. Giuliano di Medici fell under their daggers, but Lorenzo escaped, and the people were roused against the conspirators. Salviati, Pazzi and others were hanged and Sansoni imprisoned. The Pope has been accused of complicity in the plot; but the most trustworthy evidence shows that he positively refused to have any hand in the attempted murder of the Medici. That he would have been glad to help in their removal from power, and that he was willing to go thus far with the conspirators is certain, but beyond this he repeatedly refused to go. Still, now that the plot had failed, he was angry at the treatment that his friends received, and demanded the liberation of Sansoni, and the banishment of Lorenzo. The Pope tried to enforce this by excommunication of Lorenzo and an Interdict on the city, but supported by Louis XI. of France and King Ferrante, the Medici proved too strong for Sixtus, and (1479.) he was forced to make peace with them and

Florence, recalling all censures. Girolamo Riario had meanwhile involved the Pope in trouble elsewhere. He had sided with the Orsini faction so strongly against the Colonna that the Papal States were filled with the din of civil war. Malatesta and the Venetians came to the assistance of the Colonna, but the papal army defeated them at Campo Morto (1483). Venice was likewise placed under an Interdict, but the Milanese came over to their side, and the peace that was made at Bagnolo (1484) was by no means in the Pope's favour. These troubles, if they did not cause the Pope's illness, at least aggravated it, and before long he was unable to attend to business. He died on the 12th of August, 1484, leaving a reputation which has been stained by the misdeeds of the nephews whom he trusted. The charges of gross immorality made by a writer, who was a personal enemy, have been examined and exploded by the foremost historians of our day.

As happened many times on similar occasions, the death of the Pontiff caused such disorder and rioting that it was only with difficulty that quiet sufficient for the

conclave was secured. The influence of Cardinal Giulano delle Rovere was predominant, and partly by persuasion and partly by bribes won the election for his nominee, John Baptist Cibo, Bishop of Molfetta, who was a Genoese, raised to dignity mainly by favour of the Rovere family. He assumed the name of Innocent VIII. In his youth he had led a licentious life, and had two illegitimate children. Now, however, none could doubt that he entered on the papacy with the best intentions, albeit that through ill-health and a sort of want of energy these purposes were in most cases never realised. The whole Pontificate was one of little moment in the history of the Church so far as the centre of Christendom was concerned. The Pope allowed himself to be drawn into the Barons' War of Naples, under the pretext of defending the nobles against the tyranny of King Ferrante. In order to strengthen himself against the latter, who was able to carry the war into the Papal States, Innocent cast about for alliances. He gained Genoa, but failed at Naples, Venice and Florence. It was only when Charles VIII. seemed inclined to take a hand, not only for the Pope, but for the Angevin succession to Naples, that Ferrante was brought to terms. However, he was very far from submission, and when he found that the Pope's allies were failing him, he became bolder than ever. Innocent seems to have lost courage in the struggle when he found the princes either hostile, or only passively friendly, as the emperor showed himself to be, and talked of leaving Italy altogether. Perhaps he was threatening a return to Avignon under the French protection. An attack of illness came on and caused a delay in all the negotiations, but when the Pope recovered, it appeared that the dread of French intervention had told on Italy, and at last Ferrante became the ally of the Pope, this time in earnest, and the Neapolitan succession was settled on Ferrante's grandson, Ferdinand of Spain, as far as papal confirmation could settle it, and the French envoys were dismissed. But the preoccupation caused by these events made it out of the question to prosecute war against the Turks, and a new phase in the struggle was developed by the arrival in Rhodes of Zizim (or Selim), son of Mahomet II. and rival of Bajazet for the succession to the Sultanate. Bajazet was naturally anxious that

**Innocent
VIII.**
(1484-1492).

he should be in safe custody, and the Powers of Christendom regarded him as a hostage for the Sultan's peaceful behaviour. In 1489 the Grand Master at Rhodes—Peter d'Aubusson—handed Zizim over to the Pope, and was rewarded with the Cardinal's hat and many privileges for his order. The Turkish prince resided in Rome in safe but luxurious custody. Bajazet is said to have tried to poison the well whence both Pope and captive had their drinking water, but the plot was found out and failed. The Pontiff thereupon summoned a congress of the Powers to arrange a new Turkish war. Bajazet, anxious to ward off the blow, so dangerous with his rival in Christian keeping, sent an embassy which concluded a truce to abstain from all war against Christendom so long as Zizim was in safe custody. The embassy brought as a present to the Pope the spear with which the soldier pierced the side of Our Lord, and it was received in solemn state. Soon after this, on the 25th of July, 1492, Pope Innocent VIII. expired. Lorenzo di Medici died just before him, having seen his son Giovanni made Cardinal at the age of sixteen.

CHAPTER IV.

SPAIN AVENGES CONSTANTINOPLE.

(1492-1513).

WHILE the Renaissance was seething in the Italian cities, and a new life rising almost everywhere on the decay of mediaeval Christendom, a quite special development of national life took place in Spain. There the Mohammedan Moors still held the southern provinces in their grasp, and the other parts of the Peninsula were split up into a number of small states. The greatest step towards a united national life was taken in 1471 by the marriage of King Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella who had succeeded as queen in her own right to the crown of Castila. The blending of the forces of these two realms that resulted gave strength and power of expansion that had hitherto been lacking. And to guide these resources, the Catholic kings, for so Ferdinand and Isabella were called, found able officers and ministers. Ximenes (1436-1517), a Franciscan friar, became confessor and adviser to the queen, and Gonzalvo di Cordova, known as the "Great Captain," led the Spanish troops. In 1481 a Crusade was begun against the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The Moors fought hard for years to hold what their ancestors had won from Spain, and it was only in 1492 that the war ended successfully with the capture of Granada and the dethroning of Bobadil, the Moorish sovereign. This was the turning-point, and that Spanish supremacy which was to be such a factor in European politics for many years to come took its rise there and then. The following years did much to consolidate what the Christian arms had conquered. By the exertions of Ximenes, who had become in turn Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal and Regent, many thousands

**The Catholic
kings and
their
servants.**

Gonzalvo.

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of the Moors embraced Christianity and were baptised by aspersion—the converted Alfaquis, or doctors, being used to instruct their countrymen. Ximenes further turned the tables on Islam by an expedition into Africa which brought about the capture of Oran in Algeria. Further, this truly great man gave an impetus to learning by

Ximenes. the foundation of the University of Alcala,
(1517). which he royally endowed, and here his celebrated Polyglot Bible was brought out by a number of first-rate scholars after labours extending over thirty years. It comprised the Hebrew, Vulgate, Septuagint, Chaldaic, Targum and a modern version. From the Latin name of Alcala it is known as the *Complutensian Polyglot*.

Another Spaniard was next to rule the Universal Church under the name of Alexander VI., though he

Alexander VI. was in no wise worthy of the honour. This
(1492-1503). was Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, the nephew of Calixtus III. But the unfortunate appointments of the last pontiffs had drawn down the Sacred College to a worldliness that was greater than ever. So it was that their character was reflected in the choice they made. It only took Borgia four days, by bribery and the promise of rich benefices to come, to win over sixteen out of the twenty-three cardinals assembled, and he was Pope. He had many high qualities, and having played a great rôle in the affairs of the Roman Court was an experienced diplomatist and man of the world. Though about sixty years of age, he was still vigorous in mind, and dignified and handsome in appearance. And he had the double gift of eloquence in public discourse and fascination in private conversation. But his moral character had always been bad, so bad that the report of it had gone abroad into the various parts of Christendom. For many years Vanozza dei Cataneis had been his mistress, and by her he had four children: Cæsar, Juan, Geoffrey, and Lucrezia. Besides these he had a son, Pedro Luis, and several other children, though apparently by another mother. And Vanozza and her family had been living in splendour near the cardinal's palace. However, so general was the corruption and so low the moral standard of the times, that it was rather the bribery of the conclave than the character of the Pope on which men remarked.

In fact Alexander was welcome to many, and especially to the Humanists of a certain school who, amid the splendid pageantry of the coronation, thought it not too much to sing in exaggerated flattery:

"Rome was great under Cæsar, greater far under Alexander; The first was only a mortal, but the latter is a God."

Naples and its king, Ferrante, as well as the Duke of Milan, were pleased at the advent of a Borgia to power, and an alliance was soon concluded between the Pope and Ferrante's successor, Alfonso of Calabria. This brought the new king of France, Charles VIII., into the field. Supported as he was by Cardinal

**French
invasion of
Italy.**
(1494).

Giuliano delle Rovere and the other enemies of the Pope in Italy, Charles VIII. invaded the Peninsula at the head of a formidable army of about forty thousand men. As he advanced from place to place the French king met with little effective opposition. At Florence he was welcomed as a deliverer by the eloquent Dominican, Savonarola, and by the party then in power, and from thence he passed on to Rome. Abandoned by nearly all his vassals among the Roman nobility, the Pope was powerless to arrest the progress of the French, and by the end of the year Charles entered Rome in solemn State. Outwardly, the meeting of Pope and king was a friendly one, but negotiations were only carried on grudgingly and with difficulty. The Pope retained his strong castle of St Angelo, and held to the Neapolitan alliance. So Charles advanced on Naples with his army, though here, too, there was little resistance, and King Alfonso abdicated. Hence the French army took possession of Naples, and there gave themselves up to wine and debauchery. Still this unresisted parade of a foreign army through the length of Italy gradually stirred up a storm of opposition, and while Charles and his army lay at Naples

**The Holy
League.**
(1495).

a Holy League was formed between the Pope, Ferdinand king of the Romans, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Milan, and Venice, primarily against the Turks, but also to secure the evacuation of Italy by the French. The news of this alliance made the French king beat a hasty retreat. He passed through Rome and the other cities without doing any harm, and also without being attacked, till the French had crossed the Apennines, when they were

assailed at Fornovo by the allied troops, but they cut their way through and regained their native land.

The Pope had retired to Perugia in alarm when he heard that the French were passing through, leaving Cardinal

**The Pope
and his
feudal
nobles.**

Morton in charge of Rome as legate, but as soon as the French were finally out of the land he set himself to the task of punishing and reducing those rebellious nobles who had for the most part deserted him in his hour of need. The Orsini were first attacked. The Duke of Gandia, Juan Borgia, the son of Alexander, was put in command, but even with the help of Gonzalvo di Cordova, the Spanish commander, the attack failed. Gonzalvo, however, reduced Ostia, the stronghold of Giuliano delle Rovere, and several other places. Juan Borgia, whose immoral life was a disgrace to any court, was rewarded in spite of his ill-success by being made legate at Perugia, but his end was near. Going home from a banquet at Vanozza's he was set upon and murdered, and his body thrown into the Tiber. The Pope fell into a paroxysm of grief, and for several days could neither eat nor sleep. Thoughts of a new life and a general reformation of the Court seemed to stir within him. A commission was appointed to draft a plan for this, and Alexander publicly declared his intention to begin with himself and his Court, and pass on to a general reformation of the Church. Alas! that the impression passed so quickly, and that the old way of life regained its power to hold down both the Pontiff and his Court. Henceforth the Pope's other son, Cæsar, gained the chief ascendancy over him. He begged the Pope to let him resign the cardinalate and marry. Alexander would not at first consent, but afterwards yielded, and Cæsar was a secular once more, as he had ever been in heart. Meanwhile, the Pope's daughter, Lucrezia Borgia, had obtained a decree of nullity of marriage in her union with Francesco Sforza, and the latter had to give back her dowry of thirty-one thousand ducats.

From these signs it was pretty evident that there would be no reform at Rome while Alexander and Cæsar Borgia

Savonarola.
(1498).

were in power, and the voice of complaint and discontent was loud enough in several quarters. The most celebrated outcry was that which had as its spokesman the Dominican friar,

Jerome Savonarola, at Florence. Having early in life joined the Friars Preachers, he had been so distinguished for fervour and regular observance that after seven years he had been made Novice Master, and then Prior of the Convent of San Marco at Florence. The first few years were quiet enough, but as he came into notice as a fearless and even extravagant preacher, he at length believed himself charged with a divine mission to prophecy the punishments that were overhanging, and to preach reformation to Florence, to Italy, and to the Court of Rome. In Florence a marvellous change in public morality was effected by his sermons. Open vice was suppressed, scandals removed, sin repented of, and as a sign of what had been done, a huge bonfire was made of all the paraphernalia of dissipation which gay Florence could collect. But all along there was a tendency to exaggeration in the eloquent friar, and he was at least as much of a politician as he was a missionary. He hoped that Charles VIII. and the French would be the instruments both of punishment and restoration; but when they had come and gone, and left things much as before, he launched out into still more unmeasured attacks on the Court of Rome. Pope Alexander forbade him to preach, but he defended himself and went on, though, when excommunicated for this, he ceased for eight months. But at last after having said Mass and given Communion to the people, he recommenced his invectives with greater vehemence than ever, excommunicated though he was. He repeated his faith in his divine mission, and offered to undergo the ordeal by fire to prove it. A Franciscan took up the challenge, but, when it came to the point, Savonarola would only enter the flames if he might bear with him the Sacred Host. This could not be, and so the trial came to nothing. This evasion of the public test alienated many of his friends, while his enemies were persistently plotting his destruction. At length, Alexander, who had so far acted with great moderation and prudence, lost patience, and threatened an Interdict on Florence unless Savonarola were silenced and given up to him. The Florentines silenced him, but would not give him up. Still with the consent of the Pope, he was seized, tried in the presence of two papal delegates, one of whom was the Dominican general, and after being handed over to the secular arm,

hanged on the following day. Savonarola was no heretic or precursor of Protestantism. He lived and died a Catholic and a friar. Yet in his denunciations of Rome and of the papal bull there rise up principles that would destroy papal authority, and we think of Luther and another papal bull at Wittemberg; but neither can we consider him a prophet or a saint. The victim of his own heated imagination, perhaps the truest and kindest view is that his delusion had gone so far as to disorder his reason. St Bernardine and Savonarola may be compared in power, but one worked for the Church with a degree of obedience which we do not find in the other.

The ambition of Cæsar Borgia involved the Pope in war again and again. He had now married Charlotte d'Albret, and brought the papal policy round to assist the new French king, Louis XII., in his designs on Milan. The Orsini and Colonna at home, as well as Spain and Portugal abroad, threatened Alexander with evil consequences, but Louis XII. entered Milan in triumph through the papal aid. In like manner the same means secured for the French king part of Naples, the rest going to Ferdinand of Spain. Next Cæsar turned to the work of the subjection of the great Roman nobles, and all the power of a Captain General of the Holy Roman Church was his. The Orsini, the Savelli, the Colonna, were successively attacked and subdued, and their possessions added to the Borgia domains. Lucrezia's husband, Biscaglia, had been murdered by Cæsar's orders, but another had been found for her, the Duke d'Este of Ferrara, and that brought another duchy into the family. At last nearly all the States of the Church and the Duchies of Central Italy were either directly or indirectly in the hands of the Borgia house. Further designs were planned, but the summer of 1503 was very unhealthy, and both Alexander and Cæsar fell ill. Cæsar, through his youth and greater strength, eventually rallied, but Alexander succumbed on the 18th of August, 1503. The suspicion of poison is rejected by the best authorities.

The aged and infirm but exemplary Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II., was chosen after
Pius III. a sort of deadlock had arisen, and became
 (1503). Pius III. He was so ill at the consecration and ordination and coronation ceremony, which took place all on one day, as he was not a priest, that

he had to attend Mass seated, and ten days later died of fever. He was only Pope from 22nd September to 18th October, 1503.

This time there was little delay and no hesitation in the papal election. Cardinal delle Rovere had practically secured the Tiara before the conclave began.

Persuasion, liberal promises and monetary bribes, it seems certain, had been used, and after the shortest conclave known, Cardinal Giuliano delle Rovere came forth as Julius II. He had played a great part in the affairs of the Church for many years, and was now an old man. The fiery spirit within, all the same, still burned keen and bright. Raphael's living portrait, more fortunate than Michael Angelo's statue, still preserves for us his outward appearance: the deep-set though flashing eyes, the white flowing beard, the Roman nose, the spare, active frame, forcibly quiet yet ready for action at a moment's notice. He was a man of strong, perhaps even violent passions, but not a petty trickster—one who might be feared, but could not be despised; armed with practical intelligence and with mighty will force to carry him victorious over obstacles strong enough to daunt a less vigorous genius. He jested but rarely, and never talked of his plans. Having pondered alone over the great designs he fostered for Rome and the Church, he declared his intention with sudden directness, and marched to the accomplishment of what he had determined on with indomitable energy. The irregularities of his youth were in the far distance, and he was now absorbed in the great office that he had taken on himself.

It may be urged with some truth that Julius was more of a warrior than a Churchman. But the temporal affairs of the Roman See were in a critical plight, and it may be replied with force that Julius might well have thought that his first imperative duty was to secure a way to live and govern, before he could turn effectually to higher affairs of the soul. At any rate, he took upon him that mission, and discharged it so well that he has been called with much reason the Restorer of the States of the Church. Cæsar Borgia was still a power in the land, a hostile one from Julius' point of view, and always a stormy petrel, even for his friends. He was arrested

Julius II.

(1503-1513).

**Restorer of
the States of
the Church.**

and sent to Ostia in the guardianship of Cardinal Carvajal. After a period of negotiation, Borgia agreed to yield all his possessions to the Pope, and he was then liberated. This one step went a considerable way towards giving back the Holy See its own. But others did not let Cæsar off so easily, for he was seized at King Ferdinand's command by the Spanish general, Gonzalvo, and taken to Spain. He had address enough to escape from captivity to the king of Navarre, but in the following year was slain fighting for Navarre, his father-in-law, against a rebellious vassal. Julius next dealt with the Venetians, who held possession of several cities in the Romagna. They were unwilling to retire, but opposed the claims of the Pope with obstinacy, until a coalition against them, formed by Julius at Blois, including himself, the emperor and the king of France, led to their relinquishing most of those places without an armed struggle. In order to reconquer Perugia and Bologna, Julius left Rome in person at the head of the papal army with many cardinals in his suite. He had a triumphal march through Orvieto, Perugia and Urbino, but when he came to Bologna, the resistance was more obstinate, and it was only after the Pope had laid the city under an Interdict and the French troops were moving to the attack, that Bologna surrendered. Cardinal Ferrari was named legate to govern the city in the Pope's name, and Julius returned in triumph to his capital.

The Pontiff was now free to embark on his further plan for the freedom of Italy, namely, the expulsion of the French from all the Peninsula. He could not gain the help he wished from either Germany or England at the time, though he strove to do so, but succeeded in effecting an alliance with the Swiss, whose soldier bishop, Matthew Schinner of Sion, was made Cardinal. Julius first attacked Ferrara, the chief centre of French influence, and started in person to assault it. But King Louis gained over several of the cardinals, and called a council at Pisa under their auspices, at which the Pope was cited to appear; while a national synod in France was called to reassert the so-called Gallican Liberties. Meanwhile the French had gained possession of Bologna, and all the Pope could do was to return to Rome, unbroken in spirit, but encompassed with diffi-

**Expulsion of
the French
from Italy.**
(1510).

culties. For a while neither the emperor nor the king of England seemed inclined to help, but Ferdinand of Spain, after some delay, concluded an alliance with the Pope, and when later on the emperor and English king adhered to this alliance also, and even the Venetians came in, it became known as the Holy League, which ostensibly was for the defence of the Church, but in reality to drive the French from Italy. The Council of Pisa met in opposition to the Pope, but Julius excommunicated the rebellious cardinals, and to ruin the prestige of the council, summoned an Ecumenical Council to meet at the Lateran in the following year. Still, at first military affairs did not go in the Pope's favour.

**Council of
Pisa.
(1511).**

The united army of the League and the French fought a pitched battle at Ravenna, which ended in a victory for the French. But Julius held doggedly on his way, and after a time fortune came round to his side. The emperor gave more considerable assistance, and the Swiss made a successful inroad into France. The army of the Pope retook Bologna, and Cardinal Medici as legate was received with submission. Parma, Piacenza, Milan opened their gates one after the other, and soon the French were in full retreat, and Italy was delivered from their yoke.

On the 5th of May, 1512, in accordance with his summons of the preceding year, Julius opened in person the

FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, OF THE LATERAN (1512-1517)

It was opened in State by the Pope in person, though he was in failing health, and the first session was attended by about a hundred prelates. There were

**The Lateran
Council.
(1512-1517).**

sixteen cardinals present, and among other eminent men, Egidius of Viterbo and Cajetan, generals of the Augustinians and Dominicans respectively. The acts of the Council of Pisa were declared null and void; and following on this the Pragmatic Sanction in France was condemned. Rules were then made to guard against similar attempts on the rights of the Church in times to come. Julius continued to preside at the sessions up to the fifth. After this, he was unable to do more, and took to his bed. It was from his bed of death, though with his mind still active and vigorous, that the aged Pontiff took cognisance

of the meeting of the Holy League at Mantua, whose arrangements meant the fulfilling at least in part of his own lofty designs. Parma and Piacenza were added to the Papal States, while Bologna and Ravenna also were restored to the Holy See. Milan was given to Duke Maximilian Sforza, and the rule of the Medici was restored at Florence. The Spanish claim on Naples was recognised, and thus another step taken towards the coming Spanish supremacy. Having received the last sacraments with great fervour and devotion, Julius II. died on the 20th of February, 1513, and was buried first in the Vatican basilica, but afterwards his body was removed to St Peter's ad Vincula, where Michael Angelo had sculptured colossal statues of Moses, Rachel and Leah for his intended monument.

If Julius had not been the man of overflowing energy that he was, art would have been crowded out of a life so absorbed in political affairs. And yet he was one of the greatest patrons of the arts that the papacy had shown. He entrusted to the architect Bramante his grandiose plan for the rebuilding of St Peter's basilica. The designs were drawn on a scale of unheard-of magnificence, and the work was begun according to these designs, although it was found necessary afterwards to somewhat diminish the ample lines of the original plan. But besides this, extensive architectural work was carried out at Loreto, and at the cathedral of Savona. And if Bramante was the Pope's architect, Julius patronised a still greater genius in Michael Angelo Buonarrotti, who executed a colossal bronze statue of the Pontiff for Bologna, and spent years of labour upon his gorgeous marble tomb in St Peter's ad Vincula. With that versatile talent which was as much at home in painting as in sculpture or architecture, Michael Angelo devoted himself also to the decoration of the Sistine Chapel with fresco. And then to complete the band of genius which was at the Pope's orders, the *stanze* of the Vatican palace were painted in fresco by the incomparable brush of Raphael Sanzio d'Urbino, who in that wonderful collection of paintings, and still more in the "Disputa" on the Holy Eucharist, has celebrated the triumph of the Catholic Church as it has never been proclaimed by painter's art either before or since.

CHAPTER V.

THE RENAISSANCE TRIUMPHS AND DIES.

(1513-1534).

THE opposition to the Renaissance, which should have been confined to its excesses and defects, confounded the thing itself with its accidental shortcomings, but in vain. To tilt against the Renaissance in this way was a losing game just then, for in spite of hostility the hour of its victory had arrived. It had become far-reaching in influence through the European lands—scarcely one was aloof from it; and yet it had an unmistakable centre, and that centre was the fair land of Italy. Her numerous and compact cities were alive with it; they enjoyed a civilisation superior to the world in general. Siena, Pisa, Milan, Genoa, Naples and many others vied with each other in enthusiasm for its achievements. Still, if among so many one has to name its focus and chosen home, there can be but little doubt. That city is built on the Arno, and its name is Florence. Already we have noted the striking position it held when Eugenius IV. dwelt there, and the noblest and most learned of East and West gathered within its walls to negotiate for reunion. The General Council of the Renaissance period is quite fittingly the Council of Florence; but the brightness shone on with even more dazzling lustre after that. Cosmo di Medici was gone (1461), but his grandson Lorenzo in some ways surpassed him. His Court was richer, his power greater, his influence more widely diffused, and his son was to mount the papal throne as Leo X. Lorenzo died in 1492, before the trouble with Savonarola and the French. But there were still glorious days in store for Florence and the Medici. Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo and Raphael were the boast of the

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Florentine school of painting. Guicciardini, a Florentine, told the history of those stirring times, and Leo X. was only the first of several Medici called to the supreme Pontificate.

One day was enough to unite the votes of the electors in sufficient majority upon Cardinal di Medici at the death of Julius II.; and his election was welcomed **Leo X.** alike by the emperor and by the Roman people, while it was by no means unacceptable to the French. Being the son of the magnificent ruler of Florence, it was not after all so wonderful, as things then were, that he had been made cardinal by Innocent VIII. at the age of fourteen, and rose to be Pope at the early age of thirty-eight. Leo was a polished and widely educated Humanist, and hence he was even more welcome as Pontiff to the men of letters and the artists, than he was to kings and princes. His reign began their golden age, and may be looked on as the climax of the Renaissance. Where else indeed can be found such a constellation of the lights of this movement as that which gathered round his throne? Politian had been his master, Bembo was a greater classic even than he, Sadoleto studied Holy Scripture under Leo's patronage, and Lascar and Ambrogio the Oriental tongues. Sanazzaro, Vida and Ariosto were there with their poetical verses, and Guicciardini and Paolo Jovio with their historic page. To raise buildings worthy of his patron's capital, Bramante was at hand, while Michael Angelo could with equal skill use brush and chisel, and Raphael painted his masterpieces to decorate the Vatican.

The Pontiff was not an immoral man, but the great needs of the Church and her supernatural aims almost faded away amid the round of natural enjoyment. With strangest optimism Leo persuaded himself that all would come right without any drastic changes of discipline, and then turned aside with Bibbiena as his counsellor, and Mariano as his jester, to pass his days in hunting, and dinner parties, and dramatic entertainments, and music, to which latter art he was devotedly attached. The splendour of the Roman Court was unsurpassed, and the lives of the Roman courtiers were in most cases worldly, and sometimes immoral, or even criminal; and Leo let all this pass, so that there are historians who hold

that the reign of Leo, so far below the realisation of the Church and the crisis that was upon it, so unspiritual, so trifling, did as much harm to religion as those of far worse pontiffs.

The Lateran Council was scarcely interrupted by the change in the papacy. Leo had not been in possession of the Lateran palace more than a fortnight before the next session was held. This was followed in the course of the year (1513) by two other sessions, in the latter of which the two philosophical errors that the soul of man is naturally mortal, and that all mankind have but a single soul, were condemned, and the soul was defined to be the substantial form of the body. Within and without the council resounded the cry for the reform of the clergy and of the Roman Court, but the manner of trying to effect this led to much dispute, and the later sessions of the council were marred by unseemly disputes between the bishops and the religious orders. One session took place in each of the succeeding years (1514-1517), and the old regulations for reform were newly published. Some new ones were also made, but they were scarcely drastic enough in substance, and in practice not applied with sufficient severity to effect much good. As a side question the council approved of the established *Monti di Pietà*, and set on foot a Censorship for books; the reform of the Calendar was just touched upon, but was left unsettled. The twelfth session, on the 15th of March, 1517, was the last, and the fathers were then dismissed. But whether it could under the circumstances have set on a firm basis that reformation which was afterwards accomplished at Trent, is more than doubtful. Leo shrank from any very strong measures, and probably did not realise their necessity. Dispensations from what had been decreed by the council came from him apparently without remorse. The number of fathers was not the cause of failure; it probably on the average surpassed that at Trent. But the determination to make a thorough clearance of abuses was lacking in many quarters. So the council has but little relation with the new era which was beginning; it is rather the last echo of the voice of those Middle Ages which had passed away, and of those earlier Lateran Councils which had given those ages their laws.

**Fifth
Lateran
Council
ends.**

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The ties between Leo X. and the ducal family that reigned at Florence were naturally close to a remarkable degree. He had all the Italian's patriotic love, not of Italy in general, but of his native city. When he became Pope he found the French preparing a new invasion to win back Milan and everything else that they could from the native rulers; and great efforts were made to induce the Pontiff to join the so-called Holy League, formed against France by the emperor, Henry VIII. of England, and Ferdinand of Spain. Leo hesitated as long as he could, and when he did give his adherence to the League he tried all that he possibly could to make his part in it as little prominent as was feasible. The French were the first in the field with a prompt invasion of Northern Italy, and they succeeded in shutting up Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, in the fortress of the Novara. But the Swiss mercenaries came on against the French with audacious courage, and making a fiery attack, which they followed up with perseverance, drove them into the city of Turin, and across the Alps. This was the well-known Battle of Novara (1513). On their side the Emperor Maximilian and the English had defeated the French at the battle of Spurs or Guinegate, and thus fortune was heavy on the French. They had no allies to help them except the Venetians; but these latter held out against any attempt to detach them from France, except on their own terms; and the Pontiff, who was a sincere lover of peace, was longing to be able to arrange one. At last in fact an accommodation was arrived at, and it was at the eighth session of the Lateran Council that terms were arranged with both France and Venice. The former repudiated the Council of Pisa, and the latter, after some time, fell in with the same terms. Thus within a year the peaceful policy of the new Pope had achieved remarkable success.

It may easily be believed that the Medici were now ensconced in power at Florence more firmly than ever.

Florence. The Pope's brother, Giuliano, was made Captain General of the Church and called to Rome, while Lorenzo, his young nephew, was entrusted with the temporal administration of the Florentine State. Giulio, who was Leo's cousin, and afterwards became Clement VII., was made Archbishop of Florence, and in

Leo's first creation of cardinals was raised to the purple together with Bibbiena, Innocenzo Cibo and Pucci, and out of this company perhaps Guilio was the most worthy and most edifying. Bibbiena became the Pope's confidential adviser and the companion of his leisure during all the earlier years of his reign. It was only later on that Guilio di Medici became the chief counsellor, and he then served his cousin with assiduity and skill. These arrangements made Rome and Florence, if not one State, at least bound together in closest union. Innocenzo Cibo was the Pope's nephew, and still quite young and inexperienced, but it was to Innocent VIII. (Cibo) that Leo owed his own elevation to the Cardinalate, so he anticipated the objections that might be raised by the pleasant epigram: "What I received from Innocent to Innocent I restore."

But while the Pontiff was thus engaged in plans for the support and aggrandisement of his family, he received a deep shock by the discovery of a plot against his life, not from afar, but hatched in the very sanctum of the Sacred College. Leo had given great cause for dissatisfaction among the cardinals, not only by his rejection of the absurd capitulation taken at his accession and by his failure to satisfy the extravagant demands of his supporters, but also by his open occupation with the interests of the Medici, even against those of others. The ringleader in this hostility was Cardinal Petrucci, who had private griefs of his own in addition; and Petrucci, who was the very type of a worldly and unworthy Prince of the Church, went so far as to bribe a physician of Vercelli to poison the Pope, under pretence of curing a fistula from which he was suffering. Cardinals Riario, Sauli, Castellesi and Soderini were all more or less implicated. The plot was discovered through an intercepted letter to Petrucci from his secretary. The conspirators were nearly all seized, and Leo, calling a consistory, informed all of the particulars. Petrucci was put into St Angelo, and the other suspected cardinals were invited to confess. They did not, however, do so at first, and when Castellesi and Soderini afterwards privately avowed their complicity, they were pardoned. Petrucci and his physician and secretary, after trial and conviction, were executed, but Riario and Sauli, being

The Petrucci Conspiracy.

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pleaded for by influential friends, and less clearly proved guilty, were forgiven, though with large fines, and deprivation of their elective votes. Neither of them, however, could stand the disgrace in Rome, and retired into obscurity.

This revelation of the state of the Sacred College, and the fears of the Pope as to his own power and popularity with the cardinals, accentuated by the Petrucci plot, determined Leo on such a large creation of cardinals as should practically renovate the College, and put the older cardinals into a minority, and in fact on the 1st of July, 1517, no fewer than thirty-one new ones were made all at one creation. This is held to be the largest number ever promoted at any one occasion. A renovation of the Sacred College was one of the pressing wants of the day—the only pity being that Leo did not make such a choice as to attain the end of a moral reformation of that body. It must be conceded, however, that it was not only the great number appointed which gave this creation its importance; we have to add thereto the fact that by the choice of so many men of various nations and position the international character of the College became greater than ever before; while the determination of Leo to have his way in spite of the opposition of the existing cardinals made this creation the turning-point in the decline of the power of the body of cardinals over the Pontiff. The consent of the consistory was only given under constraint. Louis de Bourbon, Vich and Pisani were named for purely State reasons. Ponzetti, Armellini and Passerini won their way by large sums of money advanced to the papal treasury. Salviati, Rossi and Ridolfi were relatives of the Pope. Music was honoured in Rangoni, canon law in Jacobatius and Campeggio. Adrian of Utrecht had been the preceptor of Charles V., and the three generals, Cajetan the Dominican, Aegidius of Viterbo the Augustinian, and Numai the Franciscan, were three of the greatest theologians and Churchmen of their day. The fact remains, all the same, that the majority of the new princes of the Church were courtly peers of the Renaissance, rather than the counsellors who could help to guide the movement of reform.

There were already signs of deep-seated discontent with the existing state of Christendom in Germany, and a

great deal of this spirit of revolt centred on the Roman financial system, which had grown up at Avignon, and had never been purified of its abuses. A plain-spoken warning as to the worldly aspect of the Church and Churchmen had been sent to Rome, but it had been disbelieved, or at any rate disregarded ; for

**Outbreak of
Martin
Luther.**
(1517.)

the very next year, in spite of all such protests, an Indulgence was preached almost throughout the Christian world to gain funds for the rebuilding of St Peter's at Rome. In Germany the preaching of the Indulgence was entrusted to the Dominicans, among whom Tetzels, who had the charge to preach it in the estates of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mayence and of Magdeburg, was notable for his eloquence and energy. This proved to be the spark which set light to the mass of inflammable material already gathered. There may have been jealousy and hurt feeling among the friars, but when Martin Luther affixed a list of theses against Indulgences to the church door in Wittemberg in 1517, the Indulgence grievance was the almost accidental indication of far deeper and more general revolt. Martin Luther was an Augustinian, who, born in 1483, was at that time thirty-four years of age. He had joined the Austin Friars while still young and had been sent to Rome for business for his Order, and while there had been scandalised, as he was never tired of asserting to the papal envoy, Aleander, in 1516, and drank deep draughts of hostility to Rome and the Roman Court. Returning to Germany, he had lectured on Scripture in the University of Wittemberg. At first, doubtless, there was no explicit intencion on Luther's part to break away from the Church externally. Though a copy of the theses was sent to Albert of Brandenburg, the Metropolitan, no immediate notice was taken of it by him, and it was left to Tetzels to reply. This he did by defending before the University of Frankfort (20th January, 1518) a list of theses, many of which were the exact contradictories of Luther's propositions. Luther then rejoined in a sermon on Indulgences, and Tetzels replied to the sermon. Then came a counter-reply by Luther in the form of a pamphlet, and to this Tetzels did not reply. Very few seemed to realise the deep rebellion against the authority of the Church which lay beneath the Indulgence dispute. John

Eck and Tetzel were almost alone amongst the theologians of the time in discerning, below the surface, how far-reaching and destructive the teaching of Luther in these writings really was. However, the controversy was reported to Rome, and the first attempt to bring Luther to order was made through the General of the Augustinians, his own order. This led to no result, and Leo X. ordered a formal process to be instituted against him at Rome. The Dominican Prierias was appointed to examine the case, and in his *Dialogue* he answered Luther with asperity and personal attacks. Luther was summoned to appear in Rome within sixty days. Instead of obeying, Luther appealed to the protection of the Elector, Frederic of Saxony, and also wrote to the emperor. Maximilian seems to have grasped the seriousness of the case, and wrote an urgent letter to Rome pressing for strong measures against Luther. Thereupon Cardinal Cajetan, the legate at the Imperial Court, was empowered to summon Luther before him and to deal with his case. At Augsburg Cajetan met Luther, who did not refuse to appear before him and was kindly received, but he refused to retract, and soon after secretly left Augsburg and wrote a more violent attack on the doctrines of the Church in a letter to the Pope—at the same time appealing from the Pope to a general council. His condemnation was now a foregone conclusion, and on the 15th of June, 1520, the bull, "*Exurge Domine*," drafted by Cardinal Accolti, after having been four times examined in consistory, was issued. The writings of Luther were therein condemned, forty-one propositions being especially selected as heretical, and Luther was declared to be excommunicated as an obstinate heretic unless he recanted within sixty days. The publication of the bull in Germany was entrusted to two papal envoys, John Eck and Aleander. Difficulties, however, were raised by many of the princes and prelates about this, and Aleander wrote plain-spoken reports to Rome on the extent of the state of religious ferment which prevailed in Germany. On the receipt of a papal brief requesting the emperor to secure the execution of the sentence against Luther, Charles called a Diet at Worms (1521) at which the emperor and all the States of the empire were present in person. Aleander here spoke for several hours with masterly eloquence, reading at the emperor's request the papal brief, and

calling for an edict against Luther. Before anything further was done, however, Luther was himself summoned to the diet. But his violent language when he appeared under an imperial safe conduct only strengthened the decision to take strong measures, so that on the 25th of May, an imperial edict, known in history as the Edict of Worms, was published, in which Luther was condemned, placed under the ban of the empire, and all his writings ordered to be burned. This last order was carried out at Worms in presence of the papal envoy.

Luther departed from Worms under the imperial safe conduct, but on his way he was seized by a band of armed men sent by the Elector of Saxony, and carried off to the Castle of Wartburg, where he remained ostensibly a captive, though indeed a very willing one, for nearly a year (1521-1522). He spent most of his time in elaborating his works against Religious Vows and against the Mass, and in working at his Translation of the Bible. Meanwhile a compendious and elegantly worded defence of Luther's position came out in the *Loci Communes* of the classical scholar Melancthon. At the Diet of Nuremberg (1523-1524), called by the emperor against the Turks, the Holy See was represented by Campeggio, but he could gain nothing but a vague promise that the Edict of Worms should be acted on against Luther. That fiery reformer followed up his diatribe against Vows by himself marrying an ex-nun named Catharine Bora (13th June, 1525); and emphasised his declamation against Church authority by giving encouragement to the German peasants in a rebellion against the princes, which broke out in the same year, and is known as the Peasants' War. Later on, however, he sided with the princes, who took the field against the peasants, and almost annihilated their levies at Mühlhausen (1525). Attempts at religious peace were made at two diets held at Spires in 1526 and 1529. But the concessions offered by the Catholic leaders were rejected by their opponents, who handed in the *Protestation* which was the origin of the name of Protestants, thereafter applied to them. Charles V. attended the next diet at Augsburg in 1530, and the Protestants presented the celebrated *Augsburg Confession* drawn up by Melancthon. Once again, however, the parties separated without having come to any lasting arrangements. The emperor

Spread

of
Lutheranism.

indeed expressed his firm determination to vindicate the supremacy of the empire and of the Catholic Faith; but when it came to the point of acting on this, he found that he was not supported by the princes, and that the opposition to any strong measures was much more powerful than he had thought. The Protestant princes formed the League of Smalkald (1531) for their mutual defence. As Charles was not strong enough just then, with the Turkish war also on his hands, to make a warlike attack on this League, a temporary peace, or *Interim*, was agreed to at Nuremberg in 1532, by which things were to be left *in statu quo* until the meeting of a General Council.

The loyal conduct of Charles V. to Catholicism and the Holy See in the matter of Luther at Worms forced on an alliance between the Pope and the emperor, but this in its turn led to a hostile attitude being taken up by Francis I., king of France. Leo, who really in his heart dreaded the ascendancy of Charles V., tried with some skill and much hesitation to keep on friendly terms with both Germany and France. But at last the exorbitant demands of the French drove him into the arms of the emperor, and he became a party to the war against France in Northern Italy. He sent troops and agreed to pay half the expenses of the Swiss. Papal, Imperial, Spanish and Swiss troops all joined in an attack on Milan, and the French general, Lautrec, had to abandon it; all the Lombard cities fell into the hands of the allies after Milan had been taken. The Pope was overjoyed at this success, when rather suddenly he took ill of malaria, and on the 1st of December, 1521, died at midnight, though not before he had made his confession and received Extreme Unction.

A tragic episode in the annals of the papacy, albeit a noble and inspiring one, was begun by the election of

Adrian VI. Adrian of Utrecht to the papacy in January, 1522. Giulio di Medici, Leo X.'s cousin, had (1522-1523). seemed the most likely candidate; and it was only when it was found that he could neither be elected, nor could any other among those present, that his friends combined to look outside the conclave, and choose cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who had been preceptor to the young emperor, and was now viceroy in Spain. Adrian reluctantly accepted the choice of the Sacred College, but kept

his former name of Adrian against the custom of two hundred years. He journeyed slowly to Rome amid many obstacles, and only reached the city and was crowned in September, eight months after his election. The contrast from the preceding reign was of the most striking and thoroughgoing character, for Adrian himself came into Rome out of another world. He was a carefully educated scholar, and a very pious Churchman. But he was a thorough Northern, unable to conform to the ways and tastes of the Italians. His very straightforwardness, which made him devoted to the claims of duty and wholly wrapped up in the high vocation to which he had been raised, was ill appreciated and distasteful.

In loftiness of purpose and singlemindedness he was far above those around him, and above his age. It is pathetic to find him striving almost alone for reformation, for union against the Turks, for peace among Christian princes, and to see him die with his aims unrealised, beaten by adverse circumstances, so that the Epitaph upon him expresses only too truly his merits and his failure: "Alas! how much it matters on what times are cast the virtues of even the noblest." He strove for peace between emperor and king, and was driven in spite of himself into alliance with the emperor. He struggled for Rhodes and her knights, and yet saw the island fall to Suleiman (1523). He aimed at being only the Father of Christendom, and yet the ungrateful Romans wrote at his death on his physician's door: *Liberatori Patriae, S.P.Q.R.*

The rival parties in Christendom were only waiting for Adrian's death to engage in a long struggle as to who should be the next Pope. The emperor, **Clement VII.** Henry of England and Francis I. had all (1523-1534). their interests to further, and their nominees, Giulio di Medici and Wolsey, were both straining every point for their own election. For fifty days the election went on, and when at last Medici had the majority, it was really secured by the accession of Cardinal Colonna. The new Pope was the cousin of Leo X., and as he was also a man of culture and refinement, the Romans readily promised themselves a return to his brilliant times, and applauded the election. The Medici were not a handsome race, but Clement was an exception, and he had already played a large part in public affairs. He was dignified,

temperate, moral and industrious. His industry had made him a useful assistant to his cousin Leo in his affairs, and it seemed to all men that he had done well. It was only after his election that the disappointment came, when it appeared that the assiduous and helpful minister, when placed at the helm, lacked the decision and courage to carry through a consistent line of policy. He would hesitate and weigh between the two courses, and cautiously make up his mind, but when faced with the inconveniences of what he had determined, would come back upon it, and do nothing, or move in the contrary direction.

His accession found him in alliance with the emperor, but he seems to have aimed at conciliating all the Christian princes, and especially France, by a policy of neutrality. He only succeeded in alienating the emperor without thoroughly winning the king of France. Having repelled the German invasion of Provence, Francis I. passed into Italy at the head of a noble army. He beat down all opposition until he came to Pavia, which held out against him. He entered Milan and other cities, but, caught at Pavia, he was attacked there by the imperial army sent to relieve the city, and quite unexpectedly was there beaten and taken prisoner (24th February, 1526). This changed the political outlook both for Italy and Europe. Italy seemed to lie helpless at the feet of the emperor, and the imperial power appeared to dominate Europe. Charles had the captive king, Francis I., removed to Spain, and then in the following year wrung from him the Treaty of Madrid, by which the French monarch regained his liberty, but gave up Burgundy, Flanders, and all claims on Italy, promising besides to send an army to the emperor's support against the Turks. These terms could scarcely be expected to stand, and after some negotiation the Holy League of Cognac was formed against the emperor by Clement VII., Francis I., the Duke of Milan and the Venetian Republic. This meant war to the knife in Italy between Charles and the members of the League. Charles V. was angered beyond measure at the action of both Pope and French, and as the other members of the League, in spite of promises, helped in Italy very little and very late, the full weight of the emperor's indignation fell on the Pope and the Papal

States. The imperial army, it is true, was not in the best condition, being without pay, and made up of miscellaneous levies, German, even Lutheran soldiers, being matched by Spaniards and Italians, and clamouring to be led on to plunder both Florence and Rome. Florence was garrisoned better than Rome, and ascertaining this, the Constable de Bourbon, the imperial commander, turned aside from it, and directed the army straight on Rome. In spite of the weak nature of the defensive forces, some resistance was made, and Bourbon fell mortally wounded during the assault. But before long the weak point was found, and the imperial levies rushed in intent on plunder and slaughter. There was still fighting in the streets, and the Pope shut himself up in the Castle of St Angelo. But soon all opposition was beaten down, and then the sack of the city began and proceeded amid scenes of indescribable barbarity, cruelty and passion. The most civilised and richest city in the world was given over to a soldiery let loose without control, and aflame with lust, greed and cruelty. As far as any comparison can be made, Goth, Hun or Vandal never perpetrated such horrors as these hordes who were in the pay of the official defender of the papacy. Clement was in despair, and could do nothing but passively watch the terrible disaster that had been brought upon the Eternal City. Murder, outrage, sacrilege and plunder kept a very Saturnalia in Rome for months. Latins and Teutons seemed to vie with each other who should do the worst deeds and excite the greater horror. The imperial officers, even if they did their best, seemed unable to restrain their men. Several of the cardinals lost their lives in the violent scenes, and the Pope dared not venture out of St Angelo, which, however, there was no attempt to storm. To pass over blacker deeds of murder, outrage, and sacrilege, there was the wholesale plunder of the works of art which had been accumulated in Rome all through the past century of Renaissance vigour, and even through the Middle Ages. Rome was swept almost bare of these treasures, and never became the same again. Books perished; manuscripts also perished, though many valuable ones had the good fortune to escape by being hidden. It is for this reason, if for no other, that we may call that catastrophe, dreadful

**Sack of
Rome.**
(1527).

alike for the Church and for Christian civilisation, the death-blow of the Renaissance.

As soon as he could get away safely, Clement fled to Orvieto, and the city only gradually recovered consciousness. It was not till the 17th of February, 1528, that the German troops could be

After the sack.

induced to leave Rome. They then marched towards Naples, and their path was marked by the smoke of flaming towns and homesteads. The Pope kept Court at Orvieto, and a very poor and dispirited one it was. Seven cardinals had come at his summons to join him, while Campeggio as legate did what was possible for the healing of the wounds at Rome. Although invited to return there, Clement could not bring himself to do so at once. First he transferred himself and his Court to Viterbo, and it was only on the 6th of October, 1528, after pressing instances from the emperor and others, that he returned to the capital, which he found in a wretched condition, with four-fifths of the houses dismantled and empty, and the churches after the long cessation of divine worship almost like ruins. Charles V., almost immediately after the Pope's flight from Rome, made offers of a formal alliance, and these were renewed when the Pope, under assurances of imperial protection, had once more taken up his abode in the Holy City. But the Pope hesitated long before he lent an ear to these overtures. However, at last the complete success of the imperial arms, the failure of the French general to take Naples, and the counsel of those among the cardinals who favoured the imperial cause, pushed him to a decision. But the ill-health of the Pontiff, not to be wondered at after all he had gone through, made the negotiations drag on very slowly. At one time it seemed as if the Pope was at the point of death; and he made his nephew, Ippolito dei Medici, a cardinal (1529). But at last Clement sent trustworthy envoys to Spain with full powers, and the result was the Treaty of Barcelona (29th May, 1529), between the Pope and emperor. For a variety of reasons Charles had agreed to terms very favourable to the Holy See. There was to be a defensive alliance between them. The temporal possessions of the Holy See were to be restored, and Charles would help the Pontiff in reducing Florence to submission to the Medici. The Pope would do all in his power to help the empire by money and

grants in aid of the war against the Turks. Besides thus reconciling the Pope and emperor, this alliance had the effect of hastening on the arrangements for a treaty of peace between the empire and France, and the Treaty of Cambrai was concluded soon after, though in this case the terms agreed to by the emperor were more onerous. Francis had to engage to withdraw from all interference in German and Italian affairs, and to pay over three million crowns.

The time seemed to be ripe now for the coronation of the emperor, whose triumph was complete in the West, though the Turks were harassing him in the East. And Charles came to Italy for that purpose, landing at Genoa on the 12th of August, 1529. Clement proposed that he should come

**Coronation
of Charles V.
(1529).**

to Rome to be crowned, but Charles, who was anxious to proceed to Germany, asked the Pontiff to meet him at Bologna, and crown him there. But there was much opposition among the cardinals, though Clement at last consented to do as the emperor wished. In spite of the opposition of the cardinals, Clement travelled to Bologna, and there met Charles V. All that could be done to keep to the ceremonies of a Roman coronation was done, and the State functions were of great magnificence. Charles kissed the Pope's foot, hand and cheek, and was crowned by him at High Mass amid a scene of remarkable splendour (24th February, 1530). This reconciliation meant the end of Florentine independence. The imperial general, the Prince of Orange, was directed to invest Florence, and though the Florentines offered a desperate resistance, and Orange fell during the siege, at last the city surrendered to the papal and imperial troops. An hereditary principedom for the Medici was set up there, and Alessandro de Medici became the first hereditary duke. Thus did Clement secure the interests of his own family, though the power of the emperor was acknowledged over almost the whole of Italy. Charles then departed for Germany, where numerous troubles awaited his attention.

But Clement all the time could not forget his general policy of neutrality among the Christian princes, and so he was persuaded by the envoys of Francis I. to go to Marseilles for the marriage of his niece, Catharine de Medici, with the Duke of Orleans, and he there met the French monarch.

**Clement at
Marseilles.**

The meeting took place with much ceremony on the 12th of October, 1533, and Clement himself performed the marriage rite. There was no doubt that Charles V. looked on this visit with much disfavour, and thought that after all he could hardly count on the Pope as an ally, but he had to put up with it, and swallow his indignation as best he could. Francis, on the other hand, secured several advantages from the Pope. Four new French cardinals were created which greatly increased the French element in the Sacred College, and a grant of a tithe from Church goods in France for the Holy War against the Turks was given to the French king. Of the secret negotiations which took place at the private conference between Clement and Francis little has transpired. That the Pontiff agreed to join the French king in helping the Turks against the empire is a baseless calumny. But Clement was persuaded by Francis to defer a final sentence in the matter of the divorce of Henry VIII. of England.

The history of the separation of England from the unity of the Church has a character quite different from that of the Lutheran revolt in Germany. It had its origin in the lust and pride of a powerful and wilful king. So far was Henry VIII. from sympathising with Luther that he had written a book against his errors called "*Adsertio vii. Sacramentorum*," for which he had received from Leo X. the title of "Defender of the Faith." And though Luther had his supporters in England, they were comparatively few, and quite unable to disturb the settled establishment of religion. Henry, though as a young man outwardly pious, seems to have early given way to his passions, especially to licence with regard to women, without, however, ceasing to practise his religious duties, and still going to the Sacraments. And thus it came to pass that when his wife, Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, no longer pleased his fancy, the old habit strong upon him led him to seek sensual gratification elsewhere. Anne Boleyn, one of the ladies of the Royal Court, was the object of his passion, and as she would not consent to be his mistress, the idea came to Henry to divorce Catharine and marry Anne. To accomplish this, the hypocritical monarch affected to have scruples as to the validity of the papal dispensation

given to him by Julius II. to marry Catharine, the widow of his deceased brother. Of course this was only a pretext, but a Court was set up with Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham as judges to try the validity of the marriage. At the same time theological and canonical opinions on the subjects were sought from the English bishops, from canonists, and from the foreign universities, Henry condescending to offer bribes for an opinion favourable to his plans. Although Wolsey was shocked at first, he soon fell into the rôle of being the subservient tool of the king in the matter. He strove to gain from Clement the office of Papal Vicar General, with full powers to settle the divorce question without referring to Rome. Henry, however, went over his head, sending a secret envoy to the Pope to get a dispensation for a new marriage either with or without a divorce. This envoy got to the Pope while he was in exile at Orvieto (1528) after the sack of Rome, but all he could gain was a conditional bull giving the dispensation if the nullity of his former marriage was proved. But this was not enough for the king, so other envoys (Gardiner and Fox) were sent to the Pope, who pressed their master's suit with much insistence and even arrogance. They wanted a bull declaring the divorce an accomplished fact, but this Clement would not and could not grant. What they did obtain was a commission to Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio with full power to try the case, and a promise that Campeggio should bear with him such a decretal bull as they demanded. Campeggio did indeed go to England with the bull in question, but with strict orders only to read it to the king and then destroy it. This bull has never been found, as no doubt Campeggio acted on his instructions in spite of Henry's anxiety to gain possession of it. To have granted it at all was surely an act of weakness on the part of Clement, but it was wholly illusory in the way it was sent, and matters remained as they were. Meanwhile, the trial before the two legates proceeded. Campeggio, who had drawn out the proceedings as long as ever he could, was cautious and dilatory. The king, to his confusion, was faced by Catharine with a second papal dispensation with regard to her former marriage, granted by Julius II., to take effect even if the former marriage had been consummated. At last Catharine appealed to the Pope against the Legatine

Court. On this, Campeggio adjourned over the holidays, and the Court never met again. Clement in consistory, on the 16th of July, 1529, revoked the case to Rome, and in this way terminated the commission of the two cardinals. Henry, thus foiled, let the full weight of his displeasure fall on Wolsey, who, he pretended, had deceived him. The once-powerful minister was made to resign all his honours and offices, and might easily have ended his life on the scaffold had not his health rapidly given way, and brought him to his death at Leicester Abbey, 29th November, 1530. His genius had raised the power of England in the general councils of Christendom to a height it had never reached before, but he stands at the bar of history arraigned for his great ambition, and equally so for his unworthy subserviency to Henry VIII.

Fresh efforts were made to win over both Pope and emperor to the cause of the divorce, but in vain. The English envoys even had the effrontery to ask the Pope's permission for a double marriage as an alternative to the divorce, but here also beat upon an immovable rock.

Excommuni- Henry VIII. and Francis I. met at Boulogne Sur Mer
cation of in October, 1532, and the latter agreed to put all the
Henry VIII. pressure he could on the Pope in favour of the divorce, if Henry would do likewise to secure Milan for France. Francis was not ashamed to threaten the Pope with the loss of both England and France to the Church unless the divorce were given. But the delay had already been too great. Henry was gradually undermining the papal authority in England. He abolished the Annates paid to Rome, and on 25th January, 1533, was secretly married to Anne Boleyn by Rowland Lee, later on made Bishop of Chester, or by George Brown, afterwards Abp. of Dublin. No attention was paid to the lack of a dispensation, but Cranmer, who had in 1532 succeeded Warham as Primate, and had been confirmed in this office by the Pontiff, set up a court at Dunstable, and there tried the divorce case anew, and pronounced a decision in its favour. Thereupon Anne Boleyn was solemnly crowned Queen at Westminster Abbey. At length, after further delays due to the intercession of Francis I., Pope Clement pronounced a final sentence on the 15th of March, 1534, which excommunicated Henry, declared his former marriage with Catharine of Aragon valid, and asserted that he was bound

to restore her to her rights. Henry answered this by putting in force the anti-papal legislation, which he had already prepared, and by forcing the Parliament to enact the Act of Royal Supremacy (1534).

The triumph of the Protestant reform in the countries of Scandinavia was carried out by means similar to those employed in England, that is to say by the autocratic domination of the civil ruler. Since the dissolution of the Union of Kalmar (1397) Denmark and Norway had been united under one king, while Sweden strove to maintain a separate national existence. Frederic I., who became king of Denmark in 1523, had been made by the bishops and nobles to sign a Capitulation by which he engaged to protect the Holy Church and never to permit a heretic to teach in the kingdom, while at the same time it was decreed that none but Danish nobles should be appointed to any of the bishoprics, that none but Danes should be named to any church benefices, and that no foreigner, and this would include the Pope, should pronounce any decision on a matter affecting the Danish Church. It may be guessed from these provisions how loose was the bond that just then bound the episcopate to Rome. Frederic on his part did not delay long before he broke his word and favoured the reformers, who poured into the land under the royal protection. By concessions that were really signs of weakness, the clergy tried to win over the king to abstain from an absolute change of religion, but in vain. The incoming reformers were intruded into bishoprics, and got possession of churches and convents, so that by the time Frederic I. died in 1533, Lutheranism had decidedly got the upper hand in Denmark. And if we turn to Sweden, we find that the same rebellion which had led to the replacement of Christian the Cruel as king of Denmark and Norway by Frederic I., had soon after brought about a similar change in Sweden. Here the leader in the struggle had been Gustavus Vasa, who had been brought up in Lutheran ideas. And then the introduction of Lutheranism was the best support that Gustavus could find in order to strengthen his power against Christian's attempted return. Unfortunately for Catholicism the episcopate at that time was in great part made up of prelates who were usurpers. In fact the only practical opposition Gustavus had to face was made by

**The Re-
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Scandinavia.**

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Bishop Brask of Linköping, and a popular rising in Dalecarlia, where Jacobsson, the Bishop of Westeraus, and his Provost Knut were executed, and the Dalecarlian rising was soon subdued. By a masterly mixture of severity and leniency Gustavus won his way. The Catholic ritual was allowed to stand almost intact, and at length at the Diet of Westeraus in 1527 the national separation from Rome was completed. And with Denmark went also Norway. Archbishop Olaf of Trondheim struggled for Catholicism as well as he could, but the peasantry were indifferent, and the nobility stood to gain by the seizure of Church property. So the King of Denmark worked his will, and Norway fell to the position of a mere Danish province (1537).

Meanwhile Clement VII. was nearing his end. He was taken ill in June, 1534, and though he recovered for a while, had a relapse in August, and then gradually sank. He received the last Sacraments, and being wasted with fever, could take no nourishment, and his strength ebbed away. On the 25th of September he expired, and his remains were interred near those of his cousin, Leo X., in the Church of St Maria Sopra Minerva. Clement VII. was no luxurious son of the Renaissance, but a blameless, moral, methodical man of business; equal to the task of dealing with state affairs as the instrument of another, but lacking that decision which is needed in one who is himself in supreme authority. This defect of character it was which accentuated the pressure of the manifold external troubles which fell upon him, and gives him the title to be considered one of the most unfortunate of the popes.

BOOK VII.

THE REFORMATION.

(1534-1648).

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

(1534-1566).

LEO X., the centre of the Renaissance movement, had been quite mistaken in his appreciation of the agitation set on foot by Martin Luther. By his bull, "*Exurge Domine*," issued, as we have seen, in the last year of his reign, he had excommunicated the new heresiarch, but there is every reason to think that he judged his outbreak as being nothing more than the passing cry of a fanatic who, like scores of others, would be struck by the strong arm of the Church, and would vanish, withered by her condemnation. Again, though Adrian VI. was a true reformer, he could accomplish little in such a brief spell of power, and then another Medici, the cousin and companion of Leo X., followed him. But by this time the Renaissance had met its death-blow, and the moral reformation, so long spoken of, and sighed after by the wisest and best men of the age, was long in coming. It seemed that nothing less than a spiritual earthquake would bring it about. At last the earthquake had come, and out of the midst of the crimes and blunders and false

**General
outlook.**

pretences that surrounded it, there arose that true Catholic Reformation, sometimes called the Counter Reformation, which, vivified by the labours of saints, legislated for by the Council of Trent, and guided by such pontiffs as St Pius V. and Sixtus V., gave Catholicism a new and fruitful era of development. It yet needed time to produce the fruits that were its own, but the spirit of earnest reform had taken strong hold long before that.

The conclave at the death of Clement VII. was little more than a formality. Assuming the impossibility of carrying an openly partisan candidate, there was practical unanimity in favour of **Paul III.** (1534-1549).

Cardinal Farnese, who was considered neutral among the parties. And what was arranged in discussion on the evening when the Sacred College first met, was ratified in the morning by votes given in due form. Farnese was indeed far and away the most notable man in all that assembly. He had been a cardinal for over forty years, and had taken part in five previous conclaves. Educated by the humanist, Pomponio Leto, under the auspices of the Medici, he had been made Cardinal by Alexander VI. soon after his accession (1493), and for the next twenty years had been one of the most brilliant and popular princes of the Roman Court. He had tact enough to find favour with both those rival and hostile personalities, Alexander VI. and Julius II. He lived the life and fell into the excesses so general in those dark-stained years, and had four children. His two sons, Rinuccio and Pier Luigi, appeared prominently later on upon the stage of public affairs. Up to then, though a cardinal, he was not a priest, but in 1513 he seems to have reformed his whole way of living, preparing earnestly for the priesthood, and in 1519 he was ordained. He had received the diocese of Parma from Julius II. He now declared himself strongly on the side of reform, made a visitation of his own diocese, and held a synod there. Put aside in favour of the Medici, Clement VII., who, he laughingly said, had deprived him of ten years of pontificate, he had been a faithful servant to that Pope, and now stood before the world as a ruler of unrivalled experience, and, moreover, as a true child of the Renaissance, who had cast off the corruption of that atmosphere, and embraced for himself and others that new breath of reform which was stirring the world.

The first time Paul met the cardinals after his accession, he insisted on the need of calling an Ecumenical Council without delay. Vergerio, who had been Nuncio in Germany, was summoned to the Pope, with whom he had prolonged interviews. Vergerio found the Pope, though not too well acquainted with the state of things in Germany, quite in earnest about reform, and ready to take in all the information that the Nuncio could furnish. After this, he was sent back to Ferdinand I., King of the Romans, to push on the negotiations for the Council, while other envoys were sent to the emperor in Spain, and to Francis I. at Paris.

But Paul found that in the Roman Court he had but few supporters in a policy of thorough reformation. In a moment of weakness he had created his relatives, Alessandro Farnese and Guido Sforza, aged respectively fourteen and fifteen, cardinals, before any other nominations, and this act, instead of strengthening his hand, had weakened it deplorably. But once again the energetic old man made a struggle to free himself from himself, and came to the conclusion that a thoroughly new College of Cardinals was needed to override the secularity and anti-reforming spirit of the older ones. And to this plan he tenaciously clung, all the more as being desirous to overshadow what he had done for Farnese and Sforza. Six very notable additions were made to the ranks in May 1535, when Contarini, Ghinucci, Carracciolo, Schomberg, Du Bellay and John Fisher were all made cardinals, as well as Simonetta, and on the 22nd of December this was followed by the creation of Caraffa, Del Monte, Pole, Sadoletto, Jacobazzi, Denonville, Filonardi and Borgia, Duke of Gandia; Aleander, and also Gaetani, who was another of the Pope's nephews, had only to wait till the beginning of 1538 for their elevation. Most of these men were the intellectual and moral leaders of the reform movement, and by this renovation of the Sacred College Paul III. had made possible that decisive action in favour of the Council, and a thorough drastic elevation of discipline, which in the end overcame all obstacles, and was crowned with success.

The Moors had been long expelled from the south of Spain, but they held Algiers, Tunis and nearly all the north of Africa, and their corsairs sailed over the Medi-

**New College
of
Cardinals.**

terranean, carrying terror to the Christian name, capturing Christian ships, and occasionally landing on Christian shores, sweeping off the people into slavery.

War against the Infidel. Charles V. was heir to the leadership against them in two ways: first as Roman Emperor he was the head of the Holy War or Crusade in the East, and as Spanish Sovereign he longed to carry on further that successful warfare which had placed Ferdinand and Isabella in Granada, and Ximenes in Oran. Deeply religious as he was, it was the height of his ambition to lead a Crusade against the Infidel; and a point was given to his desires by the depredations of Barbarossa, the celebrated pirate of Tunis. In 1534 Charles resolved on an expedition against Tunis. He begged the Roman Pontiff to aid him as far as he could, and ill provided as he was with means, the Pope, standing as he did in the place of the chief originators and organisers of all Crusades, did what he could. He made grants of money, and directed the papal galleys to meet the emperor, who had already started from Barcelona, at Cagliari in Sardinia. A junction having been effected, to Tunis they went; and once landed there Charles defeated the Infidel in battle. The citadel of Goletta was taken, not without trouble, on the 14th of July, 1535, and soon Tunis itself fell. Charles rejoiced greatly over this result, and leaving a Spanish garrison in Goletta, betook himself to Italy. Naples was his, and he took up his residence there for some time. But his ambition was a victorious entry into Rome as victor over the Turks, and his ambition was gratified. He made a triumphal entry into the city on the 5th of April, 1536, advancing as far as could be arranged, after the manner and along the road of the ancient Roman triumph. Finally he was received by the Pope in the portico of St Peter's.

With much piety Charles attended the Holy Week services, and went to High Mass in State in St Peter's on Easter Sunday. But most of his time was taken up with earnest conferences with the Pontiff, the drift of which was furnished by his determined efforts to draw Paul away from his policy of neutrality among Christian kings and princes, to a thoroughgoing alliance with himself. Before leaving, breaking away from the ordinary diplomatic procedure, Charles delivered a long speech before Pope and

Court, defending his own conduct, and bitterly attacking that of Francis I. This was naturally much resented by the French envoys and cardinals, and Paul had as much as he could do to keep them from an open outburst. However, with great tact he expounded his conscientious position as the Father of Christendom and the friend of all its sovereign rulers. Consequently, Charles left Rome without the alliance, but as the results of his conversations with the Pontiff, friendly arrangements were come to over so many points that even thus the jealousy and resentment of the French were aroused. In spite of all that Paul could do, war broke out between Charles and Francis I., and on the 25th of July an Imperial army invaded Provence.

This regrettable war gave the Turks their chance of revenge. Barbarossa was again raiding the Italian coast, and the Turkish Sultan proclaimed his intention of carrying the war into Italy, and fixing the seat of his empire at Rome. Dread and almost despair took possession of the Roman Court and of the Pope himself. For the immediate present he had only himself to rely on, so the papal fleet was equipped, and the towns of the papal states put in a condition of defence. But he redoubled his exertions to get help from elsewhere. The Venetians, who had a treaty of peace with the Sultan, at first refused to break it, but eventually an engagement called the Holy League was concluded between the Pope, the emperor, and the Venetians for war against the Turks. And Paul made one more effort to pacify the quarrel between the emperor and France. Journeying to Nice, the Pontiff there met Charles and Francis separately, and this was followed by an unexpected meeting between these two monarchs at Aigues Mortes. At last the result of the Congress of Nice was the long-desired armistice, or understanding, between the emperor and the king of France.

But of all the great events that happened during the fifteen years that Paul III. was Pope, the greatest surely from the Church's point of view was the assembling of the General Council of Trent. Having proclaimed his intention at the very outset of his reign, and having secured worthy co-operators by his new creations of cardinals, the next thing that the Pontiff did was to appoint a

**Preparations
for the
Council.**

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Commission, and this was a step of equal importance. Nine eminent Churchmen, all of enlightened and independent minds, none of them officials of the Curia, were able to give opinions which might be taken as the expression of what the highest minds considered necessary for a true reform, and their report issued (February, 1537) may be taken, as Pastor says, as the constructive programme of the coming council. Contarini was the President, and the other members were Sadoletto and Pole (who, with Contarini, were raised to the purple), John Peter Caraffa, Giberti, Bishop of Verona, Cortese, Fregoso, Bishop of Gubbio, Aleander, and Badia, Master of the Sacred Palace. By another nomination of cardinals (December, 1536), Paul III. gathered into the Sacred College besides the three just named, Caraffa, Del Monte, Aleander and others.

The report of this Commission had a great effect, and not an undeserved one, seeing the ability of those who composed it.

The soul of the reform party in the Roman Curia, as soon as he was brought into the Sacred College, was the illustrious Venetian statesman and humanist, Gasparo Contarini. Introduced to the service of his city in his youth, he became a member of the Great Council, and was then Ambassador to the Imperial Court for five years. Afterwards, becoming envoy to the Pope, he made such an impression in Rome that in 1535 he was made Cardinal. As long as he lived, he took the first place by his genius among the great Churchmen zealous for reform, and was President of the Commission. Most eminent among those around him shone the elegant scholar, Sadoletto, and the zealous co-founder of the Theatines, John Peter Caraffa.

Another illustrious scholar of this band was the noble Englishman, Reginald Pole. Placed by his royal birth, for he was a cousin of Henry VIII., in the highest circle of social life, he became not only a leader of the general movement of reform, but also the champion of Catholic Unity in England. After a childhood spent at the Carthusian school at Sheen, and a youth of study at Oxford and Padua, Pole returned to England to find that his royal kinsman was drifting into schism and adultery. The Court was no place for him, so he retired to pursue

his studies at Sheen, and then farther still from Court at Padua. Henry, wishing to win him over to the divorce, forced him, after many efforts of his to keep aloof, into giving his opinion, which he embodied in his book *On Ecclesiastical Unity*, which he first sent privately to Henry, and afterwards published. He was summoned from Padua to Rome by Paul III., made Cardinal, and put on the above-mentioned Commission. When the disturbances on the Continent delayed the actual assembling of the council, Pole was made Legate at Viterbo, but when the council actually met in 1545, Pole shared the presidency with Cervini and Del Monte.

The Act of Supremacy, which had been the answer given by Henry VIII. to the papal condemnation of his adulterous marriage, was enforced in England with heartless barbarity. Blood flowed in streams through the martyrdom of those

The English martyrs.

who refused to take the oath that the king was the Supreme Head of the Church in England. The refusal was made high treason, but to take it really meant the denial of the Pope's supremacy and the abjuration of the Catholic Faith. The first to suffer death was John Houghton, Prior of the London Charterhouse, who was executed at Tyburn with two of his community and with Richard Reynolds, a Bridgettine of Sion House, Isleworth, and John Haile, a secular priest, vicar of the same place (4th May, 1535). But still more famous victims were to follow. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the most learned and saintly of the English prelates, who had just been made Cardinal by Paul III., was executed on the 22nd of June. Then on the 6th of July, Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England from 1529 to 1532, the brightest light of the Renaissance there, but also the model of a true Christian layman, was beheaded on Tower Hill. During the ten years that followed great numbers of clergy and laity were slain by the barbarous king for their adherence to the Faith. A considerable number of these, including the Franciscan, John Forest, the three Benedictine abbots of Reading, Glastonbury and Colchester, Adrian Fortescue, Knight of St John, Margaret Pole, mother of the Cardinal, and others have been beatified. The people rose *en masse*, both in the northern counties and in Devon, in defence of their religion, and after these revolts had been

crushed by a mixed show of force and false promises, numerous executions went to swell the ranks of those who were martyrs in deed though not in title.

Meanwhile, inroads on the Unity of Christendom, less only than those caused by the Lutheran movement, had Calvin and been prepared in Switzerland and France. Calvinism. They centre round the strong personality of

John Calvin, and the heretical system which came forth from the propagation of his errors bears his name, being known as Calvinism. He was considerably younger than Luther, Calvin being born at Noyon in 1509, and dying at Geneva in 1564. The period of his activity thus coincides with that of the present chapter. But the success of his teaching seems to furnish another proof of how widespread in Europe was the desire for novelty and for rejection of the established faith. Though he had received a good Catholic education, he fell into heresy while at Paris University, being much influenced by teachers of suspected orthodoxy there. It cannot be denied that Francis I. at first took such an equivocal line about Papal Supremacy that the Protestant party found means to strike deep root in France. In 1534 Calvin published his famous *Institutes of Religion* in Latin, in which he developed a strong Predestinarian theory of theology, together with the rejection of most Catholic dogmas, and a strong vindication of the independence of religion from state control. At last the French king woke up to the danger of the spread of Protestantism both to his kingdom and to the Catholic religion. And for the remainder of his life Calvin resided at Geneva in Switzerland, where he developed the Presbyterian system into a sort of limited theocracy, without any toleration of dissident sects, or any freedom of teaching. It was through his influence that Michael Servet was burned at Geneva on the 27th October, 1553, as a Socinian heretic. Various attempts were made to win Calvin back to the Church by Sadoletto and other members of the Catholic party of conciliation, but it was in vain. Strengthened by the approval of Melancthon and the German reformers, even those who rejected his doctrines, and aided by such learned disciples as Theodore Beza (1519-1595), Calvin was irreconcilable. In fact his break with the established order was of the most thorough-going and fundamental kind. Geneva became the centre

of Presbyterianism. From it went forth the preachers who laboured for the spread of Protestantism in France. From it, too, went forth, a little later, John Knox (1515-1572) full of fiery ardour to work out amid strife and blood the protestantising of Scotland.

The earliest preacher of the reformed doctrines in Scotland was George Wishart, but his propaganda was stoutly resisted by the Catholic party under the leadership of Cardinal Beaton. Wishart was **Scotland.** apprehended, tried as a heretic, and burned at the stake at St Andrew's in March, 1546, and in the same place Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in May of the same year. When the Catholic party retained the mastery in the years that followed, while Mary of Guise was Regent, Knox was at Geneva and other places outside of Scotland. But in 1559 a change took place. Queen Elizabeth had succeeded her sister in England, and the opposition of the Scottish Government to the reform party had weakened. Knox returned, and began a series of violent harangues against Catholicism. The Lords of the Congregation, as the heads of the Protestant party were called, supported him. Thus urged on by him, first St John's, Perth, was sacked by the mob and partly ruined, and then in quick succession similar works of wreck and destruction were carried out at St Andrews, at Scone, at Stirling, and finally at Edinburgh.

The Congregation proceeded to depose Mary of Guise and to besiege her in Leith Castle, where she died in 1560. Calvinism was now in the ascendant. A Confession of Faith was drawn up by Knox in the name of the Congregation, and accepted by the General Assembly. It is true that in the meantime Francis II. of France, her husband, being dead, the young Queen Mary had returned to her kingdom, and for the space of eight years maintained herself on the throne amid a constant turmoil of intrigue, treachery and warfare; but being defeated at Langside in 1569, Mary Queen of Scots fled to England, and threw herself on the hospitality of her cousin Elizabeth. Her trustfulness was shamefully abused, and after being kept in virtual captivity for the space of eighteen years, she was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle (8th February, 1587), as soon as it became thought that the English Catholics were placing their hopes of relief upon the chance of her succession to the English crown.

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It is the proud boast of the Irish Catholics that the Reformation never gained a footing among them, and Ireland. as regards the mass of the native Irish this is, no doubt, true. But the power of Henry

VIII. was exerted to wrench Ireland from union with the Pope, as he had wrenched England. In 1541 a Parliament was called at Dublin, and attended by the Anglo-Irish lords, at which Henry assumed the style of King of Ireland, and an Act of Supremacy, similar to the English Act, was forced through the assembly. George Brown, who, like Luther, had been an Augustinian, was consecrated by Cranmer, and sent over to Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin, where he endeavoured to spread the principles of the English Reformation, but when Queen Mary came to the English throne he was deposed, and Dr Curwen named in his place. This prelate remained true under Mary's reign, but under Elizabeth he bent to the storm, and the whole reign was a period of persecution for the Catholics and their bishops.

Although the papal bull summoning the council to meet at Trent was published in 1543, it was 1545 before

**Council of
Trent.**
(1545).

the legates appointed by Paul, namely, the Cardinal Bishop Del Monte, the Cardinal Priest Cervini, and the Cardinal Deacon Pole, reached that city; and when they did so, they found scarcely any fathers there before them. Trent was chosen as being a city which was on the confines both of Germany and Italy, and yet was free. Its bishop, Cardinal Madruzzi, was a German by birth. But, even now, with the legates there, it was many months before a real start could be made. These months were taken up by negotiation with Pope and emperor, and bishops and princes. Finally, after almost an infinity of obstacles had been overcome, on the 13th December, 1545, was held the first session of the

ECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545-1563).

Besides the legates, there were present Madruzzi, already a cardinal, and Pacheco, about to be one. There were four archbishops, Filleul of Aix, Wauchope of Armagh, Olaf Magnus of Upsala, and Tagliavia of Palermo, with twenty other bishops and five generals of orders, the most celebrated of whom was Seripando the Augustinian. The

second session was not held till the 7th of January, 1546, and the third not till the 4th of February, but the intervals were used in expediting business by the holding of Congregations, as they were called, in which the matter was prepared for the sessions. Massarelli became Secretary; Ugo Buoncompagni, afterwards Gregory XIII., Abbreviator; and De Grassi, Advocate Consistorial. There were great debates as to the order of proceedings, since the Pope wished the Dogmatic Decrees to be taken first, and the emperor desired Disciplinary Canons to be dealt with before all. A compromise was at last agreed to, by which they were to be taken *pari passu*.

It was not till the fourth session, held on 8th April, that the two decrees were passed declaring the Vulgate to be the sole authentic version of the Holy Scripture, and declaring the two-fold source of the Catholic doctrine to be the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament and Tradition. The decree on Original Sin was made at the fifth session, when also a discussion on the Immaculate Conception took place between those who argued for its definition and their opponents. Finally, all that was done was to exclude the case of the Blessed Virgin from the decree on Original Sin. The sixth session (13th of January, 1547) passed the decrees on Justification, which were more or less the turning point of the council. They were the most opposed by the Imperial party, as being likely to be the most offensive to Protestants, and at the same time the most elaborate and carefully prepared of all. There were great theologians at Trent in those days: Soto, the Dominican, Laynez and Salmeron the Jesuits, and some thirty or forty others, nearly all members of the religious orders. All this time the representatives of Charles V. were trying to impede any Dogmatic decrees, and get the decrees on Discipline pushed on. Still, in spite of this opposition, the seventh session approved the decrees on the Sacraments, as well as various disciplinary canons (3rd March, 1547). Immediately after the seventh session there occurred an outbreak of infectious disease—the spotted fever—at Trent. And in consequence of this, at the next, or eighth session, the translation of the council to Bologna was decreed. The continued interference of the emperor made this welcome to the fathers, besides the desire of escaping to a healthier city. On the 12th of March, most of the fathers, now

about seventy in number, removed to Bologna, though the fourteen Imperialists remained behind in protest. But the opposition of Charles V. was so determined that though two formal sessions, the ninth and tenth, were held at Bologna, the council was at last suspended, and did not meet again till 1551, this being thought by the Pope and cardinals preferable to being forced back to Trent.

The Emperor Charles, even if with the best intentions, intruded the secular power into the affairs of the Church in a way that it is impossible to justify. **Opposition between Paul III. and Charles V.** In Germany he strained every point to conciliate the Protestants, and thus preserve the unity of the empire in one faith. And in Italy he exhausted every expedient that diplomacy and unfriendly action could give him to bend Paul III. to take his view, and comply with his wishes. At last, however, he gathered a powerful army, recruited both in Germany and in Spain, and made war on the Protestant princes, who were banded in what is known as the League of Smalkald. At Muhlberg the emperor was decisively victorious (1547), and then assembled another diet at Augsburg, and tried to utilise the fruits of his victory (1548). He soon found, however, that the opposition still retained more strength than he had imagined, and hence tried to arrange a temporary peace by what is known as the Interim of Augsburg. This basis of agreement was drawn up doctrinally, mainly on Catholic lines, though much more vaguely than the decrees of Trent, while it gave the Protestants various temporary concessions in discipline such as Communion under two kinds, and marriage of the clergy. The Pope made great difficulty in accepting this, and in fact would only give particular indults to act on it without acknowledging the authority of the Interim in general. Hence negotiations of an almost hostile kind between Paul and Charles went on right up to the death of the Pontiff, which took place on the 10th of November, 1549, after receiving the last Sacraments. He was eighty-two years of age, but the immediate cause of his death was the blow he received from the ungrateful and rebellious conduct of his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, who had attempted to seize the city of Parma. Paul's stately monument is in the chief Tribune of St Peter's.

The conclave was at first dominated by Cardinal Farnese, and he united with the imperial party to favour the election of Cardinal Pole, but the opposition of the French, who wished for the election of Caraffa, was very determined. At one moment Pole had twenty-five votes out of twenty-seven necessary, without counting his own vote, and at another Farnese came to him in the evening to say that he had the number required, and to offer the usual homage; but Pole would neither vote for himself, nor anticipate the scrutinies, saying, "I must come into the Papacy through the door, not through the window." In the morning his votes were fewer. And then six more French cardinals arrived, and the voting was prolonged for ten weeks and during sixty scrutinies. At last a compromise was made, and Cardinal Del Monte unanimously chosen. He had been President of the Council of Trent, and when thrown into opposition to the demands of the emperor, had spoken in the name of the Holy See with unsurpassed dignity and firmness. Before this, he had been legate for Clement VII. both in Rome after the sack, and in Bologna. He was therefore one of the leaders of the party of reform. But as with Paul III. so with him, Nepotism was his besetting sin. Innocenzo, the adopted son of his brother Baldwin, was almost at once raised to the Cardinalate at the age of seventeen in spite of the opposition of Caraffa in public consistory, and of Pole in private remonstrance. Nevertheless, Julius showed his anxiety to push on the great work of the Council of Trent by transferring it back from Bologna to Trent, where it resumed its sessions on the 1st of May, 1551. Julius hoped that this change, as well as the appointment of Crescenzi as President, instead of Cervini, whom he did not like, would conciliate the emperor. After the eleventh and twelfth sessions, which were merely formal, the thirteenth session passed the decrees on the Holy Eucharist (11th October, 1551), and the fourteenth went on to deal with the Sacraments of Penance and of Extreme Unction (25th November).

Difficulties began again to gather round the path of the Council. The French bishops did not attend. So, although two further sessions were held, namely the fifteenth and sixteenth, these were entirely taken up with formalities and negotiations, and, to his great

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disappointment, Julius was forced in 1552 again to suspend the sittings of the Council. It may be said that the Pope never recovered from the blasting of his hopes for reform which this suspension meant for him. He began to withdraw himself to a great extent from public affairs. He built himself the Villa Giulia outside the Porta del Popolo, and spent most of his time there in studious pursuits, and in converse with his friends. It is true that from time to time he issued regulations on Church Reform, but the life of his court, and in fact the standard at Rome, unchecked in his day, was rather that of the Renaissance period. The Pope was generous, nay, even prodigal in his expenditure, but he did not succeed in gaining the popularity which no doubt he hoped for. His exterior was unprepossessing, and his manner gave an impression of strength, which was hardly borne out by his part in public affairs. Following the line of least resistance, he maintained friendly relations with the empire and with Spain, and in fact was accused of falling under the domination of the Spanish agents. When at the death of Edward VI. in 1553, the accession of Queen Mary promised a return of England to Catholic Unity, he sent Reginald Pole thither as legate with full powers to reconcile the country with the Holy See. Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury, and used his powers in the most broadminded way to smooth the way to submission. It is true that fiercer counsels so far prevailed that many Protestants suffered at the stake in Smithfield for their opinions. But aided by Queen Mary, and her consort, Philip of Spain, supported too by Stephen Gardiner, the Chancellor and others, Pole was enabled to accomplish much before Julius III. died somewhat unexpectedly, and was buried in St Peter's (23rd March, 1555).

Though Cardinal Cervini had been somewhat in the background during the reign of Julius III., he had long been known, under the title of the Cardinal of Santa Croce, as one of the leaders of the party of reform. Moreover, as Librarian of the Vatican, he had filled a great rôle in literary circles, enriching the precious stores of books and manuscripts under his charge, and winning thereby the respect and gratitude of the learned. So, when Julius III. died, much as he was disliked by Charles V.,

**Marcellus
II.**
(1555).

Santa Croce was elected Pope in four days, retaining, as Adrian VI. had done, his name of Marcellus. He was consecrated, not being yet a bishop, and crowned on the same day. He had just time to show what noble designs he harboured, and what a lofty example he was prepared to give, when a mortal illness, brought on it was thought by overtaxing his strength in the public functions, seized him, and he died on his fifty-fourth birthday, after a pontificate of twenty-two days. The magnificent sarcophagus which once held the body of St Helena became his tomb, and in his memory Pier Luigi Palestrina (1514-1594) composed the "*Mass of Pope Marcellus*," as a protest against the exclusion of music from the Liturgy.

John Peter Caraffa had been one of the most prominent figures in Rome for many years before he was elected Pope, and was already nearly eighty years of age. He was deeply versed in the learning of the schools, with St Thomas Aquinas as his favourite author. But besides this he was so familiar with both Greek and Hebrew that he was able to converse in both tongues with men of those nations. And he was a religious founder, too, for after a career of thirty years at the Roman Court, he resigned all his benefices, and joined St Cajetan in founding the Clerks Regular (1524), called after him Theatines, for he had previously been Bishop of Chieti (Theatinus). But of all that noble band of men committed to the cause of reform, who surrounded Paul III., Caraffa was the most thoroughgoing and uncompromising, and for that very reason bitterly hostile to the conciliatory policy of Contarini, Morone, Pole and such as these. When named by Paul III. Archbishop of Naples, Spanish opposition kept him out of his see till 1551. His inflexible opposition to the Spanish supremacy made him dreaded by them, and at the death of Pope Marcellus, the Spanish envoy threatened him with the veto. The Spanish party favoured Pole still, but he was absent in England, and the very threats used against him nerved the stern old man to show himself independent of all human favour. Eventually, by the union of the French with the neutral party, he received the due number of votes. He announced that to honour the Apostle of the Gentiles, he would be called Paul IV., and that he would also retain

Paul IV.
(1555-1559).

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the see of Naples. But his accession wrought a great change in his habits and ideas. Once a Theatine pledged to the most extreme poverty, he now thought that the honour of the Papacy demanded that he should live in princely splendour. And his first creation of a cardinal was his own nephew, the worthless Carlo Caraffa.

He also started out with the fixed purpose of opposing the power of Spain and of the emperor. The latter, who had been working, in his own way, for the supremacy both of the empire and of the Catholic Faith, felt himself strong enough, after his victory at Muhlberg, to take possession of Augsburg, as we have seen, and hold another diet there (1548), trying to organise a lasting settlement for the affairs of the empire. But the strength of the obstacles he met with led to a postponement of any permanent settlement, and the granting of temporary concessions to the Protestants. However, the strength of Charles V. was now failing, and he left much to his brother Ferdinand in Germany, and to his son Philip in Spain and England. It was Ferdinand who urged the necessity of making permanent the concessions given to the Protestant princes in the Interim; and this was done at another Diet of Augsburg in 1555, which admitted the right of the princes who chose to adhere to the Reformation, with the *Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*, or provision that any bishop who did so must resign his see. For the subjects the principle so called "*Cujus regio, illius religio*," or religion must follow territorial residence, was adopted. Naturally, the Pope denounced this arrangement as a compact with heresy. Neither would he recognise the action of Charles V., by which in 1556 he abdicated in favour of Ferdinand in the empire and Philip II. in Spain. In Italy the pretext for war was furnished by the protection afforded by the Spanish victor, the Duke of Alva, to the Colonna family who had fallen under the Pope's displeasure, and Paul declared war against Spain. In spite of the help given by the French and Swiss troops who came to his assistance, the papal forces could not resist the onset of Alva and his Spaniards, and before long the Spanish general had Rome at his feet. Being a devout Catholic, he showed great personal respect to Paul, and in his public conduct exhibited great moderation and reserve. And when peace was made, he was directed by

his royal master to restore all the possessions of the Holy See which he had seized. But the humiliation of this defeat was a sore one to the Pontiff.

Though Paul began with the strongest declarations against Nepotism, after he had made his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, a cardinal, the latter, with other papal nephews, dragged the Pope into measures for which the odium had to be borne by him. It was only after the Spanish war that the aged Pontiff was disillusioned, and he then banished his nephews from Court. He organised the Inquisition in Italy on new and more stringent lines, and unfortunately his prepossession against the conciliatory party among the Catholics led him to use it against no less a personality than the illustrious Cardinal Morone. Morone was imprisoned in St Angelo, and cross examined as to heresy, but he was left in prison to the end, and it was only in the following reign that he regained his freedom. Pole was no less distrusted by Paul IV., but as he was in England, he could not apprehend him. Still, his legatine faculties were withdrawn, and Pole died in 1558, disappointed to find that his arrangements were not approved of by the Pontiff. Just at the same time died Queen Mary, and there is no doubt that both left this world with a sorrowful heart to find that their efforts had been balked and misunderstood by the violent prejudice of Paul IV. On the 18th of August, 1559, Paul IV. breathed his last. He had attained the great age of eighty-three. He was buried in the Church of Sta Maria Sopra Minerva.

John Angelo dei Medici was a distant relative of the Grand Dukes of Florence or Tuscany, and was elected by acclamation after many unsuccessful ballots. He assumed the name of Pius IV., and since the conclave had lasted for four months, it was 6th January, 1560, before he could be crowned, or take possession of his cathedral. Pius at once proceeded against the nephews of the late Pontiff with the utmost severity. A Commission of eight cardinals was appointed to try them for the crimes of which they were accused, and being found guilty, both nephews, the cardinal and his brother, were executed. The grand nephew, Cardinal Alfonso Caraffa, though pronounced innocent of the capital charge, was con-

Delusions of Paul IV.

Pius IV.
(1560-1565).

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demned to pay a fine. Pius IV. completely reversed the measures of his predecessor. Cardinal Morone, who had been left in prison on suspicion of heresy, had his case examined anew, and was freed after a triumphant vindication of his innocence. Pius chose one cardinal nephew, Charles Borromeo (1538-1584), and entrusted the care of his person to him, as well as a considerable share in the government of the Church. Better known as St Charles, this saintly and austere young man was the guardian angel of his uncle's pontificate, and then later on, as Archbishop of Milan, became the model of the Catholic pastor, and the living incarnation of the spirit of the Council of Trent. But it is greatly to the honour of Pius IV. that in the five years of his reign, among the forty-six eminent Churchmen whom he raised to the purple, were to be found such men as Osius, the two Gonzagas, Mark Anthony Colonna, Buoncompagni, Peretti, and many others only less than these in renown.

Having acknowledged the succession of Ferdinand I. to the empire, Charles V. being now dead, Pius found

End of the Council of Trent.

the way cleared for the resumption of the labours of the Council of Trent. Cardinal Borromeo, on his side, used all his influence to secure for the Council a successful and peaceful termination. With Cardinal Gonzaga as legate and an attendance of one hundred and twenty fathers, the seventeenth session was held on the 28th of January, 1562, and the eighteenth in the course of the following month. But the progress of business was slow and uncertain, being delayed by vexatious disputes about precedence, and by long discussions on the residence of bishops. The next three sessions saw the decrees drawn up which deal with Communion under one kind and the Communion of children. In the twenty-second session, held on the 17th of September, the doctrine on the Sacrifice of the Mass was defined and decreed. At the twenty-third session (15th July, 1563), the doctrine on Holy Order was defined; while the twenty-fourth session (11th November, 1563), which lasted from nine in the morning to seven in the evening, approved a great number of decrees both on doctrine and discipline. Finally, in the twenty-fifth and last session (3rd and 4th December), all that remained of the programme that was feasible was gone through, and the decrees were signed by two hundred

and fifty-five fathers. On the following 26th of January Pius IV. issued a bull confirming the decrees, and at the same time forbidding the private interpretation of them. The work of interpreting them was entrusted to a special Congregation called that of the Council.

Pius IV. incurred some unpopularity by the heavy taxation imposed to meet the expenses incurred in his works for the embellishment of Rome: new gates, new roads, a printing press in the Vatican. In consequence of a murderous conspiracy in which Benedict Accolti attempted the Pontiff's life, but failed, the conspirators were all seized and executed. But death had another agent whose attack could not be warded off, and this was the Roman fever, to which the Holy Father succumbed on the 10th of December, 1565, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in the Church of St Mary of the Angels.

Death of
Pius IV.

CHAPTER II.

THE PONTIFICAL REFORMERS.

(1566-1592).

THE legislation of the Council of Trent was now practically complete, and its decrees, as already stated, had been confirmed by Pius IV. But how often **St Pius V.** does not mere law-making fail to compass (1566-1572). its end for want of an executive force with driving power sufficient to realise its provisions in action! For the Tridentine decrees this was furnished by the election in 1566 of a pontiff of the highest aims, who was moreover gifted with unflinching determination in carrying them out. To paraphrase what has been said of one of the Renaissance popes, the Reformation mounted on the pontifical throne in the person of Pius V. Michael Ghislieri, born at Bosco in Piedmont in 1504 of poor parents, had been educated by the Dominicans, and had joined their order while still a youth. Ordained at the age of twenty-four, he had done good work for the Friars Preachers for some twenty-eight years, teaching, preaching, governing houses or training novices, when in 1556 he was made Bishop of Sutri and Inquisitor for the North of Italy; then he became Cardinal, and later on Bishop of Mondovi. He threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the reform and the strict observance of the Canons. He was not afraid to oppose Pius IV. when the latter would promote a young relative to the Cardinalate, nor the emperor when the Cæsar agitated for the abolition of clerical celibacy, so that when the conclave met, and Morone and Sirleto both failed to secure the necessary majority, he became the cardinals' choice. The dominant influence in his favour was Cardinal Borromeo. He it was whose words won for him the support of Philip II., while the friends of Paul IV. hoped that

under him they would see his policy revived. But Pius had higher aims than that. Made Pope in spite of his tears and entreaties, he resolved to relax not one whit of the austere spiritual life he had hitherto led. The magnificent regal ease that distinguished so many of his immediate predecessors had no friend in him. As he had fasted before, so did he now; the same rough garments still sufficed him under his papal robes; prayer early and late was still his only happiness and his support. Before the Blessed Sacrament and at Mass his soul was at rest, and there only. But he sacrificed himself for his neighbour without stint; he gave alms in abundance, he visited the hospitals, he washed and kissed the feet of beggars, he did not shrink from the lepers. He made himself the model pastor, as he had been the model friar; he had a friendly eye for the cloistered religious, and a fervent word of encouragement for the missionary to the infidel. And he put the whole energy of his character and the whole power of his high position into the double contest against the Protestants and the Turks.

To supplement the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the Creed of Pope Pius IV., there were other publications to be made, all desiderated by the Council, and all destined to be used as engines in that Catholic

Tridentine works.

revival which was now well under way. The first of these to see the light in St Pius's time (1566) was the Catechism, which, having been composed by eminent theologians, revised by a special Commission with Cardinal Sirleto at its head, its latinity receiving a final polish from the classical scholar, Pogiano, has always been held by competent authorities as a marvel of brevity, clearness and accuracy of expression. In 1568 came the New Breviary, which was made by the papal bull to supersede all local ones which were not more than two centuries old. In 1570 came the New Missal, with its revised rubrics, in which the care of the Holy Pontiff for every detail concerning the Divine Service is manifest.

Following upon their victory at Mohacs (1529), which had given them possession of Hungary, and upon the subsequent Siege of Vienna, the Turks, under their redoubtable Sultan, Suleiman II., had made a desperate assault upon Malta, to which the Knights of St John

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had retired from Rhodes. The successful resistance offered by the knights under their heroic Grand Master, La Vallette, to the powerful army of Suleiman, supported as it was by a mighty fleet (1565), places the Siege of Malta among the chief defeats which the Turkish power sustained. But the losses which the knights had sustained had been so grave that they despaired of being able to maintain their position unaided, even after the siege had been raised. Then it was that the Pontiff came to their assistance with ships and soldiers. At this juncture the warlike Suleiman died, and was succeeded by the degenerate Selim II. Still the danger was not over; and when the fall of Cyprus showed that the naval power of the Turks was still great, St Pius succeeded in forming an alliance against them with the empire, Venice and Spain. The combined Christian fleet, under Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V., sought out the Turks in the Levant, and finding them in the Gulf of Lepanto (7th October, 1571), inflicted on them an overwhelming defeat, from which they never fully recovered.

Although Francis I. (1515-1547) had never openly broken with the Holy See, he was a true child of the Renaissance, and forming no true idea of the Protestant Reformation, dallied with it and temporised until nearly the end of his reign. In fact he was absorbed in his pleasures and literary pursuits. But at length under the influence of Cardinal Duprat, the Chancellor, he took strong measures against the Calvinists. Still the ground lost could hardly be recovered. Francis died in the same year as Henry VIII. of England, and was succeeded by his son Henry II. (1547-1559), who, as we have seen above, married the Italian princess, Catharine de Medicis. In the wars with the empire, left him as a legacy by his father, he found himself in alliance with the Protestant princes in Germany, yet against the Calvinists at home he issued the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551) which revoked the trial of heretics to secular tribunals, so as to be able to punish them with death. Still inconsistency and lack of true zeal marred Henry's policy until he was accidentally killed at a tournament in 1559. His three sons, Francis II. (1559-1560), Charles

**War
against
the Turks.**

**French
Wars of
Religion.**

IX. (1560-1574), and Henry III. (1574-1589) in turn sat on the French throne, and the Queen Mother Catharine de Medicis was Regent for all this period. Francis II. married Mary Queen of Scots, and in 1560 the Conspiracy of Amboise was entered into by the Calvinists to gain possession of the person of the king, and thus take him from under the influence of the Duke of Guise, leader of the Catholic party. The Edict of Romorantin (1561), which was the answer to this plan, brought on the Civil War, in which the Catholics were led by Guise and the Calvinists by the House of Condé. Condé was defeated at Dreux, but the Duke of Guise was soon after assassinated. Gaining strength, the Protestant leaders marched on Paris, but were defeated at St Denys, and peace was made at Longjumeau (1568).

War breaking out again next year, Condé was killed at Jarnac, and Coligny, Admiral of France, now assumed the leadership of the Protestant party, but being beaten at Moncontour (1569), agreed to the Peace of St Germain en Laye (1570), which proved to be but a truce. The Massacre of St Bartholomew inflicted frightful losses on the Huguenots, the foremost among the victims being Admiral Coligny. Charles IX. was then king, but he had no part in planning the massacre, which was the work of partisans of the League. The massacre, being falsely represented at Rome as the foiling of a plot against the life of the king, was celebrated with a solemn Te Deum.

To anticipate, the last period of the French Wars of Religion was that in which the Catholic League nominally, under the protection of the young King Henry III., fought against the Huguenots, now led by Henry, King of Navarre. But after a while Henry III. separated himself from the League, and had the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal, assassinated. The tide of battle turned then in favour of the League, and then again in favour of Henry of Navarre. But after Henry III. had been himself assassinated by the insane monk, Jacques Clément, in 1589, it became evident that Navarre was winning. After the two victories of Arcques and Ivry, the proposition was made that he should be acknowledged as King of France. But it needed other victories both in war and diplomacy before that result was attained.

When the premature death of Mary Tudor in 1558 placed Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth on the English throne, it became evident that the reconciliation with Rome, carried out by the late Queen, was in danger of being reversed. It is true that Elizabeth abstained as long as she could from any decisive act against Catholicism. But her known sympathies made the bishops fear the worst for the future. But it soon became evident that these prelates whose predecessors had, with the glorious exception of B. John Fisher, yielded to the tyranny of Henry VIII., were not to be led into schism by his daughter. Oglethorpe, of Carlisle, saying Mass before the Queen, was told to omit the Elevation. He refused, and Elizabeth left before the solemn moment. Hence it came to pass that when the moment for her Coronation Service arrived, none of the bishops could be found willing to officiate. At last the same Bishop Oglethorpe mentioned above was prevailed upon to crown the new queen, though with complete Catholic Rites and Pontifical Mass. No sooner had Parliament met (1559) than an Act of Supremacy similar to that enacted by Henry VIII. in 1534 was brought in, as well as an Act to legitimatise the Queen, and an Act of Uniformity making the Common Prayer Service obligatory. The bishops who were present opposed this in vain. Convocation met at the same time, and drew up Five Articles of Catholic doctrine as a protest against the action of Parliament. In Easter Week following, Elizabeth ordered a conference between Catholics and Protestants to take place in Westminster Abbey. Eight notable men were chosen for the discussion from either part, but there was no real freedom of debate. The proceedings were cut short by the Lord Chancellor, and the bishops were ordered to take the Oath of Supremacy under pain of deprivation. All refused except Kitchin of Llandaff, and in July, 1559, they were deprived of their sees. A Commission was appointed to consecrate Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in this way a new hierarchy was gradually provided for the old sees. The original deficiencies in Parker's consecration were of course transmitted to the bishops consecrated, and the result of repeated examination has been that the invalidity of these Orders has been clearly established by the verdict of the highest authorities, confirmed by the judgment of the

Holy See. None of the deprived bishops suffered death, but most of them were imprisoned for the rest of their lives. The Oath of Supremacy was then tendered to the inferior clergy, and though many refused it, a still greater number purchased freedom from disturbance by complying with the royal demand. There was a rising in the North of England to try and secure the restoration of Catholicism in 1569, but it was suppressed, and the Earl of Northumberland and many of lower degree were executed for their share in it. In the following year St Pius V. issued a Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth (25th May, 1570), depriving her of her kingdom. But this only made the persecution of the Catholics more fierce, and martyrs began to appear in plenty, so that the stream of Catholic blood did not cease to flow so long as Elizabeth was Queen.

As long as life remained, all ailing as he was, Pius ceased not to labour for Catholic restoration and the great works he had at heart. He suffered greatly from gravel, but bore all his pains with unconquered patience, exclaiming: "Increase, O Lord, my pains, so long as Thou wilt increase my patience also." But early in 1572 he grew worse, and at last had to take to his bed. The Cardinal Alexandrino, his nephew, at once administered the last Sacraments, and on the 1st of May he died at the age of sixty-eight. He was interred in the church of Sta Maria Maggiore, where his monument forms one of the treasures of that venerable basilica.

**Death of
St Pius V.**
(1572).

Cardinal Buoncompagni, who now mounted the Chair of Peter, had grown old in the service of the Roman See. The earlier years of his public career had found him as Doctor and Professor of Canon Law at Bologna, with such men as Pole, Madruzzi, Farnese, Hosius and Charles Borromeo among his pupils. He was called to Rome in 1539, and employed in various posts of a legal character in the Roman Curia. He went to the Council of Trent as one of the Papal Lawyers, and was still a member of the Council when it came to an end in 1563. Next year, having been made Cardinal, he was sent as Legate to Spain to investigate certain charges made against Archbishop Carranza. Under Pius V. he was Secretary of Briefs, and at length, when that Pontiff died, he was chosen, mainly through the

**Gregory
XIII.**
(1572-1585).

influence of Cardinal Granvelle, to succeed him. He chose the name of Gregory XIII. Though his early career had not been free from blame, and he had one son, James, long before his ordination, these things were now in the distant past. He was only ordained in 1558, when named Bishop of Viesti, and all his later life was quite free from all suspicion of impropriety. He had not the fiery energy of either St Pius V. or of Sixtus V.: his temperament was more easygoing and peaceful; but as far as intentions could carry him, he quite deserves to share with those ascetic popes the glory of being at the head of the Counter Reformation.

Two of his nephews were raised to the Cardinalate, and his son was made Governor of St Angelo, and then

**Progress
of
Reform.**

Gregory felt secure to go on with the building up of that Catholic Restoration which had been drawn out in outline at Trent. For the renewal of the clergy, the most important means taken was the foundation of suitable colleges. This is Gregory's special glory, for to him is due the opening of no less than twenty-three of these: chief among these were the Gregorian University, the English, German, Greek and Maronite Colleges at Rome, and the Papal Seminariēs at Graz, Vienna, Olmutz and other German cities. As became a distinguished Canonist such as Gregory was, much was done in legislation and the codification of the canons, a new edition of the Corpus Juris being officially published by a Papal Commission. The reform of the calendar leading to the Gregorian Calendar, to bring that in use into harmony with the solar year, is one of the Pontiff's most widely known titles to fame. Gregory renewed all the wise prescriptions of his predecessor with a view to secure better order in the Divine worship, and quite rivalled him in the piety and external decorum with which he officiated in public.

When Charles V. abdicated in 1556, he left the Netherlands as part of the inheritance which fell to

**Separation
of the
Netherlands
from the
Church.**

Philip II. of Spain. And he found it the richest and most prosperous portion of his dominions. The Emperor Charles, himself a Fleming, had ruled these provinces despotically, but with an evident care to foster their material prosperity. For the inroads of the Protestant preachers from France and Germany he

had no mercy, and then outbursts of fanaticism had given trouble, as the Anabaptists did at Munster in 1535, and they were sternly repressed. Charles showed in all this a strange contrast to the delays and the long suffering he manifested towards the Reformers in Germany. But Philip II. had less in common with the Netherlands than his father had, though he had at least equal zeal for Catholicism and his own empire. In 1559 Paul IV., at his prayer, remodelled the hierarchy, creating no less than fourteen new sees, which he grouped into the three provinces of Mechlin, Utrecht and Cambray. Margaret of Parma, his half-sister, was made Regent, with Cardinal Granvelle as chief minister. The order was also given for the publication in the Netherlands of the Decrees of the Council of Trent. These measures, however, were unpopular, and the prevailing discontent, led by William the Silent Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and de Hoorn the Admiral, was marked by the excesses of the levies of peasantry, known as the Gueux or Beggars, while Calvinist emissaries from France, and Lutherans from Germany, combined to fan the flame of anger against the Spanish Government. Philip seems to have thought the policy of Margaret of Parma too gentle and hesitating, and in 1567 sent the stern captain, the Duke of Alva, to replace her. Alva apprehended and executed Egmont and Hoorn, while William the Silent was forced to flee. Then Alva entered on a campaign of severe—even savage—repression. The disaffection became civil war, and though Alva on the whole maintained a military superiority, the depredations of the Land Beggars and Water Beggars, and of the Protestant forces in general, for example at the taking of Gorcum (1570), left the Netherlands after six years (1567-1573) still a prey to misery and constant conflict. Philip, seeing that Alva's stern policy had failed, replaced him by Don Luis Requesens (1573-1575), who tried milder measures, but in vain; while he did not succeed in taking the stronghold of Leyden after a long siege. The next Regent was Don John of Austria—Philip's half-brother—but he too failed in restoring the royal authority, or in pacifying the revolted provinces. The great soldier, Alexander Farnese, retrieved the Spanish fortunes in actual warfare, in spite of the efforts of the Prince of Orange, and of the English troops which Elizabeth allowed to go to his aid. And in 1578, by the

decisive victory of Gemblours, Farnese definitely secured the Southern Provinces for Spain. But with the Northern Provinces it was otherwise, and in 1579 a Treaty of Union was formed by these Seven United Provinces, with the Prince of Orange at their head, which finally separated them from the Spanish monarchy and from Catholicity. For the Southern Provinces, which we now call Belgium, a period of restoration and renewed prosperity began with the Regency of the Archduchess Isabella and her consort, Albert of Austria (1598-1633).

While Protestantism was thus making its inroads on the unity of belief in Europe, Gregory XIII. was ever

Last years of Gregory XIII. zealous to do what he could to restore the Faith wherever opportunity seemed to arise. He sent Possevinus to Russia and to Poland,

and Neilsen to Sweden, as legates to try and retrieve the fallen fortunes of the Church in those lands. And at Rome, though his own measures were perhaps too easygoing to be effective, he was in sympathy with that great movement of spiritual reform which for the capital city had St Philip Neri as centre (1515-1595), and the Pontiff approved his Oratory, as well as the Reform of the Carmelites and the Barnabite Congregation. He made two unsuccessful attempts to carry out the deposition of Queen Elizabeth by armed expeditions to Ireland (1578-1579); and having offended the barons of the papal dominions by his seizure of the estates of some whose title to them was at best doubtful, the latter protected the banditti, who under such encouragement swarmed in the Campagna, and Gregory XIII. seemed powerless to curb their lawlessness. After a reign of nearly thirteen years, and having attained the age of eighty-three, Gregory succumbed to an attack of fever (10th April, 1585), and was interred in the Gregorian Chapel of St Peter's.

A very short conclave sufficed to raise to the Popedom the Franciscan cardinal, Felix Peretti, often called

Sixtus V. Montalto, from his birthplace, and known to history as Sixtus the Fifth, and probably the

(1585-1590). last of that name. He had filled many offices in his Order, and while stationed in Rome had gained the friendship of St Philip and St Ignatius and of the two future pontiffs, Caraffa and Ghislieri. When the latter became Pius V., he made him bishop of St Agatha

of the Goths and his Confessor, and before the end of his reign raised him to the Cardinalate. Having been sent by Pius IV. as companion to Buoncompagni, on his legation to Spain, the difference of view between them developed into an antipathy which was never got over. So, when Buoncompagni became Pope, Peretti, though just made Cardinal, retired from public affairs and spent his time in study and the cultivation of the arts, especially architecture. This lasted for thirteen years. Sixtus is a remarkable instance of a great man put aside for a period after a life of activity, and then unexpectedly brought out from his obscurity and raised on a pinnacle for a brief final epoch of his life. And a still more illustrious instance is he of one who, in five short years, found time to immortalise his memory, and carry out at least in great part the plans of a lifetime. The fabled account of his flinging away his crutches when elected is symbolic of the fiery energy with which he devoted himself to the work entrusted to him at the eleventh hour.

Sixtus was a temporal ruler of almost matchless vigour and determination. He began at once the much needed extirpation of the brigands and robbers of the Papal States. These were many thousands in number, and by means of military expeditions, severe police supervision and ruthless executions of the guilty, in a few years the great Pope changed the whole character of his dominions. Nest after nest of criminals was rooted out, and the States of the Church became the safest and most orderly in Europe. Then again he found the finances in a state of disorder. The method of collection was improved, corruption checked, and new imposts begun, so that at his death he left to his successor a treasure in the Castle of St Angelo of more than four million *scudi*. The burden of taxation imposed in order to procure this sum was severely felt by the inhabitants of the papal dominions, and no doubt it went far to render him unpopular at Rome, but it is only fair to add that when the incidence of a particular tax was shown to be too onerous on the poor, Pope Sixtus made haste to withdraw it.

Temporal ruler.

The Pontiff had a great desire to beautify and restore Rome by the erection of public monuments, and was able to carry out several schemes which still remain to stamp the memory of him on his capital. One of these was the

erection of the obelisk known as the Obelisk of Nero, in the vast piazza before St Peter's Church; another was

Public the completion of the cupola of the same
works. church; another was the bringing of the

well-known "Aqua Felice" to Rome on an aqueduct twelve miles long. But, besides these works, he also erected obelisks before the Lateran and St Mary Major, completed the Quirinal Palace, built the Lateran Palace and new buildings for the Vatican Library, restored the columns of Trajan and Antonine in honour of St Peter and St Paul respectively, crowning them with statues of these Holy Apostles, restored many churches, and planned an arrangement of wide avenues and streets which, though only partially carried out in his day, deserves the credit of most of the street-planning which in these days is claimed by the modern Italian government. Several of these works would singly be sufficient to immortalise his name, and yet they were accomplished in five years by a pontiff who was extremely economical in all other ways, and who, under the influence of the Mercantile System, left huge treasures of the precious metals stored up in St Angelo for his successors.

Cardinals The influence of Sixtus on the College of
and Con- Cardinals, and on the administration of the
gregations. Church through them, was not less than his

labours for the renovation of the material splendour of his capital. The cardinals appointed by him were worthy appointments—with the possible exception that his grand-nephew, Alessandro Peretti, was brought into the Sacred College at the age of fourteen, although even he lived to grace the College by his virtues and abilities. But it is rather by his celebrated decree, "*Postquam Verus*," on the 3rd of December, 1588, that he made his mark on this august assembly. It was a bull by which he fixed the number of the cardinals at seventy: six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons, and as a maximum or norma this regulation has been adhered to ever since. Not less striking was the bull "*Immensa*" (of 11th February, 1588), by which fifteen Congregations were appointed, composed of cardinals and lesser prelates and officials, to divide amongst them the routine work of governing the Church. Some of those Congregations, such as the Inquisition, or the Index, had been in existence before, but hitherto the greater part of

the administrative work had been brought up in Consistories of the whole body, and certainly nothing approaching the systematic division of work set on foot by this bull of Sixtus had hitherto been seen. It simplified and cleared away an immense amount of the Pope's own routine work, without lessening his authority, for the decisions of all these Congregations had in some way or other to be referred to him, and with him rested the last word, and if necessary the final judgment.

In scientific and literary matters the restless energy which carried him triumphantly through material work and the difficulties of government, could hardly hope to reach such a satisfactory issue. Sixtus pressed on with the revised version of the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgate in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent. But in this matter haste led to inaccuracy and need of still further revision. The Sixtine Edition appeared from the Vatican Press in 1588, but it contained so many errors and misprints that it was withdrawn after the death of Sixtus, and replaced by a far better and more accurate edition published under the auspices of Clement VIII. in 1592. In his years of retirement as Cardinal, Sixtus had worked at a new edition of the works of St Ambrose, and when he was Pope this was published at the Vatican as the first instalment of a new edition of the Fathers of the Church.

**Literary
editions
of Sixtus'
reign.**

Sixtus V. found the Empire so weakened by the wars against the Reformers and the Turks that it was quite clear no great support of the Church could any longer be looked for there. It was Philip of Spain, then at the height of his power, who was the most powerful monarch in Europe, and also the most devout and thoroughgoing supporter of the interests of the Catholic Faith. Yet the foresight of Sixtus seemed to discern in Philip's plans a striving for universal monarchy on the part of Spain, which Sixtus could not view with favour. It was almost inevitable that Spain should turn to the Holy See for support and moral sanction, and hence Count Olivarez, the able and experienced diplomatist who represented Spain at Rome, was constantly urging the Pontiff to an alliance with his master, and by consequence war against

**Sixtus V.
and Chris-
tendom.**

his master's enemies. But, in spite of his instances, which went to the extreme of insolence and unseemly threats, Sixtus would never commit himself to this policy.

Against England and its Protestant Queen, the Pope was well content that Spain should wage war. And provocation was not wanting. The depredations of Drake and the hostility of Queen Elizabeth's government gave Philip II. considerable reason for war. So, at length, a large naval expedition was fitted out for the invasion of England, and the undertaking was blessed and encouraged by the Pope. But many delays took place before the fleet really sailed, and, as Sixtus complained, many opportunities were lost. When at length this huge Spanish Armada did take to the sea, its misfortunes were only multiplied (1588). Sailing up the Channel, it was attacked and so far damaged by the English fleet that the Duke of Parma refused to allow it to convey his troops over to the English shore from the Netherlands. Being thus unable to effect a successful landing, it was determined to return by the northern passage round Scotland and the Hebrides. Most of the ships were wrecked by the storm during this adventurous voyage, and only a disheartened and insignificant remnant ever reached Spain. Philip II. and the Spanish Supremacy never recovered from this blow, though the King survived for ten years, a changed and melancholy man. However, he did not spare, even then, efforts to make the Pontiff favour his designs upon France and against Henry of Navarre. But Sixtus saw in this the ruin of France as an independent Catholic power, and the danger of the Holy See itself falling into a state of subserviency to Spain. Meanwhile the pressure mercilessly applied by the Spanish agent, Olivarez, and the anxiety and excitement produced by the violent scenes which took place at the interviews with him, seem to have thrown the Pope into a fever, thus indirectly hastening his end. He was careless of his health, would not diet himself, and chafed at medical prescriptions. It was, then, rather unexpectedly that he breathed his last without having had time to receive the last Sacraments on the 27th August, 1590, at the age of sixty-nine. His tomb is in St Mary Major's, in the chapel which forms the shrine of his friend, St Pius V.

Before Sixtus V. died there seemed to be some prospect of his coming to terms with victorious Henry of Navarre. But it did not go further than negotiation and general possibility. And then came three short pontificates which delayed for two longer years any further progress in the same direction. These reigns were those of Urban VII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX. All these pontiffs adhered to the support of Philip II. of Spain, and of the League in France. They were all edifying Churchmen with a record of important services rendered to the Holy See. All had been Fathers of the Council of Trent; all had been made cardinals on the same day by Gregory XIII. in 1583; all were strictly contemporaries, and not differing widely in age—scarcely surpassing the three score years and ten. Cardinal Castagna was at once elected on Sixtus' death, and assumed the name of Urban VII. But he fell sick at once, and being told that precedent required he should not leave the Vatican for a healthier place of sojourn till after his coronation, remained, but did not live to be crowned, dying after a pontificate of twelve days. This time there was more delay, owing to the unwillingness of the conclave to accept any of the nominees of the Spanish monarch, but after two months the very pious Cardinal Sfondrati was chosen. He was not unacceptable to the Spaniards, but by no means their favourite. However, any apprehensions they felt were soon removed by the strong action of Gregory XIV. in favour of the League. The city of Paris got a papal letter urging support of it, Alessandro Farnese was urged to attack Rouen, and money was sent to give still further aid. Unfortunately, however, for their hopes, Gregory died after ten months, and was succeeded by Cardinal Fachinetti who had been his right hand in the administration of the papal affairs, yet here again but little time was given him to inaugurate a line of policy. He followed the footsteps of his two predecessors for the remaining two months of 1591, and then likewise followed them into the shadow of death (30th December), leaving several theological and philosophical works which have not so far been published.

**Three
short
pontificates
(1590-1592).**

Innocent IX.
(1591).

CHAPTER III.

THE PACIFICATION OF FRANCE.

(1592-1618).

SIXTUS V. had never been reconciled to Henry of Navarre, but the latter was winning all along the line. The forces of the Leaguers were unequal to meet him in pitched battle, as it was proved over and over again, and especially in the fields of Coutras (1587), Arques (1589), and Ivry (1590). The Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Guise, were both assassinated by the order of Henry III.; and then Henry himself fell by the hand of Jacques Clément in 1589. Both factions being thus weakened, there seemed scarcely an obstacle strong enough to stand between Henry of Navarre and the French throne. There was, it is true, the fatal bar of his religion, for Henry was still a Calvinist, but when in 1592 he professed his willingness to inquire into the Catholic religion, and later on declared his conviction of its truth, his acknowledgment as King of France was only a question of time. In fact in 1593 he was acknowledged by the leaders of the different parties, and his reign dates from that year. His conversion to the Catholic Faith took place under circumstances that gave colour to the impression that it was prompted by political motives, and there were not wanting counsellors who advised him to this step on worldly grounds, even such as the Protestant Sully, who admitted that after all salvation was possible in the Catholic Faith. And it is more likely that it is to Sully rather than to Henry that we owe the worldly wise remark: "Paris is well worth a Mass." In any case, Henry would not change his religion without ample inquiry and discussion. Duperron, himself a convert from Calvinism, exerted himself in argument with the

King, and in public conference with the Huguenots at Nantes and Fontainebleau, to prove the truth and necessity of the Catholic doctrine, and it was more his exposition of dogma than anything else that convinced the King. Having gone into everything thoroughly he was reconciled with the Church at St Denys by the Archbishop of Bourges in 1593.

Meanwhile, in spite of the violent opposition of the Spanish cardinals, Aldobrandini had been the choice of the conclave, and had taken the name of Clement VIII. He was eminently fitted to take his due place in the great events that were happening in France, but he was very far from rushing into the arms of the newly converted Huguenot at the first invitation.

**Clement
VIII.**
(1592-1605),
and
Henry IV.

The first envoys from France were not received by the Pope, and for a long time he was disposed to make such conditions that many of those around him feared that it would end in a schism in France. At last, however, Clement seems to have been convinced both of the sincerity of the Bourbon king, and of the expediency of making peace with him for the good of the Church.

And finally in 1595 Duperron, Henry's trusty envoy and counsellor, was admitted to see the Pope, and the conditions were arranged.

**Henry
absolved.**
(1595).

Clement then solemnly absolved Henry from excommunication at a solemn ceremony in the portico of St Peter's.

Henry IV. henceforward devoted himself to a policy of peace, reorganising the interior of his realm, and making France respected abroad. The Edict of Nantes granted liberty of worship to the Calvinists (1598). The Treaty of Vervins (1598) made an honourable peace with Spain. After his marriage with Margaret of Valois had been duly annulled by the Holy See, he married Mary de Medicis. But his private life was always free and licentious. He ever after kept on good terms with Rome, though his appointments of unworthy pastors, such as his own illegitimate son, to French bishoprics, gave lawful cause of complaint to the popes. He was assassinated by Ravallac in 1610.

But there can be little doubt that it was these events which laid the foundations of the future greatness of France, both in religion and politics, and the Roman

pontiffs, especially Clement VIII., showed a far-sighted wisdom in co-operating with the trend of French developments, and helping to secure a united power of first rank in Western Europe, which was Catholic, whereas it narrowly escaped being Huguenot, or at least divided in a way prejudicial to Catholic unity. It may be argued indeed that with Catholicism there came back to France also that Gallicanism which later on put too much authority in the hands of the king, and led to trouble with the Roman See. And yet, surely the gain was greater than the loss. The most the League could have won would have been one portion of France devotedly Catholic, and another, and not an unimportant one, dominantly Huguenot.

The friendship of Henry IV. facilitated for the Pope the acquisition of Ferrara at the death of Alfonso d'Este in 1597. This prince had no children, so, once assured of the support of the French monarch, Clement resolved to recover the duchy for the States of the Church. Spain put forward an illegitimate cousin of the late duke, Cesare d'Este, as his heir, but the Pontiff refused to acknowledge his claims, and his army was able to take possession of the duchy with but small opposition. Clement then went with a great train of cardinals to take possession of the city, various privileges were granted to the inhabitants, and the matter ended with an unqualified success for the Holy See.

But whatever service the support of France rendered the Pope in the matter of Ferrara was amply returned by the help given by the Holy See in the conclusion of the Treaty of Vervins between France and Spain in 1598, for this treaty was so favourable to France that it is often pointed out to us as the turning point towards the French supremacy, and the first step in the downfall of Spain. King Philip II. died in the same year, 1598, and was succeeded by his son Philip III., consequently there can be little doubt that this date marks the beginning of the decay of the Spanish power. Just when the growth of France made a stronger hand than ever necessary at the helm, the sceptre fell into the grasp of a son who, pious as he was, was feeble and far inferior to his father as a ruler. He helped the Irish Catholics by sending an expedition to that country, he expelled the Moriscos or

Moors settled in Spain, from the land, but leaving public affairs greatly in the hands of favourites, the declension of Spanish power went on apace.

Tortured though he was by gout in spite of his abstemious life, Clement VIII. retained a marvellous capacity for work, and dealt in person with the detailed intricacies of the affairs of moment that came up for his decision. Thus it was that he gave the most unremitting attention to the arguments on both sides, which ended in his pronouncing the marriage of Henry IV. with Margaret of Valois null and void. So too he presided in person at the meetings of the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, which he had formed for the discussion of the disputed problems on the nature and working of Grace. All this time Clement's own life was of the most exemplary and edifying character. He was the spiritual follower of St Philip Neri, and the learned Oratorian Baronius was his Confessor. He confessed daily, and each morning said Mass, often with tears of devotion. He was so mild and gentle in disposition that he can only be likened to his master, St Philip, and yet this kindness of heart was far removed from weakness. And in fact it fell to his lot to witness several stern acts of justice done in Rome in his name, at least as sovereign, and presumably with his approval. Not even Sixtus V. was a firmer ruler to root out the ever-renewed banditti of Italy. And in 1599 took place the execution of Beatrice Cenci for the murder of her father, amid a tangle of domestic depravity and vice. In the following years there also suffered at Rome Giordano Bruno (1600), an ex-Dominican whose wild speculations were rather those of a pagan philosopher than those of a Christian. After leaving the Dominicans, Bruno had broken with the Church, and wandered in turn into the various Protestant capitals, posing as a friend of Protestantism and the enemy of the Papacy. However, he was excommunicated both by the Calvinists and Lutherans, and at last found his way to Venice, where he was tried by the Council of the Republic. He was later given up to the Roman Inquisition, and imprisoned in St Angelo. At last after trial and his refusal to abjure his errors, he was handed over to the civil power and burned at the stake in the Campo dei Fiori on the 17th of February, 1600.

Government
of Clement
VIII.

516 THE STORY OF THE CHURCH

If the pontificate of Clement VIII. be fairly weighed, it must be conceded that it meant a tremendous forward movement in the Catholic Revival, and divides with that of Paul V. the honour of recording its high-water mark. When the Jubilee celebrations in 1600 brought 3,200,000 pilgrims to Rome, there was much to rejoice and be thankful for. Clement VIII. died at the age of seventy in 1605, and was buried in Sta Maria Maggiore, where an elaborate monument, raised by the Borghesi, marks his resting-place.

While the reception of Henry IV. into the Church, and his subsequent loyal relations with the Holy See, prepared the way for the complete restoration of the Catholic religion once more in France, Savoy produced a great saint, who worked at the same noble cause from without the realm, and with yet higher methods. This was the holy bishop St Francis of Sales. Born of the most aristocratic stock of Savoy in 1567, he was intended by his father for the magistracy, and for this purpose most thoroughly educated in letters and law at Paris and Padua. He gained his doctorate in 1592, and had a bright career in public affairs marked out for him, when he determined to embrace the ecclesiastical state. This was a great blow to the ambition of his family, but the Bishop of Geneva made it easier for them to bear by gaining for him the office of Provost of his diocese, highest rank next to his own. It was in this office that he undertook his arduous labours to bring back the Protestants of the Chablais to Catholicism. In the course of five years he was eminently successful, but at the cost of exhausting labours and sufferings. No less than 72,000 Calvinists are said to have been won back by his efforts: one of the greatest missionary results recorded for us. He was then made coadjutor to the Bishop, and on the latter's death, in 1602, Bishop of Geneva. In this office he was able to work for the Catholic religion not only in Savoy, but in France also, where he preached much, and was on terms of friendship with Henry IV., Cardinal de Berulle, and St Vincent de Paul. In France too he met the Baroness de Chantal, who under his direction became St Jane Frances and the co-founder of his Visitation Order in 1607.

By his works he became one of the classic writers

of the French language, and extended his Apostolate still further than France, until on account of them he is now acknowledged as Doctor of the Universal Church. In his "*Controversies*" and "*Standard of the Cross*" he defends the Catholic doctrine from the attacks of the Calvinists. In "*Philothea*" he gives a practical rule of life to those who living in the world yet aspire to a perfect life. In his "*Treatise of the Love of God*" he draws out the character and qualities of that Divine charity which is the all-sufficient bond of perfection. In his "*Conferences*," "*Sermons*," and "*Letters*" are to be found what Clement VIII., who admired him greatly, called "fountains where the world may quench its thirst." Though a model of gentleness and moderation, leading a most innocent life, and born of a noble stock, his life was not after all a long one, for he was struck with apoplexy, and died at Lyons in 1622 at the age of fifty-five, a time when other saints and eminent Churchmen have been at the beginning or the midday of their career.

Soon after the successful labours of St Francis de Sales for the recovery of the Chablais from Protestantism, came the equally heroic work of St Fidelis of Sigmaringen, somewhat farther east. **St Fidelis of Sigmaringen.** Sigmaringen is in that part of Upper Germany known as Hohenzollern. (1577-1622). There was Fidelis born in 1577, and after a youth spent first at Freiburg University, and in turn as tutor, barrister, and secular priest, he joined the Capuchin Order. His special attraction to labour for heretics was favoured by his superiors, even from the first, and he exerted himself in this way to the utmost extent of his power, both by preaching and by his pen. It was when Guardian of the Convent at Feldkirch that he was given charge of the missions in the Grisons country. A most successful missionary tour brought many back to the Church, though it excited the anger of the Swiss Calvinists. He returned to his convent, but sallying forth on a second expedition into the same country in 1622, he was seized by the Calvinists, and offered the choice between apostasy and death. Struck to the ground, he was slain on the spot, being the first martyr of the newly founded Propaganda. His body was carried back to Feldkirch, where it lies.

To revert to affairs at Rome, when Clement VIII. died, it was but natural that the friends of Spain should try to secure the election of a candidate who would favour their kingdom rather than France, or who at least might be presumed to be neutral.

Leo XI.

(1605).

And thus it was that two illustrious cardinals, Baronius the historian, and Bellarmin the theologian, were in turn put forward as candidates in the succeeding conclave, but in vain. Meanwhile Henry IV. had been working might and main through his agents for the election of Alessandro di Medicis. This cardinal, who was a grand-nephew of Leo X., and who as Archbishop of Florence had been present already at five conclaves, was at last elected by acclamation, as it was called. He took the name Leo, after his grand-uncle of that name, and great exultation was shown at the French Court on his election. After some days, however, a malady showed itself, which quickly developed a fatal character, and on the 29th of April he died, after twenty-six days of pontificate, and the Holy See was again vacant.

The ensuing conclave was not unlike the one held so lately before, the *personnel* being almost the same, and the contending interests identical.

Paul V.

(1605-1621)

**and the
Venetians.**

In this case, however, a compromise was reached by the election of Cardinal Borghese, who was a studious Canonist, aloof so far from all parties, who had been made Cardinal Vicar by Clement VIII. He was fifty-five, but looked younger, and set to work for the advancement of the power of the papal see, with great independence in face of the powers of the world, but with an uncompromising high hand, which sometimes gave his conduct an appearance of severity and even haughtiness. All things were judged from the standpoint of the trained Canonist, and as thirty-five years' experience had made the Pontiff an expert in legal matters, the advice of the cardinals, less versed than himself in councils and decrees, counted for little in his eyes. This disposition of mind was sure to bring him sooner or later into collision with the European Powers, but at first none seemed inclined to break with the Pope.

It was left to the cautious diplomacy of the Venetian Republic to measure its strength against his uncompromising claims. Two Venetian ecclesiastics, accused

on grave charges, had been seized and imprisoned by the Republic without any reference to the canonical immunity of the clergy, and when the Pontiff protested, the Venetians declared they were acting according to their laws. Paul laid Venice under an Interdict, which was, however, not observed by the clergy, either secular or regular, with the exception of the Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins. These three orders then had to leave Venice. A long controversy was carried on in which the Venetians were defended by the well-known Servite Friar, Paolo Sarpi (1551-1623), and the Holy See was championed by the two learned cardinals, Baronius and Bellarmin. There was talk of actual war between the Roman See and the Republic, but the opportunity which this would have given to the Protestants and to the Spaniards was urged to deter both sides from strife. Henry IV. sent Cardinal Joyeuse to endeavour to effect a reconciliation, and by his mediation an arrangement was arrived at. The two ecclesiastics were given up, the Venetians vaguely promising they would do their accustomed duty, and thereupon Paul V. withdrew the Interdict. It was not a very cordial peace, but it was better than open warfare.

Paul V. meant Rome to be a worthy centre of the exalted papal power as he conceived it, and many great buildings and public works bear testimony to his magnificence and love of the Arts. He it was who first saw the completion of St Peter's Basilica, in which he constructed the Great Confession, and whose façade he adorned with statues. The Quirinal Palace, where he often lived, owes its elegant finish to him. The Borghese Chapel in St Mary Major is another artistic memorial of this Pontiff. He it was who patronised the artist Guido Reni. He it was who brought the Aqua Paola to Rome along a noble aqueduct. And other stately works owe their origin to the members of his family, whom he raised to high office and enriched. Thus the Borghese Villa on the Pincian was built by his nephew, Scipio Borghese, whom he brought into the Sacred College.

**Paul V.,
Patron of
Art.**

But it is only the bare truth to say that Paul V. was quite as much bent on enhancing the spiritual splendours of the Church as he was on external magnificence. Quite a number of religious institutes, including the French

Oratory, the Ursulines, and the Visitation Nuns, founded by St Francis of Sales, owed their approval to him. His too was the voice which proclaimed the canonisation of St Charles and St Frances, and the beatification of St Philip, St Ignatius, St Francis Xavier, and St Theresa. That the energy of the Church's champions might not be wasted on vain disputes with one another, he urged the Congregation *De Auxiliis* to end the disputes between the Jesuits and Dominicans on Divine Grace. This Congregation finally left both sides free to follow their own theory, so long as they did not condemn the other. The Pontiff intervened also in a dispute between the Dominicans and Franciscans in Spain on the Immaculate Conception, forbidding that doctrine to be expressly called in question or denied. Paul V. died a septuagenarian on the 28th of January, 1621, after two strokes of apoplexy. His remains lie in the most gorgeous of all Roman art-shrines—the Borghese Chapel at St Mary Major.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

(1618-1648).

THERE was to be another long and complicated struggle, involving nearly all the lands that the Reformation had touched, before the attempt was given up to reach a decision by force of arms. This contest is known as the Thirty Years' War. It had its origin in a provision of the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555. In that agreement, though much latitude was allowed to individual princes and their subjects to choose between Catholicism and Protestantism, it was expressly laid down that no ecclesiastical see or abbacy should in future be secularised or taken by the reformers. But this provision had not been kept. Two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics and various abbeys had been reformed and secularised before the century was out. The resistance to this on the part of the Catholics, and their efforts, not only to prevent further aggression, but to recover some of the power and place they had in this way lost, led to the formation in 1608 of the Evangelical Union among the Protestant princes, with the avowed object of supporting the Bohemian Utraquists, so called from their demand for Communion under both kinds, who were in rebellion against the empire. The Catholics responded in 1609 by the formation of the Holy League, at the head of which stood Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

It was several years, however, before hostilities really broke out. Frederic, the Elector Palatine, a Protestant, nephew of Maurice of Saxony, who had married the daughter of James I. of England, claimed the throne of Bohemia, and was thus able to support his own interests and those of the Bohemian Protestants by hostile action

against the emperor. The emperor took the field in person, and the cause of the Elector was supported by the celebrated general, Count Mansfeld, while James I. also sent a body of troops to the assistance of his son-in-law. The war went on with varying success, both in Bohemia and the Palatinate, until Ferdinand II. completely overthrew the Bohemians and their supporters at the Battle of Prague, and the Imperial party was for the moment triumphant. This first period of the war (1618-1625) is sometimes known as the Palatine Period.

The second period of the war began with the advance of Christian IV., King of Denmark, against the emperor, but the Imperialist generals—Tilly in the Low Countries, and Wallenstein in the north of Germany—were able to conduct several campaigns with success against the German Protestant princes, even with all the help that Christian and his Danes could give them, and in 1629 Christian was effectively driven back, and the Peace of Lubeck (1629) secured peace between the emperor and the Danish king. This was the Danish Period.

But now a more formidable antagonist came forward to do battle with the empire in the person of Gustavus Adolphus, the able and romantic King of Sweden. And his campaigns in Germany form what is known as the Swedish Period of the war (1630-1635). There had been dissension in the League. Wallenstein, whose loyalty was not above suspicion, was in disgrace; and these facts, coupled with the military ability of Gustavus, and the prowess of his small but well-equipped Swedish army, put a new complexion on the struggle. Gustavus was victorious at Leipzig or Breitenfeld, and was again winning the day at Lutzen, when he was killed in the hour of victory (1632). The Swedish generals, though useful assistants to their king, were neither possessed of his influence nor his genius. The emperor came to terms with Wallenstein and the League, and winning the battle of Nordlingen (1634), the Swedes were eventually driven out of Germany into their native Scandinavia, and their participation in the contest was henceforth limited to the hiring of mercenaries (1635).

France, the most powerful enemy of the empire, after long secretly aiding the others, now openly declared its aims, and Cardinal Richelieu, guiding the French policy,

threw his weight into the scale, and at last paralysed all the successes which the Catholic League had gained both over the German princes and foreign kings. The emperor struggled on for several years, but Condé, the greatest soldier of his time, was at the head of the French army, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians and Spaniards at Rocroy (1643). This is the French Period.

Paul V. reigned for sixteen years, but when he expired in 1621, he left the Catholic cause greatly in the ascendant. One after another the Protestant princes were going down before the arms of the empire, and it seemed as though, if the emperor could secure the unanimous support of Catholics with the Pope at their head, the Protestant cause would be brought low indeed. But this was not to be. There was another view of looking at the war in Germany, and that was to consider it as an aggression, not for the triumph of the Church, but to secure the predominance of the House of Austria. And this was the view taken by Richelieu and the French. But for the present all went well with the Imperial arms—and the next Pope was a warm friend of the empire. Alessandro Ludovisi had won his way at the Roman court under three successive pontiffs, and had been nuncio in France with notable success. Still he was not in Rome when the conclave at the death of Paul V. began, and Cardinal Bellarmine was again the favourite candidate. He, however, being unwilling to accept the onerous dignity, suggested La Rochefoucauld, while many turned their thoughts to Frederic Borromeo.

**Attitude of
the Holy
See as to
the war.**

While these things were in progress, Cardinal Ludovisi arrived, and the minds of the electors turned towards him so speedily that very shortly he had the requisite votes, and was elected. He chose the name of Gregory XV. He was already sixty-seven, and of a very frail and delicate constitution, but of great talents and experience. He created Cardinal his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi, and used his assistance in dealing with the multitude of affairs which already overtaxed his broken strength. With regard to the war in Germany, he had no hesitation as to the part becoming the Holy See, and doubled the subsidy sent to the emperor. He also made ready to assist him

**Gregory
XV.
(1621-1623).**

with troops, and Ferdinand advanced from one success to another. Gregory devoted himself, with all the strength he could summon, to the inward growth of the Church and the development of her life against her enemies. He instituted various charitable works for the good of the Church, approved several religious orders, and canonised SS. Ignatius, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, and Theresa. To him the Roman See is also indebted for the document settling in detail the ceremonial and procedure in the conclave to elect a pope, wherein he distinguishes the four methods of *scrutiny*, *accession*, *compromise*, and *acclamation*. But Gregory was already a worn-out old man when elected, and did not survive to govern the Church much over two years. He died in his seventieth year on the 8th of July, 1623.

The Spanish and French partisans were busy at work to secure a pontiff favourable to their respective policies, and it seemed as though the conclave would be a very protracted one. One name after another was brought forward without success. Cardinal Camillo Barberini was looked upon as neutral, or at least as bound by various ties to both sides, so that this led at last to those who could not carry a more pronounced candidate, settling upon him by mutual agreement. Still, the influence of Cardinal Maurice of Savoy proved to be the dominant one, and he forecasted the future with great perspicacity. Cardinal Barberini took the name of Urban VIII.

The new Pope had distinguished himself as nuncio in France, and certainly entered on his office with the highest intentions. Prostrate before the altar, he prayed that he might die rather than live for a pontificate which would not be beneficial to the Church. He was indeed attacked by the plague, and his coronation had therefore to be postponed, but soon recovering, the ceremony took place, and Urban lived to rule the Church for one and twenty years. And he did so at first almost single-handed. The consultations and audiences did not count for much; the Pope discoursed nearly the whole time, and was little disposed to trust to the judgment of others. As the years went on, the influence of the Barberini family became greater. Lucrative and dominant offices were entrusted to them one after another. One nephew, Francesco, was made Cardinal at once, and the same dignity was after-

wards bestowed on another nephew, and on a brother of the Pope, who both bore the name of Antonio. Ranke estimates the riches amassed by the Barberini family at one hundred and five million *scudi*. But all this money was not wasted, and Rome owed to them the Barberini Library, as well as several public buildings of note.

The French influence at the papal election had been so far successful that Urban modified the papal attitude with regard to the Thirty Years' War from a thorough support of the emperor and the Catholic League to neutrality, at least as far as France was concerned; and if that struggle be regarded as a quarrel between France and Austria, rather than between Catholic and Protestant, he was no doubt right. Yet even so, this attitude probably contributed to neutralise the gains of the Catholic side, and to lead to the drawn game which was ratified in the Peace of Westphalia. At any rate, it was a great blow to the empire. Urban was willing to some extent to subsidise the Catholic troops, but refused to join the League; yet he spent vast sums on fortifications and walls of defence and military affairs. He certainly held that the Holy See should be able to hold its own with material strength, as well as with the arm of the spirit. And he was drawn into war with Farnese, Duke of Parma, through the offence which the latter gave at Rome to the Pope's nephews. Urban forbade the export of grain from the duchy into the papal dominions, and seized the town of Castro. Farnese invaded the Roman states at the head of an army, and was excommunicated by Urban. In the end Farnese won, defeating the papal troops, and forcing the Pontiff to conclude an humiliating peace, by which he took off all censures, and restored to the Duke all the places he had taken.

Delle Rovere, Duke of Urbino, made over his duchy to the Holy See, so this meant some increase in the States of the Church. And Urban and his nephews administered the interior government of Rome with considerable splendour. To the Barberini Palace, which he had built as Cardinal, he now added the beautiful villa at Castel Gandolfo, and all over Rome the still visible Barberini arms of the three bees testify how widely he built to beautify the city and its churches. The baldachino over

**Urban and
the League.**

**Urban
the
Prince.**

the High Altar in St Peter's is his, as well as tombs for himself and the Countess Matilda. It was the device of stripping the lead from the roof of the Pantheon for some of his new buildings that prompted the truly Roman sarcasm: "What the barbarians spared, the Barberini have taken."

As death drew near the aged Pope had scruples with regard to the honours lavished on his family, and summoned to his side several eminent theologians, the foremost of whom was Cardinal De Lugo, to investigate whether his nephews might lawfully retain the offices and the wealth they had gained. Twice the committee debated the question, and both times the answer was in the affirmative. We must suppose that this quieted the conscience of the Pontiff, and allowed him to die in peace. A refined classical scholar, Urban composed a considerable number of Latin hymns and poems, some of which were incorporated in the Breviary published by his orders in 1631. The corrections were hastily made, and Urban's own hymns seem to fit not too well with the simplicity of the rest of the Divine Office. The Pope breathed his last at the age of seventy-seven, after receiving the last Sacraments, on the 7th of July, 1644, and was buried in St. Peter's.

Cardinal Pamfili, whom the votes of his fellow-cardinals placed in the pontifical chair after a conclave which lasted a little over a month, was a native of Gubbio, **Innocent X.** (1644-1655). of noble descent, and well fitted by his gifts and previous career to reflect lustre on the papacy. His uncle had been Cardinal and Governor of Rome, and in 1627 Urban VIII., when he returned from the nunciature in Spain, had raised him to the Sacred College. The election seems to have been a popular one, especially with those who thought that Urban VIII. had not supported the empire properly in its struggle against the Protestant princes. Innocent X. was desirous of reversing his predecessor's action in this matter, but it was almost too late. The intervention of France and Richelieu had been decisive, and negotiations were going on for a compromise, as the recovery of any further losses for the Church could clearly not be obtained.

Still the Pope sent his representative, Cardinal Fabio Chigi, to Munster, where the Powers were assembled to make peace. Many things were agreed upon there which

seemed to be opposed to the rights of the papacy, and Chigi argued, protested, and did his best to defend the high interests committed to him. The Pontiff afterwards sent forth a bull condemning those provisions of the treaties which infringed on the rights of the Church. It was in conformity with the same line of policy that he also refused to recognise the independence of Portugal, which had thrown off the rule of Philip IV., King of Spain. To take a line of this kind was naturally disliked by Cardinal Mazarin, who, now that Richelieu was dead, guided the public affairs of the French realm. And it was to France that the Barberini cardinals fled, when called upon to give an account of the vast riches they had acquired during the last pontificate. Yet, as time went on, a reconciliation was effected between this family and the Pamfili connections, and, if they would, they were free to return to Rome.

Innocent X. may be thought to have lapsed somewhat from the energy and sagacity of his early years of reign before the decade which comprised his pontificate had come to an end. Being over seventy when elected, he lived to be eighty-two. As the close of his life drew near, he fell under the influence of his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia Madelchini. This able and ambitious woman, once installed near the aged Pope, made herself indispensable to him. She passed from one part to another of the palace, was now in the kitchen, and now in the dining-room, and kept all rival influences at a distance. It is said that the old man groaned at the yoke he had allowed to be put on him, but had no longer the vigour to cast it off. On the 7th of January, 1655, he died, and then days elapsed before there was anyone to care for his funeral. Donna Olympia excused herself as a poor widow, and finally it was only the gratitude of a certain canon, whom Innocent had befriended, that procured for him funeral rites.

The exhaustion which the long strain of the Thirty Years' War had brought upon all Europe, and more especially upon Germany, rendered the task of the peacemakers, who met at the end of the Thirty Years' War, all the easier. (1648). The Peace of Westphalia really included several treaties made separately by the various combatant nations. The delegates from the empire met the

The Peace of Westphalia.

French representatives at Munster, and the Swedes at Osnabruck in 1643. Spain and Holland both sent envoys to Munster in 1645, and a little later the papal nuncio, Chigi, and a Venetian ambassador, also appeared. The Treaty of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain, though concluded much later, may with some reason be considered as connected with the same general settlement of European affairs (1659).

The various states of the German empire were to revert to the religious profession they had in 1624, on the principle: "*Cujus regio, illius religio*," or a man must follow the religion of his country, some allowance being made for individual freedom of conscience. France received the three bishoprics of Metz, Verdun, and Toul, and found its power in Europe immensely strengthened. Holland at once, and later on Spain, yielded all claim to the Catholic Netherlands. Sweden gained admittance to the Diet. The Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire was modified in the sense of giving more independence from the Imperial overlordship to the minor rulers; while, on the other hand, the power of the House of Hapsburg over its hereditary dominions in Austria was consolidated and strengthened. But in Church affairs this general arrangement meant the recognition that the Catholic revival had received a check, and that the relations between Catholic and Protestant nations were to be those of a Balance of Power.

CHAPTER V.

THE SPIRIT AND INSTRUMENTS OF THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

(1534-1648).

EUROPE had now, under the influence of the Renaissance, and the immense development of secular life, fairly broken away from the tutelage of the Catholic Church. Many of the nations had thrown off all obedience to her, even in religious matters, and the defections seemed likely to spread still further. Hence there was need of strenuous efforts, and of strong and sustained measures to arrest the tide, and to recover, if possible, some of the ground that had been lost. And the Church was not without far-seeing statesmen, and what was even more to the point, not without devoted and apostolic men—nay saints, to give their lives for this great cause. And by common consent the work was done. Some of the means taken may not have been those that would commend themselves to those living in the easy times of peace, and even the wisest and best measures would be tinged in their execution by the imperfections of the human instruments—the human element would be there, then as ever—but the revival became a beneficent reality. The Protestant movement was checked, and even if all the old ground could not be reoccupied, this was greatly compensated for by the advance of the missionary leaders of the kingdom into the vast regions of the New World.

Europe
becomes
secular.

But to return to the centre. The new spirit of fervour and holiness of life had at last taken firm hold of the centre of the Church government—the Roman Court. When the Supreme Ruler was a most ascetic saint, like Pius V., and when cardinals and theologians like St Charles Borromeo, and Bellarmin, and Pole set the tone,

Reform at
Rome.

we are in an atmosphere higher and purer than that of the Renaissance Rome, and inasmuch as the College of Cardinals had the choice of the Pope, as well as being his chief counsellors, the tone and status of the Sacred College and the supernatural standpoint of the Pope by their correspondence exerted a mutual action. It was one of the greatest benefits that Paul III. conferred on the Church, that he remodelled this all-important body, and made it a fit instrument for reform.

And it would be hard to exaggerate the influence of the General Council held at Trent, so surrounded with obstacles, and so sparsely attended at first, and yet patiently pursuing its labours under the encouragement of pontiff after pontiff, and cardinal legates one after the other, till after eighteen years it had finished a gigantic work. It had given forth a volume of dogmatic decrees which mark an epoch in the theology of the Church. It had given system and unity to a multitude of disciplinary decrees, which meant, when they were put into execution, a thorough renewal of the interior life of the Church. It had set on foot a restoration of liturgy and worship which afterwards, in the hands of such men as Pius V. and Sixtus V., had helped largely to a new order of things, replacing variety, and to some extent disorder, by a world-wide unity and regularity. It had defined what was vague, it had drawn clearly the dividing line between the Catholic reformers and the heretical ones, and thus gave a solidity and distinctness to the boundaries of the Church, which at any rate had not been seized by the mass of the faithful in the ages before. It is because of these characteristics that it is sometimes criticised by those outside the Church, who prefer the vague indefiniteness of not knowing exactly where they stand in government, or even in doctrine, to the clear precision of what they are pleased to call Post-Tridentine Catholicism.

As it was in past ages, so was it again now. The Catholic Church was able to count on the services of societies or institutes, moulded by chosen souls in her own bosom, and then approved by her, and sent forth to grapple with the chief needs of the age. The Reformation led to the growth of religious orders specially suited to

**Council
of
Trent.**

(1545-1563).

**New
religious
orders.**

grappling with the problems it raised. It also led to an almost equally remarkable revival of some of the older institutes. The general name given to the religious institutes founded in answer to the needs of the time was that of Clerks Regular. The first example of this form of the religious life is given by the Theatines, founded by St Cajetan in 1524. John Peter Caraffa, later on Paul IV., may be considered co-founder with St Cajetan; and he it was who, as Sovereign Pontiff, approved the order. It was to devote itself to general elevation of the standard of the sacerdotal life, with an especial care for the splendour of the divine worship, and a life of extreme poverty in absolute dependence on the care of Divine Providence. In 1530 came the Barnabites, so called after the Church of St Barnabas at Milan, which was their centre. Founded by three Milanese clergymen, Antonio Maria Zaccaria, Bartolomeo Ferrari, and James Anthony Morigia, they bound themselves to a life of austerity, and to the office of teaching and preaching. One of their members, the Blessed Alexander Sauli, attained such success in the missionary field that he is known as the Apostle of Corsica. In 1528 St Jerome Emilian founded the Clerks Regular of Somascha for the care and instruction of the poor, especially of orphan children.

But by far the most celebrated and influential of the new religious foundations of this period was that of the Society of Jesus, which owes its origin to Ignatius of Loyola, a Spanish gentleman who, after giving himself to a military career, being wounded at the Siege of Pampeluna in 1521, devoted himself, during his convalescence, to spiritual reading, and was by it drawn from the world to devote his energies to God and His Kingdom. Having made a long retreat at Manresa, near the well-known Sanctuary of Montserrat, he composed the "*Spiritual Exercises*," which have ever since been regarded as one of the most striking and enlightened manuals of the interior life which the Church possesses. Having at last decided that God called him to found a new religious order, he proceeded with dauntless courage to equip himself for the task by taking his place among the young scholars at the universities of Alcala, Salamanca, and Paris. It was at the last-named place that he took his Doctor's Degree, and having surrounded himself with a band of chosen followers—Peter

Jesuits.
(1534).

Faber, Francis Xavier, James Lainez, Alphonsus Salmeron, Nicholas Bobadilla, and James Rodriguez—he laid the foundations of the Society of Jesus at Montmartre in 1534, adding to the three vows of religion a fourth, to go on any foreign mission to which the Pope might send them. They were to teach the youth of the cities where they lived, they were to confute the heretics, and to preach the Gospel to the heathen.

Going to Rome, Ignatius secured the approbation of his institute from Paul III. in 1540, and from that time it filled a career of ever-extending usefulness as the years went on. The fervour and zeal of its first members proved so attractive that many of the noblest characters and brightest intellects in the Church were drawn to enter its ranks. It is impossible to mention even a tithe of the learned and holy men who thus enrolled themselves under the standard of St Ignatius. Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia (1510-1572) joined the society in 1548 and after the death of St Ignatius and Father Lainez, became the third General of the society. Peter Canisius joined in 1543, and later on attained a success and a commanding influence over the fortunes of the Catholic revival in Germany which it is hard to equal. From the ranks of Anglican Oxford they had Blessed Edmund Campion, the martyr, and Father Parsons. From France they had Le Jay and others. And then came the growth of an unrivalled array of writers and theologians—Cardinal Bellarmin, Francis Vasquez, Suarez, De Lugo, Ripalda, and a host of others too numerous to repeat.

The generalate of Father Claudius Aquaviva, and the influence he exerted, led to a greater systematisation both of the Order of Studies and of the organisation of the society. But in every department of the Church's life the Jesuits were always in the forefront, and always great and admirable. We shall have occasion to refer again to the attacks made upon them by the enemies of the Church in the eighteenth century. The first century of their existence (1534-1648) was undeniably the age that produced many of their greatest men, and though numerically they grew considerably even after that, if our minds turn to the typical examples of Jesuit learning and Jesuit zeal, we shall think first of those early champions of the Faith, S. Peter Canisius, B. Robert Bellarmin, and S. Francis Xavier, who pointed out the path for their successors.

It has been noted above that that development of national life which accompanied the Renaissance came forward in Spain almost before any other part of mediaeval Christendom. Hence it need not surprise us that in the period which saw the chief nations rise in turn to the first place in Europe, the Spanish supremacy came first. But what does not seem so very obvious at first is that the period of political leadership should also be the one in which spiritual leadership should also belong to that nation—the age of its saints—yet that was emphatically so in the Spain of the sixteenth century. Perhaps we ought to begin with B. John of Avila, who chronologically would come first (1500-1569), and who besides had a very strong influence on the saints and holy ones who looked to him for guidance. He was the most exclusively Spanish of them all. But alongside of his influence came that of St Ignatius, the mightiest and most far-reaching of all, with his Spanish disciples, Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia. And then came the holy nun, who was from Avila, as B. John was, but who was guided more than he by the sons of St Ignatius, namely St Teresa (1515-1582). This heroic and fascinating woman was instrumental in the foundation of no less than thirty-two new religious houses, and at the same time by her “*Autobiography*” and “*Book of Foundations*,” with other devotional works, is held by many to be only debarred by her sex from the honours of Doctor of the Church. Her coadjutor, especially in the reformation of the Friars, St John of the Cross (1542-1591), has also enriched Catholic Literature with the “*Ascent of Mount Carmel*,” the “*Living Flame of Love*,” and other works. The double work of founding the Carmelite Nuns and reforming the Carmelite Friars was paralleled, however, by similar work for the Franciscans done by St Peter of Alcantara, while the Dominicans had their St Louis Bertrand (1526-1581), and the Augustinians their St Thomas of Villanova (1488-1555), who became Archbishop of Valencia. It is related that on one occasion in Spain, seven saints, since canonised, were to be found together in one room—an almost unexampled occurrence, surpassed only by the gathering in the Cenacle at Jerusalem.

Simultaneously with the great losses which the Church

had to endure in Europe in consequence of the Protestant movements, came great gains in the New World and in the Old World beyond Europe by an unexampled growth of missionary enterprise. Even if the missionary

Foreign missions. a hievements of any former age are thought to rival those of the Reformation period, this much is certain, that we have no reliable chronicle of them to compare with the glorious story of the spread of the Faith at this epoch, both East and West. As we have already seen, the discovery of the way by sea to the East Indies, and to that New World which by mistake the navigators called the West Indies, has been spoken of in the Renaissance Period, to which it properly belongs. Spain and Portugal proceeded hand in hand along this honourable and adventurous path to national glory, and as both these nations were thoroughly Catholic, the work of evangelisation could not but blend with those of discovery and conquest. Hence it was that religious men, especially Dominicans and Franciscans, had their place both in the voyages of Columbus and in those of Vasco de Gama. Las Casas has a sort of claim to the first place among the missionaries of the New World, but he, though he became a Dominican, and later Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, was not a missionary pure and simple; he was the politician, the lawyer, the diplomatist to the end (1474-1566).

But with the great renewal of fervour in Catholic Europe which came with the Reformation, we come to

St Francis Xavier. missionary expeditions into pagan lands, purely and simply for the Gospel's sake—voyages of apostleship alone. And then (1506-1552).

there rises up immediately before our mind the heroic figure of Francis Xavier, who, as far as numbers go, seems to have done more than any man before or after him for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ. Xavier was the name of his birthplace in the mountains of Navarre. Being a noble, and of ardent and intellectual mind, he found his way to the University of Paris. But there he made the acquaintance of Ignatius Loyola, who won him for the society by the earnest and reverent repetition of Our Lord's question: "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world," etc. Xavier was one of the band who took the Vows at Montmartre, and who followed Ignatius to Rome to begin with him his new

order. But the scattering came soon enough. King John III. of Portugal begged for missionaries for the East Indies, and in the same year that the Jesuit Institute was founded (1540), Francis Xavier left, at St Ignatius' command, to prepare in Lisbon for his distant field of labour. Nearly a year in Lisbon, and a wearisome journey lasting more than a year found him in Goa, the chief Portuguese settlement in India, before the end of 1542. He was armed with ample powers as Papal Legate, and a special commission from the king. But it was only the heroic nature of his virtues, and the supernatural blessing of God on his labours, that enabled him to do the mighty work he did accomplish in the space of ten years. Hundreds of thousands of neophytes were brought by him into the Church—probably more than half a million. There were three years in Southern India, and then a period at least as long amid the islands of farther India, with Malacca as a centre, and in the Malay Peninsula. There was a year and a half in Japan, where also he attained an almost miraculous success, and then there was Malacca again and its many surrounding coasts. Lastly, there was the expedition to China, which he was never to enter, for the Isle of Sancian was the goal of his earthly pilgrimage, and all was over in one decade from his first setting out. But it was such a decade as won the noble title of Apostle of the Indies, and made him the bright example of all Catholic missionaries in the ages to come.

The pioneer work of St Francis Xavier in carrying the Faith to Japan, and preaching there for two years (1549-1551), began an abundant harvest. He left about three thousand Christians, and the next thirty years brought a vast increase of those first conversions. Father Torres and the other Jesuit Fathers were left free to preach and baptise, and the number of Christians became 200,000 in 1582, while the next ten years increased this number to 300,000. But in 1593 the first suspicions of the Japanese were aroused by the remark of a shipwrecked Spanish captain that the missionaries were only the fore-runners of the conquest of the country. Two illustrious bands of martyrs suffered for the Faith in 1596 and 1597. After this there was an interval again of fifteen years of peace, which enabled the apostolic preachers to push on,

**The
Japanese
Persecution.
(1622).**

and extend the Kingdom of God. Amongst themselves, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans worked in harmony, but the English and Dutch Protestants envied their successes, and are held by some to have taken a prominent part in stirring up the Japanese officials against the Catholics. At last a new *Shogun*, Ieyasu Togukawa, affecting to believe that the Spaniards wished to make a conquest of Japan, as they had of the Philippines, decreed in 1614 the extermination of the Christians. The persecution reached its height in 1622, and surpassed in ferocity, while it rivalled in extent, some of the early persecutions in the Roman Empire. By 1647, the silence of the tomb had settled down on the Church in Japan, and for two centuries no further attempt seems to have been made to preach the Gospel in the mysterious empire which had determined to extinguish the Faith in its midst in torrents of blood, and seemed to have succeeded in doing so.

It has been already mentioned above that the Nestorians had established themselves with bishops and clergy in China in the seventh century, and that in the thirteenth John of Monte Corvino, a son of St Francis, had been sent thither by Nicholas IV. Doubtless among his companions were several friars in bishops' orders, so that these at least were organised attempts to found a Church in China, stable and self-supporting. Probably other attempts, at least on a less ambitious scale, were made in the Middle Ages, but of all of these enterprises there is little to tell; the detailed records of them have perished. We have to come to the post-Reformation period for the story of further Chinese missions. It is at first sight a remarkably striking fact that this nation, which even now comprises a fourth part of mankind, and may probably have borne in the past a still greater ratio to the more rapidly growing West, lay so long cut off from all part in the Church. St Francis Xavier died just too soon (1552) to prosecute his attempt farther than the Island of Sancian.

The Jesuit Father, Matthew Ricci, was the real founder of the Chinese missions in modern times. His apostolate lasted from 1583 to 1610. He proceeded cautiously and indirectly. Both he and his companions began by attracting the learned and the Mandarins, whose literary

Chinese alone they spoke, by scientific and artistic displays, and then passed on with great care to speak of Christianity. This method proved more successful than any previous one, and Ricci succeeded in founding churches in several of the great cities, ending up at Peking, where he died in 1610. He had been falsely accused to the emperor, and narrowly escaped with his life, but at last was liberated, and died in honour.

Notwithstanding their knowledge that such men as Ricci carried their lives in their hands, others followed him at Peking in the same scientific, indirect method of evangelising. Fathers Schall (1660) and Verbiest (1688) in succession made use of astronomy to draw the Chinese to the Faith, hoping the stars would draw them as another star drew the wise men of the East to worship the Saviour. These Fathers enjoyed high favour at Court: the direction of the Imperial observatory, and the rank of Mandarins. And under cover of this favour, numerous other missionaries, not only Jesuits, but Dominicans (1639) in Fokien, and Franciscans (1640) in Shensi, were enabled to advance rapidly in the founding of stations and the making of converts. But after some time, amid the progressing work, the noise of grave differences of opinion arose among the missionaries themselves. The subject was the toleration of what were known as the Chinese Rites, namely the honours paid to their ancestors and to Confucius by the Chinese nation as a whole from the emperor down to the least in the land. These honours after long examination were considered admissible by Ricci and his Jesuit successors. The Dominicans and Franciscans, on the other hand, demurred to them as superstitious, and found fault with the title Lord of Heaven as applied to Almighty God. After much discussion the matter was referred to the Holy See, and under Urban VIII. an adverse decision to the Rites was given. This was modified on explanations given by the Jesuits under Alexander VIII., but reaffirmed by the bull, "*Ex Quo Singulari*," of Benedict XIV. The decision angered the Chinese exceedingly, as it seemed to put the Church in opposition to the whole Chinese polity, at least as much as it had been opposed to the old Roman polity. Persecution broke out, and there were many martyrs. However, the number of Christians, which had been about 250,000 in the middle of the

seventeenth century, declined, and when another trial came to the missions through the suppression of the Jesuits, though the Franciscans, Dominicans, and more recently the *Missions étrangères* of Paris, did their best to fill the void, very little further progress was made till recent times.

In sketching the career of St Francis Xavier, it has been told above how wide-reaching was his apostolate, and in what large numbers he converted and baptised the pagans whom his wonderful life and preaching attracted, especially in India. It is acknowledged, however, that his success was almost exclusively with the lower castes of the Indian natives. He himself admitted the insuperable exclusiveness of the Brahmins and higher castes. In 1606 Father De Nobili, with the leave of his superiors, inaugurated in the Madura mission a new method of evangelisation. His predecessor had lived in Madura for fourteen years without making a single convert. Doubtless the success of Father Ricci's indirect method in China in part inspired the attempt. It consisted in adopting the customs and way of life of the Brahmins as far as Christianity allowed, studying their learning, and using it to prove the superiority of Christianity without requiring the abandonment of any rite, custom, or social usage that did not absolutely clash with it. To this, then, Father Nobili devoted himself. His ascetic diet of rice and milk and perpetual fast rivalled that of the Brahmins. His yellow robe resembled theirs. He walked on pegs, that he might not touch the common earth. He secluded himself at all hours from the lower castes, and even from those of his brethren who mixed with these; and at many hours he was unapproachable even to the purest Brahmin. He hoped in this way to influence the cultured high castes, and his work met with remarkable success. His knowledge of the Vedas and of Sanskrit confounded and surprised them; they could not argue with him even on their own ground. He began to receive notable converts, and the other Jesuits joined themselves to him and his way of life. In this manner the Madura mission waxed numerous, and Christianity gained an entrance into the interior of South India. Nobili persevered for many years in his heroic life, and only died in old age in 1656, fifty years after he had set out.

**The
Malabar
Rites.**

But others worked on the same lines, and then came others again who without associating with these confrères devoted their lives to the lower castes. Meanwhile, the whole system had met with fierce opposition from other missionaries, and in Europe Nobili was charged with allowing superstition, idolatry, and a caste system incompatible with Christian charity. Nobili explained and defended himself, and Gregory XV. gave in 1623 a provisional decision in his favour. As long as this was acted on there was peace, but in 1703 the Capuchin missionaries revived the controversy, blaming the whole manner of action of the Jesuit missionaries. The result was that De Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, was sent out by Clement XI. as legate, to go into the question. He landed at Pondicherry, and spent eight months there in making inquiries. After that he issued a decree condemning the so-called Malabar Rites on sixteen points, and straightway sailed for Europe.

The difficulties and dangers of acting on this were so great that an appeal was sent to Rome, and though Clement XI. confirmed the decision of his legate, after a while some viva-voce modifications were made by him and succeeding pontiffs. Finally, a long explanatory brief, in 1734, went through the whole decree anew, confirming, explaining, and limiting it. The net result of all this discussion which was somewhat parallel to the one on Chinese Rites, was that while the purity of the Faith was jealously safeguarded, a very great check was administered to the growth of the Christian missions amongst the higher classes in India. The only thing that can be said is that the increasing intercourse with Europe, and the enduring supremacy of English law and its maxims of equality, have tended to weaken the caste system, and thereby to make it less powerful an obstacle to the general spread of the Faith. But after all this is but a preliminary work of clearing the ground, and the Church is still only at the beginning of the vast work of the evangelisation of India.

The spectacle of a divided Christendom could hardly fail to impress the minds of zealous and charitable men as a great calamity, and more than one attempt was made, even after the Council of Trent, to effect a reunion of Protestant Europe with the Catholicity from which it had broken

Attempts at
reunion.

off. The most celebrated attempt of all was that in which Leibnitz, the great German philosopher (1646-1716), and Bossuet (1627-1704), the French divine, took part. Much goodwill was shown, but after all the efforts resulted in nothing but the publication of various able writings on both sides. Leibnitz's "*Theological System*" is the most celebrated of these, but though not directly connected with the negotiations, Bossuet gained at least equal renown with his "*History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*." Political difficulties joined with theological ones to frustrate any real agreement. Leibnitz then turned his energies in the direction of trying to foster union among the various Calvinistic and Lutheran bodies in Germany, Holland, and other countries; but here also his efforts were doomed to failure. The Synod of Dort (1618), which was a kind of Calvinistic counterpart of the Council of Trent, drew tighter the sectarian bonds, and defined the doctrines of the Calvinist Church, though in a less strictly predestinarian sense than the usual interpretation of Calvin allowed. There only remained the possibility of some kind of union between the Protestants and the Oriental Churches not in communion with the Holy See. And the attempt was made very soon after the Reformation by Melancthon and others. But the Greeks rejected these advances with scorn. Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, whose friendships and writings betrayed Calvinistic leanings, was deposed and ejected from his see (1638).

Meanwhile the Greek Church was living a somewhat inactive, if peaceful life, at Constantinople under the contemptuous toleration of the Ottoman sultans. It was the Sultan now who invested the ecumenical patriarch, too proud to accept institution from the Pope, but now forced to take it from the Infidel. From time to time some more intelligent or active Oriental would make his submission to the Holy See, but there was no reunion on a basis of anything corporate, or even numerous. Overtures were made to the Greeks by Protestant theologians, but were met with uncompromising declarations of unchangeable orthodoxy. There could be little in common between the ever-shifting opinions of these sectaries and the old, exaggerated devotion to the traditions of the past, that bound the East even in minor

The Eastern Churches.

matters, except their common hostility to the See of Rome. Leo Allatius, who submitted to the Holy See in 1667, became Librarian of the Vatican.

The Treaty of Brest, made in 1595, effected a working reunion of the Ruthenian Catholics with the Holy See, which subsisted until the Partition of Poland, though the violence of the schismatics caused the martyrdom of the saintly bishop Josaphat Kuncewics in 1623. Part of the Ruthenian nation fell under the power of Austria, and had every opportunity to persevere both in their own rite and in union with Rome. The other portion of the nation which fell under the Russian domination suffered a long and fierce persecution to make them separate from the Pope, and externally almost all the Church organisation was destroyed. It is only in these latter days that the Ruthenians of the Russian Empire, when they emigrate to Canada and the United States, gravitate back to that union with Rome of which they were forcibly deprived at the bidding of the Russian Czar.

**Ruthenian
Uniate.**

The literary Renaissance had hardly spent all its force when another powerful current of energy raised up a movement which for want of a better name we will call the Scientific Movement. Doubtless it owed much of its impetus to the individual speculations of a certain number of men of genius, but there must have been something in the atmosphere of the time to lead to such striking results. It is not so easy to say exactly what this was, but the results were most remarkable, and serve to mark off modern times from the Middle Ages almost as strongly as national language and Reformation controversy do. It is sometimes asserted by "*laudatores temporis acti*" that this new development was mainly occupied with the physical sciences, but unless this term is made to include almost all exact knowledge, the restriction is not justified. It really embraced almost every department of science, and not a few of art as well. Beginning with pure mathematics, and embracing astronomy, mechanics, chemistry, and a thousand other branches, it extended to a new and more elaborate conception of the sphere of music. Very likely the geographical discoveries of the last age in India and America had prepared the way, providing a frame for a greater picture of the world.

**The
Scientific
Movement.**

Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) certainly holds one of the foremost places among the great men who inspired this movement. He was an Augustinian canon of Frauenburg, in Prussia, and it is not quite certain whether he ever was a priest. It was in the very midst of the Reformation troubles that his hypothesis, that the centre of our system is not the earth but the sun, was published. This novel view was in diametrical opposition to all the received cosmology, and even to many widely held interpretations of Holy Scripture. His work was dedicated to Paul III., and Copernicus was encouraged and supported by Catholic scholars; it was only seventy-five years later, when it fell into the imprudent hands of Galileo, that it shared in the condemnation which his theories incurred, at least in a modified degree. But to Copernicus the Reformers were hostile, and Tycho Brahé (1601) attempted, though in vain, to refute his theory of the solar system. It was the Italian professor, Galileo Galilei, who popularised and pushed forward the Copernican system (1564-1642). Kepler (1571-1630) further completed and perfected it. Galileo fell under the condemnation of the Roman authorities in 1614, and again in 1633, and was placed under restraint. But this was not so much for purely astronomical speculations, as on account of his arrogant attitude in discussion, and on account of the supposed opposition between his views and Holy Scripture. It is certain, however, that the Holy Office or Inquisition fell into error in declaring his theory heretical. But for a Catholic it is a quite satisfactory explanation to recall to mind that this tribunal, though endowed with real authority, does not share the unique gift of papal infallibility.

Meanwhile, Francis Bacon (1560-1626), with his disciples the infidel Hobbes and the Catholic Marquis of Worcester, in England, was evolving what he took to be a new and more fruitful method of discovery in scientific matters. It cannot, it appears, be claimed that Bacon's writings led directly to any great advances in truth, but their width of range, the high position of their author, and their acuteness of suggestion, seem to have stimulated later men of science towards more lasting and valuable results. René Descartes (1596-1650), with such followers as Malebranche and Mersenne, was also striking out a new path, quite as novel, though in a different direction.

Where Bacon was inductive, Descartes was deductive; where Bacon was of the earth, practical, Descartes was idealistic and theoretical. The meeting ground for agreement between the two was the high value that both set on mathematics, though here the merits of Descartes would seem the greater.

And in the region of mathematics the progress made is surely one of the great achievements of the post-Reform period. Whether we look to Napier (1550-1617) and his logarithms, or to Leibnitz (1646-1716), and Isaac Newton (1642-1727) with the Calculus, or to the fact that it was this epoch which gave us the use of algebra and a great part of arithmetic, as we know it, there is ample to show that the Scientific Movement was not confined to Physics. Newton indeed gave a considerable impulse to both pure and applied mathematics, and to the whole Scientific Movement. The same must be said of the Royal Society, founded at London by Royal charter in 1662, of which Newton was President for no less than five and twenty years.

On the other hand the decay of scholasticism and the absorption of men in secular pursuits told against the study of metaphysics. Descartes and Leibnitz, both men of the greatest genius, attempted to build up a system of philosophical knowledge *de novo*, while the Baconian school fell gradually to a lower level than that philosopher ever contemplated, emerging into sensism, deism, and even atheism. But, speaking in general, metaphysics was at a discount among the contending parties in a time of fierce struggle and attempted reconstruction. Catholic Churchmen wrote with the Reformation before their eyes, and with the Council of Trent as a beacon light to guide their path. Theology thus became more positive, polemic, and apologetic for the Church. The discovery of printing made the diffusion of books a much easier matter than it had been, and hence the volume of theological literature grew quite beyond what had been seen in former times. But, of what the theologians printed, the most original part was that which had to do with the new controversies. With regard to the scholastic questions, they took advantage of the Press to incorporate, as for example Suarez has done, the Summa of St Thomas page after page, not without commentaries or explanations of

**Positive
theology.**

their own. In such a mass of literature the most that is possible is to name one or two of the highest names and most celebrated works. Much of the controversy was in the hands of the Jesuits, whose works, such as the "*Controversies*" of Bellarmin (1542-1621) and the "*Catechism*" of Blessed Peter Canisius (1521-1597), exercised an incalculable influence on the discussions with the Reformers. Suarez, De Lugo, and Vasquez form bright examples of the voluminous theological writers of the period. St Francis of Sales, the Doctor of this period, besides the ascetic works already mentioned in the last chapter, published a controversial work styled the "*Standard of the Cross*." Meanwhile the most learned disciple of St Philip Neri, Cardinal Cæsar Baronius (1538-1607), had written his *Ecclesiastical Annals* to controvert the history of the so-called Centuriators of Magdeburg. Hagiology, or the Lives of the Saints, was put on quite a new footing by the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Jesuit Bollandus, and the other learned writers of the Society who collaborated in this colossal work. Even to-day patient continuators are gradually adding to the stately series of Folios known all over the world as the writings of the Bollandists.

BOOK IX.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

(1648-1774).

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE HOLDS THE SCALES.

(1648-1682).

LOUIS XIV. had already succeeded to the French throne at the age of five, when the Treaties of Westphalia gave peace to Europe. But there was a Regency under his father's widow, Anne of Austria (1643-1660), and it was only in 1660 that Louis XIV. claimed his majority and assumed effective control of the government. But already the power and even predominance of France had been firmly established, for the masterful and resourceful statesmanship of Cardinal Richelieu (1624-1642) had laid the foundations, and during the Regency, Cardinal Mazarin (1643-1661), though with less boldness, still with great astuteness and cunning, had turned the vessel of State in France to utilise every veering breeze of politics. And the Council of the Regency was influenced by potent agencies for good. St Vincent de Paul was able to make his voice heard in it effectively to secure good episcopal appointments, and to safeguard the interests of the spiritual order. Finally, when Louis XIV. assumed the helm himself, and in such overwhelming fashion as to give colour to the boast: "*L'état c'est moi*," he certainly showed a remarkable talent for choosing able

assistants in each department of government, and in utilising their services to the full. Louvois in finance, Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, and others in the field, Vauban in fortification, Colbert in the civil service, Corneille, Racine, and Molière in the drama are but a few of the brilliant crowd of men of genius who all contributed in their own way to push forward the triumphal car of the "Grand Monarque."

While Richelieu and Mazarin were consolidating the French power in Europe by the skilful employment, now of force and now of cunning, holier men were working with greater success at a more spiritual work in the religious regeneration of the country, torn by the religious wars against the Huguenots, and the destruction

that followed in their train. Richelieu was quite at one with the noblest minds in seeing the necessity for this work of reconstruction, and both encouraged and helped it on, especially through his well-known chaplain, Père Joseph de Tremblay. The Holy See entrusted Cardinal De La Rochefoucauld with the work of the reform of the older religious orders in France—the Benedictines of St Maur (1604) were a good example of this—and new institutes sprang up on all sides to take their part in the good work. Foremost was the Congregation of the Oratory, founded by Cardinal de Bérulle in 1627 for the two important works of training the clergy and giving retreats. But the noblest figure of them all was that of St Vincent de Paul (1576-1660), whose incessant labours in almost every department of apostolic enterprise produced incalculable results, both directly in his foundations of the Lazarists (1625), and of the Sisters of Charity, and not less, indirectly, by what he inspired others to effect. His influence was felt by such men as the Venerable Mons. Olier, who in his Congregation of St Sulpice provided a potent instrument for the training of the French clergy (1642).

The French monarchy was Catholic, but very much inclined to make its Catholicism an affair of State, and to resist the controlling influence of the Roman See. Louis XIV. did not lack able men, and pious ones as well, who, in his disputes with Rome, were not ashamed to take the Royal side, and to flatter the Royal prerogative. Foremost among these was the

**Religious
revival
in
France.**

Gallicanism.

celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627-1704), whose eloquence raised pulpit oratory to a pitch it never before reached in France, or perhaps in any other country. And Bossuet was both learned and pious. His works remind one of the spacious largeness of the Fathers of the Church, whether we think of his "*Discourse on Universal History*," or his "*Elevations on the Mysteries*," "*Panegyrics*," and "*Funeral Sermons*." And of his devotion to Catholicity and zeal for its diffusion there can be no question. It was only that Gallicanism, by which is meant an exaggerated view of the power of the French crown in religious matters, had affected him. It was in the air, and drew him into the weakness of supporting the king in his aggressive policy towards the Holy See.

But there is another famous controversy in which Bossuet appears on the right side as the vindicator of the true teaching of the Church as against Quietism, a new false theory. The false mysticism which dogged the footsteps of true spirituality in the Middle Ages revived in Spain, and after having some vogue there, was carried to Rome by Molinos, a Spanish priest, whose views appeared in his book, the "*Spiritual Guide*." In France his system was taken up by the Barnabite Lacombe, and by the celebrated Madame De Guyon. As for Molinos himself, his book was examined and condemned by the Pope; he retracted his errors, and died a pious death in 1696. But in France the discussion was prolonged. A Commission examined and condemned Quietism, but Bossuet in his book, "*States of Prayer*," attacked the character of the piety of Madame De Guyon.

The greatest light of the French Church after Bossuet in those days was John De La Mothe Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai (1651-1715). Fénelon refused to approve of the animadversions made by Bossuet in his book, and in another work, styled "*Maxims of the Saints*," proceeded to defend Madame De Guyon. The controversy was thus renewed, and animated polemical writings appeared on both sides. The opposition between Bossuet and Fénelon grew to be extreme, and at last Rome was called upon to pronounce a decision. When it came, the decision proved to be unfavourable to the views of Fénelon, and that pious and great bishop gave a striking proof of his

humility and of his reverence for the Holy See, by reading out his own condemnation from the pulpit, and afterwards by writing a pastoral against his own book. Thus the discussion had an ending worthy of the men who had taken part in it. Madame De Guyon died a holy death in 1717.

But, though betrayed into error in the Quietist controversy, there were other matters in which Fénelon proved himself the champion of the right. **French Churchmen.** He had no sympathy with Rigorism, and he was too faithful a son of the Roman Church to find favour with Louis XIV. and his Gallicans. Even his romance of "*Télémaque*" was interpreted as a criticism on the French Government. Admitting that Bossuet and Fénelon were the two most eminent leaders of the French Church in Louis XIV.'s time, it remains true that almost every department of ecclesiastical science and spiritual activity could proudly point to an unusual array of talent in that splendid period of French dominance. If we seek sacred orators we shall find them in an array too long to be named one by one.

During the long period of negotiation which resulted in the Treaties of Westphalia, Innocent X. was Pope, and as mighty interests of Catholicity were involved, a papal envoy of ability was highly necessary. **Alexander VII.** Innocent found one in Cardinal (1655-1667). Fabio Chigi, who after a very distinguished career in philosophy, theology, and law at the university of his native Siena, had been in the diplomatic service of the Holy See for many years. After the peace he became Secretary of State to the Pope, and on Innocent's death was chosen Pope, taking the name of Alexander VII. It was natural that the skilful Churchman who had fought such a long and not unsuccessful battle for her principles, when the selfish interests of the nations of Europe were contending in Council, should be thought the best to guide the destinies of the Church in their midst afterwards; but his election was not accomplished till after a conclave of eighty days—it was then unanimous.

But his very firmness for the Church had made enemies, and they let him feel it in the conclave, and on the papal throne. It was France especially, as represented by Mazarin and De Créquy, that fell foul of Alexander, and repeated quarrels and disputes were the result. Now it

was the refusal of the Pope to allow the ambassadors in Rome the right of asylum for fugitives from justice; now it was the rebellious attitude of the French Jansenists, encouraged by the action of the Court; now it was the firmness of the Pope in refusing to identify in any way his policy with that of France. At any rate, Avignon was seized, and no French Ambassador was appointed to Rome as long as Alexander was Pope.

In Rome, Alexander VII. reigned as a munificent Patron of Literature and the Arts. St Peter's owes to him the great statue of St Peter in the nave, and the stately colonnade round the piazza. He enriched the University and the Vatican Libraries. He welcomed to Rome Queen Christina of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, who became a Catholic, was confirmed by the Pope, and continued to reside in Rome, finding a generous friend in the Pontiff. Though at first he forbade his relatives to come to Rome, he afterwards yielded to the advice of those who thought that their support would be useful to the papal policy, and entrusted to his nephews a great share in the administration of affairs. They lived in Rome in splendour, and though the Pontiff himself lived simply, and took delight rather in the society of theologians and men of letters, he has had to bear much of the blame of the worldly extravagance of his noble Sienese relatives. But all his surroundings were not of this stamp. Alexander drew out of the retirement, in which he had lived in the time of Innocent X., the learned and amiable Rospigliosi, and having raised him to the purple, made him Secretary of State. This prelate's influence in his high office was all against external display, and in favour of retrenchment and peace.

When Alexander died in 1667, a unanimous vote of his colleagues raised Cardinal Rospigliosi to the papal chair. Perhaps Clement IX. was the most amiable pope that ever sat in Peter's place. He was beloved by his people, who saw him with delight visiting the hospitals, hearing confessions in St Peter's, and giving large alms, though not to his relatives. An enemy to all public show, he would not have his name inscribed, as was customary, on any of the buildings erected or restorations effected in his reign, and wished to be buried

Clement IX.
(1667-1669)
and
Clement X.
(1670-1676).

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in the floor of St John Lateran, with the simple inscription "Clementis IX., Cineres." But his influence was felt on a large scale in the great work of the pacification of Europe. The "Pax Clementina," giving some interval of repose in the Jansenist controversy, was his work; so also was, to a great extent, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1667, which ended the strife between France and Spain on a basis very honourable to the power of Louis XIV. Such a pontiff, loved by all, equal to his position, but more eager to do good than to have it known, was not easy to replace, so in 1669, when he died in his seventieth year, the conclave was a long and troublesome one. It was more than four months before, all the leading candidates being set aside, the votes were united upon the aged Cardinal Altieri, eighty years of age, but only just brought into the Sacred College. It was an expedient to secure a short reign. But it was not to be so very short after all. Altieri assumed the name of Clement X. Paoluzzi, whose family were united by marriage with that of the Pope, took the name of Altieri, and became Cardinal nephew. On him in the main the aged Pontiff leaned in the work of administration, "reserving to himself to bless and to consecrate," said the Romans; "to rule and to govern was handed over to Paoluzzi." However, this was an exaggeration, and Clement showed his activity both at home and abroad. Rome was adorned with two beautiful fountains before St Peter's Church, and with other noble buildings, and Louis XIV. found him a firm opponent in the question of the "regale," which we must deal with elsewhere, as it came to a head in the following reign.

Cardinal Odescalchi had been a strong candidate in the conclave which elected Clement X., but Louis XIV. had instructed the French cardinals to oppose **Innocent XI.** him, and now the same difficulty turned up (1676-1689). again. There was the same French opposition, and the same deadlock. But cardinals and Roman people were united in their wish to have the cardinal who had endeared himself to the poor by his charity, and to his equals by his aversion to ostentation and party, so in the end the French monarch gave way, and Odescalchi became Innocent XI. with a unanimous vote. And at once the new Pope had to take up the contest against the usurpations on ecclesiastical right which the French

Court was practising under the pretext of "Jus Regalium," which meant that the revenues of all vacant sees were to go to the Crown. A limited right of this kind, with regard to some dioceses, had been admitted even in the thirteenth century, but the Council of Lyons (1274) had forbidden its further extension, and this was what the French king was now doing, pushing it into Languedoc and other places where it had not obtained hitherto. A wearisome and hot controversy was carried on, but neither Pope nor king would yield. And Louis had the majority of the French bishops with him. The bishops of Pamiers and Aleth, having the courage to protest, were ill-treated by Louis XIV., who called in 1682 a General Assembly of the French clergy, which accepted and signed the four articles known as the "Declaration of 1682," or the "Four Gallican Articles," which were as follows:

**Four
Articles.**
(1682).

- (1) Kings and princes in temporal things are subject to no ecclesiastical power.
- (2) The decrees of the Council of Constance are to be upheld.
- (3) The use of the papal power is to be moderated by the Canons.
- (4) The decision of the Pope is not final without the consent of the Church.

It is not certain whether Bossuet actually drew up the Four Articles, but he certainly defended them when they were attacked, as they were from many quarters, notably by Fénelon and by the Hungarian bishops assembled in council. And of course the publication of the articles was a challenge to the supreme authority of the Papacy, and hence was met by the Holy See with protest and denunciation. Innocent XI. immediately issued a papal rescript, condemning them, and declaring them null and void. And then to add deeds to words, the Pontiff refused canonical institution to any prelate who had signed or approved them, and held to this until there were as many as thirty-six vacant bishoprics in France. It is true the king's nominees might enjoy the temporal revenues, but they could not perform a single act of spiritual jurisdiction. Louis retaliated by imprisoning the nuncio, and by seizing Avignon. On the other hand, the French Ambassador to Rome, Lavardin,

entered the city at the head of eight hundred soldiers, and held the embassy by force of arms, claiming that it was exempt territory. Innocent excommunicated the Ambassador, and laid the French church of St Louis under Interdict. He further denied the right of asylum claimed for the embassy, and steadily refused to yield on the Gallican articles. France now seemed on the verge of a schism, but Innocent did not shrink from the task of curbing the pretensions of the French monarch, and he found in the Grand Alliance (1689) formed among the European Powers against France, his most powerful weapon to reduce him to reason. He thus supported the Imperial candidate for the important See of Cologne against the French one, and let it be known that he approved of William, Prince of Orange, taking the field as general of the allied forces against the French marshals. Louis XIV. recalled his Ambassador, Lavaradin, and did not appoint a successor. The relations between the Pope and France remained *in statu quo*, until it was left to another pontiff to reap the fruit of the courageous stand made by Innocent XI.

Inflexible as he was in defending the rights of his office when they were attacked, Innocent XI. was a picture of humility and austerity in the manner of his own life. He found the revenues of the See of Rome in a lamentable state of deficiency, and by various reforms, such as by abolishing the College of Secretaries, lowering the rate of interest on loans, and by different sumptuary reforms, he succeeded in balancing his accounts, and even providing the papal treasury with a surplus. No doubt vested interests cried out, and there was a still louder grumble of dissatisfaction when he made laws against the luxury of women's attire, suppressed gambling houses, and enforced a stricter standard of living on religious, both men and women, but the Pope was inflexible and incorruptible, and by his steady refusal to have his family around him, or to enrich them, he gave almost the final blow to nepotism.

Out of moral theology grew the practical science of casuistry, or the art of applying the various principles of that science to the particular cases of conscience which might call for solution. In applying the theory of probability to these cases some theologians had travelled beyond the bounds of prudence

and incurred the charge of laxism. However, as there were others who defended them, there seemed danger of abuse, and the Holy See was applied to for a pronouncement. Innocent XI. published the bull, "*Sanctissimus Dominus*," on the 2nd of March, 1679, in which sixty unduly lax propositions culled from the writings of certain moral theologians were condemned. The Pontiff did not, of course, condemn all use of probable reasoning, though he issued a decree in the following year (1680) defending the probabiliorism of Thyrsus Gonzalez, General of the Jesuits, but he wished to condemn the undue extremes into which some casuists had been led. But the dominant error of the time was quite on the other side. Jansenism in doctrine led to rigorism in practice, and the period had come when this called for papal condemnation.

There is always a tendency to rhythmic alternations in public opinion, and this tendency seems within lawful bounds to have its influence in the Church of God. Thus in moral matters there is an action and a reaction, a tendency of the time to rigid opinions and then to lax, and then the pendulum swings again. But whatever tendency to over-lax opinions the controversy on probabilism had made dominant in the early part of the seventeenth century, the reaction came with such violence as to go beyond all lawful bounds and pass into heresy. Jansenism, the chief dogmatic error the Church had to deal with in the period, is what we have now arrived at.

Jansenism began with a revival of the old controversy on grace. Jansenius, the Bishop of Ypres, wrote a book, published in 1640, which he called "*Augustinus*," inasmuch as it aimed at setting forth and developing the teaching of St Augustine, above all on the question of grace. Round this book a hot controversy soon arose, as the teaching of the book was attacked by some of the Sorbonne Doctors, and defended by a band of able writers, called, from their place of meeting, the Society of Port Royal. Among those writers were to be found such men as the two Arnaulds, Nicole, Pascal, and De Sacy. Eventually the book was sent to Rome to be examined. Urban VIII. in 1642 had already forbidden the work to be read by his bull, "*In Eminenti*," as the result of a summary examination of its contents, but after

an exhaustive examination, and after the death of its author, Innocent X., in 1653, by his bull, "*Cum Occasione*," formally condemned five propositions ex-

Five Propositions.tracted from the "*Augustinus*," and it may be taken that these five propositions contain the gist of the teaching of Jansenius, and comprise the chief heads of the heresy called after him, Jansenism. These propositions are here given in order :

- (1) Some of the precepts of God are impossible inasmuch as the grace to fulfil them is wanting.
- (2) Interior grace is never resisted in the state of fallen nature.
- (3) For merit and demerit liberty from necessity is not required, but freedom from coercion suffices.
- (4) The Semi-Pelagians were heretics in that they held that preventing grace can be resisted.
- (5) It is Semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died for all men.

The bull, "*Cum Occasione*," was well received in France by the Court and the Assembly of the Clergy, but the Jansenist leaders, including Arnould, Nicole, Pascal, and others, who formed what was called the Port Royal Society, took refuge in a so-called "respectful silence," denying that the propositions were contained in the "*Augustinus*" in the heretical sense attributed to them, and questioning the right of the Church to judge of a Dogmatic Fact. Jansenius himself was already dead in communion with the Holy See, but seeing the harm that was being done by those theories, Alexander VII. in his bull, "*Ad Sacram*," explained the decree of his predecessor (1656), and declaring that the five propositions were therein condemned in the natural sense of the author, renewed the censure upon them. As this met with considerable opposition, even four of the French bishops siding with the Port Royal party, the same Pontiff later on put forth a further bull, called "*Apostolici Regiminis*" (1664), in which he required prompt subscription to the former condemnation from ecclesiastics and religious of both sexes, there being a convent of nuns at Port Royal which was prominent in obstinate resistance. This was generally, but not universally signed, some, including the four bishops, refusing altogether, and others signing with

reservations. After the death of Alexander VII. the controversy was complicated by that between the French Court and the Holy See, and the "*Pax Clementina*" (1667) saved the four bishops from the humiliation of signing the condemnation of the Five Propositions.

A parallel movement in England was that of the severe and sometimes fanatical sectaries called Puritans. There had been a tendency in the Established Church under Elizabeth's successor, James I., son of Mary Queen of Scots, and under his son, Charles I., to resume much Catholic ritual and doctrine. This was opposed by the Presbyterians, who rejected all episcopacy, and later on by the Independents, who to extremely anti-Catholic doctrine joined the profession of much formal strictness in conduct. The dispute was mixed up with political issues, since the absolutist policy of Charles I. was supported by the Anglican High Church party, and opposed by the Parliament. Civil War broke out in 1642, and was finally decided in favour of the Parliament, mainly through the military prowess of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) and his Ironsides. And it was the Puritan spirit which furnished the driving power in resistance to the crown. After the battle of Naseby in 1645, Charles I. became a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament, and in 1649 was tried and executed. Puritanism next triumphed over king and Parliament alike in the military dictatorship or Protectorate of Cromwell (1653-1658). Cromwell and his army, after defeating the Scots at Dunbar, proceeded to Ireland, and after bloody battles, imposed their sway on the whole land. Savage scenes, such as those at the taking of Drogheda and Wexford, remain object-lessons of the lengths to which religious bigotry can go, when joined with race hatred. The persecution of the Irish Catholics became far worse than that in the time of Henry VIII. Bishops and priests were martyred, and the Catholics hunted down like wild animals. Many of the Irish bishoprics remained vacant for long periods, extending in some cases over a century, and the Faith could only be practised in concealment. The Restoration of Charles II., son of Charles I., to the English throne took place in 1660.

The
Puritans.

CHAPTER II.

THE SWAYING OF THE BALANCE.

(1682-1715).

THERE seems every reason to think that Louis XIV. reached the highest point of his power about the year 1682. Yet the very fulness of that power, and the desire still more to increase his independence, led him to two steps which shook the solidity of his realm to its foundations. One of these, the Declaration of the Gallican Rights, in 1682, has been already spoken of in the last chapter. A large proportion of the French clergy fell into the error of supporting the pretensions of the Crown to a control of the Church, and hence are called Regalists. The other step was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. It is true that these French Huguenots had been very difficult neighbours for their Catholic countrymen, and not very loyal subjects to their king; but, even granted that Louis had some show of legal right on his side, inasmuch as the Edict of Nantes was a royal concession and not a law of the land, it may well be questioned whether an action that deprived the country of the services of such a considerable section of her inhabitants, and turned them into enemies, was other than a piece of rash folly. Driven into exile, these French Protestants passed into other realms to swell the ranks of the foes whom Louis' arrogance was gathering round France. The French predominance, registered by the Treaty of Nimeguen, had left the Grand Monarch without a friend among the rulers of Europe, if we except Charles II. of England, who was in receipt of a pension from him, and the Sultan of Turkey, who was an informal though formidable ally. But the provisions of that treaty were too onerous to the other nations to hold out prospects

of a stable peace, and it was not long before the Grand Alliance was formed, uniting the empire with Holland and England against the French king. But at first the forces of the empire were fully occupied on the eastern border by the Turkish War.

The presence of the Turks in Hungary had been one of the causes which contributed to lessen the Imperial power during the Thirty Years' War. The Hungarian Protestants had allied themselves with the Moslem to prevent the resumption

The Turkish War.

of the Catholic superiority in that country, and war after war had to be waged against them. In 1662 a further attempt was made by the Turks to reach Vienna, but they were defeated on the Raab, and for some years hostilities were suspended. Meanwhile a valiant antagonist had risen up against the Turkish enemy in the person of John Sobieski, who became King of Poland in 1674. Having been successful in a series of campaigns which beat off the invaders from his native land, Sobieski was able to go to the assistance of the Austrians, who were once more in dire need. Under a new Sultan, Mohammed IV., the daring Vizier, Kara Mustapha, had entered on a new and boldly planned attack on the empire, at the head of 200,000 men. He was able to cross Hungary unopposed, and then laid siege to Vienna. This laid bare the weakness of the empire under Leopold I., and in fact endangered the whole of Christendom. Pope Innocent wrote a pressing letter to the King of Poland, urging him to go to the relief of Vienna. The city was bravely defended by Stahremberg, and was hard pressed. Sobieski was not deaf to the appeal, but having concerted his plan of operations with Francis, Duke of Lorraine, the Imperial commander, he advanced to the relief of the city. He took up his position on the Kalemberg Mountain, within sight of the city, and having heard Mass devoutly with his officers, prepared for battle.

From the watch-towers of Vienna the Polish Lancers could be discerned as they advanced with their king at their head. The attack of the Christian army, which gained impetus as it rode down the hill, upon the Moslem host was too terrible to be resisted. They fought like lions, and the infidel invaders were swept away in a torrent of destruction. The siege was raised,

**Relief
of
Vienna.
(1683).**

and Sobieski entered the city in triumph, acclaimed as their deliverer and "the man sent by God whose name was John," as the preacher styled him. Sobieski died in 1696, but a second battle of Mohacs reversed the former disaster there. Buda was retaken, Prince Eugene, who later on became the Imperial general, winning the great battle of Zentha, the two treaties of Carlowitz (1699) and then of Passarowitz (1718) completed the liberation of Austria and Hungary from the Turks, and fixed for the Moslem almost the same frontiers as remained theirs until the Berlin Conference in 1878. Being once secured from the Moslem power, the forces of the empire, led by Prince Eugene, could be directed against France. They co-operated with the Dutch armies, led by William of Orange, and with the English troops, which were at the disposal of that prince, later on William III. of England, and between them the power of the French armies was crushed, and the resources of the Grand Monarch exhausted.

And now another of the most remarkable makers of Europe was to appear on the scene in the person of Peter, Czar of Muscovy, who laid the foundations of the future greatness of Russia in the course of a varied and remarkable life. Born at Moscow in 1672, he managed to extricate himself from the tutelage of his half-sister, the Regent Sophia, in 1689, and

**Peter the Great,
Czar of Muscovy.**
(1672-1725).

assumed absolute power as Czar, though at first he nominally shared the empire with his brother Ivan. His first anxiety was to form an army and navy which might become fit instruments for the conquests he planned. But he was still more distressed at the inferiority of his barbarous subjects to the other Europeans in the arts and sciences, and as soon as his power was firmly established (1697) he travelled to Prussia, Holland, England, France, and Austria, amassing knowledge with quite indomitable energy, and gathering not only books and instruments, but savants, engineers, mechanics, and artists to carry back with him for the education of his countrymen.

His original genius and iron determination struck the leading spirits of the lands he visited. In France the Doctors of the Sorbonne drew up a scheme for the union of the Russian Church with Rome, and laid it before him. He took it back with him to Russia, and caused

two replies to be drawn up by the Russian clergy. But nothing came of it. Peter, though at first favourably disposed to the Church, no doubt wished to be Pope in Russia as well as emperor. Even the Patriarchate of Moscow was too high a dignity to be tolerated. The Patriarchate was suppressed, and a new organisation of the Russian Church set on foot, which in the main subsists to this day. At first the Catholics were encouraged to build a Church in Moscow, and Jesuits were invited to serve it, but as the power and ambition of the Czar increased, this favour was withdrawn, and after expelling the Jesuits, Peter became more and more unfriendly to the Roman Church, as a rival of his own autocracy. His wars with Sweden took up the middle part of his reign. At first unsuccessful, he nevertheless fought on, and at last in 1709 completely routed the Swedish king, Charles XII., at Pultowa, and wrested the Baltic Provinces and part of Finland from his domains. His last years were occupied in the foundation and beautifying of his new capital, Saint Petersburg, on the Baltic, to which he transferred the seat of government in 1712, and in pushing on his schemes for the improvement and education of his subjects. He died at the age of fifty-two, and was succeeded by his second wife, Catharine I.

A far more terrible time of persecution for the Russian Catholics began under the Empress Catharine II., who followed her departed consort Peter III. as **The Empress Catharine II.** (1729-1796). empress in her own right. A long and determined effort was now made to force the Ruthenians to abjure all allegiance to the Pope, and to thus incorporate them with the orthodox Russians who acknowledged the authority of the Holy Synod, with the Czar as the head of their religion. The Ruthenian Church, which numbered many millions of adherents, was decimated by torture, death, and exile, and it is estimated that several millions of United Easterns were thus driven to apostasy by the tyranny of Catharine's officials. The Ruthenian Church has never yet once won a fair and tolerant recognition from the Russian Government, and hard as has been the measure meted out to the Polish Catholics in the Russian dominions, who are of course Latins in rite, the lot of the Easterns has been far more unfortunate. The fact of their using the same rite as the State Church seems

to have made them more obnoxious, and a convert to Catholicism could only count on being left in peace if, with his submission to the Pope, he gave up his Eastern rite and became a Latin.

The proofs now available amply suffice to show that Charles II. of England was a Catholic at heart for nearly the whole of his reign of twenty-five years (1660-1685), but sunk in a constant round of gaiety and immorality, and knowing, moreover, how precarious would be any attempt openly to profess the Faith, he had shrunk from anything that would publicly compromise him with the Protestants. He was only received into the Church on his death-bed by a Benedictine, Father Huddleston, who gave him the last Sacraments. His brother, the Duke of York, had taken a bolder line, making no secret of being a Catholic during Charles' reign, though by bringing the Exclusion Bill into Parliament the Protestant party had attempted to shut him out of the succession. However, this attempt was defeated by the skilful intervention of Charles, and when the latter died in 1685, the Duke of York became James II. He now determined to do all that in him lay for the restoration of the Catholic religion in the kingdom. James had strong convictions, and stronger determination, but he lacked prudence and tact, and very likely underrated the strength of the forces opposed to any such restoration. At all events, by the arbitrary methods he pursued, he made this opposition all the stronger. He claimed and exercised an unlimited dispensing power in regard to the Acts of Parliament, he raised a considerable standing army to overawe the discontented, and when rebellions broke out in the Protestant interest, under Argyll in Scotland, and under Monmouth in the West of England, they were suppressed with a severity which bordered on cruelty, and recalled to some extent the methods of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth in dealing with the risings in the Catholic interest.

Pope Innocent XI., far from approving the extreme measures taken by the king, ceased not to counsel moderation and respect for the sentiments of the majority of the nation. He was willing to co-operate in giving religious help, and in 1688 four bishops were appointed, but they were to preside over four vicariates, and no

**Vain
attempt
at reunion
in England.
(1685-1689.)**

attempt was made to restore the ancient hierarchy. These bishops were Doctors Leyburn, Giffard, Ellis, and Smith. But in political affairs James' headlong course was soon to end in disaster. The Declaration of Indulgence (1688), by which, on the Royal authority alone, all laws against those dissenting from the Established Church were suspended, and all tests of a religious nature abrogated, was the crowning act of imprudence. Seven of the Anglican bishops refused to publish the declaration, were tried before their peers for this, and their acquittal was the signal for a revolution which flung James from the throne, and put back the cause of the Catholics to an indefinite extent.

Meanwhile Pope Innocent had fallen into ill health. He bore his pains with the fortitude of a saint, praying that he might have patience to bear his sufferings. He had struck the first blow at Quietism, condemning sixty-eight propositions connected therewith, he had condemned laxism in morals, and above all he had given a noble example of disinterested devotion to his high office, stern asceticism, and detachment from his family. Innocent was already stricken in years when the summons of death came, but the choice of the cardinals, guided by Cardinal Chigi, was a still older man, the octogenarian Cardinal Ottoboni, a noble Venetian. This was a unanimous choice, and the Pope, who took the name of Alexander VIII., seemed still vigorous. He immediately began to reap the fruit of Innocent's struggles, for the French ambassador, who arrived in 1689, was instructed by Louis to renounce the right of asylum. Alexander pursued the path traced out by his predecessor, and solemnly renewed the condemnation of the assembly of the French clergy in 1682. He also persevered in refusing institution to the French bishops, who did not abjure this declaration, so that relations between the Holy See and the King of France remained very strained in character. But Louis was somewhat chastened by the increasing success of his enemies, so that by 1691, when Alexander VIII. died, he was quite ready for terms of reconciliation. The Pope's strength broke down rather suddenly, and on the 1st of February, 1691, he died at the age of eighty-one, having governed the Church for not more than sixteen months.

**Alexander
VIII.**
(1689-1691).

The conclave lasted a considerable time, as the rivalry of France and Spain, backed as the latter was by the emperor, came out sharply with veto and compromise. Louis XIV. considered it vital that a pontiff should be chosen who would make peace with France, and from one point of view he was successful. Cardinal Pignatelli, in whose favour the election was decided after some five months' interval, was a man of the loftiest character, wholly devoted to justice and conscience, and already seventy-six years of age. To show his veneration for the memory of Innocent XI., who had raised him to the purple, he assumed the name of Innocent XII., and for nearly a decade administered the affairs of the Church with singular simplicity of purpose and with equal skill. The poor he called his nephews, and their devotion to him was most striking. For malefactors and disturbers of the public peace he was a magistrate, stern, but just and fearless. He did indeed make peace with France, but without compromising principle. The offending prelates, who had signed the declaration, only gained institution after a thorough recantation. Moreover, King Louis XIV. wrote, disowning the same, gaining in return an extension of the hitherto partial regalia (or right to the revenue of vacant sees) to the whole kingdom.

Innocent's troubles came from another quarter, namely, from the conduct of the Emperor Leopold I. and his ambassador in Rome, the Count Martinitz. The latter attempted to revive the claim and right of asylum for criminals in the embassy which had been already abolished by Innocent XI., but he was met by an inflexible determination on the part of the Pope to be sovereign in his own capital. However, the emperor supported Martinitz, and the quarrel developed into a standing cause of hostility, thus throwing the Pope more or less into the hands of the opponents of the empire. And thus it came to pass that when Charles II., King of Spain, consulted the Pontiff as to whom he should name as heir to his vast dominions, the counsel of Innocent was in favour of a French prince, Philip of Anjou. The attempt to secure the succession for this prince led to the war of the Spanish Succession, and the attempt was in the end mainly successful. It cannot be said that it led to any increase of the national power of France, but it did lead to a

material increase in the influence of the House of Bourbon, and in fact it has deeply influenced European politics ever since. England threw in her lot with the empire, and the campaigns of Marlborough, with his victories at Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709), were all moves in the great game to defeat the plans of Louis XIV. It was only at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, that an arrangement was come to by which, though France agreed to many humiliating concessions elsewhere, the throne of Spain was to rest with Philip of Anjou, known as Philip V., and with his descendants.

But long before this came to pass Innocent XII. had paid the debt of nature. His decrees against Nepotism were acknowledged by a statue to his memory as far away as in Protestant Germany, and the English poet, Browning, in his chief poem, was so won by the mixture of mildness and fearless justice that shone forth in his character that he makes him the mouthpiece of his own highest sentiments:

“ Simple, sagacious, mild yet resolute,
With prudence, probity, and what besides,
From the other world he feels impress at times,
Having attained to fourscore years and six.”

It fell to the next pontiff to face the embroiled state of European politics which ensued on the death of Charles II. of Spain. The Spanish succession was Clement XI. the pivot on which turned the rival (1700-1721). ambitions of France and the empire. Cardinal Albani was secretly in favour of the French nominee, but this was not known to the emperor, and so he did not use the veto. The only thing objected to in Clement XI., for so was Albani named when chosen Pope, was his comparative youth; he was just over fifty. In fact his rise had been rapid, for his abilities were great, his connections were noble, and his physical strength and power for work were extraordinary, so he had everything in his favour. And in his manner of life he quite acted up to the high expectations which had been formed of him. There was no kind of work which a pontiff could devote himself to that came amiss to him. His piety was shown by a daily Confession, and daily celebration of Mass. His frugality appeared in his scanty meals and his frequent fasts, while, though he laboured to the full

extent of his powers, he slept but little. All the allocutions, briefs, and decrees that came from the Holy See were either written or revised by him, and these, with the homilies he was in the habit of preaching to the people, were afterwards collected and published by his nephew, Cardinal Albani. Moreover, he would also hear confessions and grant audiences freely, and bestow upon the poor large sums that might have been spent on his family or on the embellishment of his palaces. So industrious and so versatile, he seems to have thought that he had small need to rely on the skill of able ministers and advisers, and hence the men around him were mostly mediocrities and mere officials. Even the Pope's nephew was allowed very little share in the administration. And Clement XI. kept up this tenor of life, with its round of duties and increasing occupations, for the long period of over twenty years. It was Clement's misfortune that all his energy and all his pious attention to his high office met with but scant success when employed on the troubled field of European politics.

It fell to this Pontiff also to meet a new controversy over the Jansenist doctrines in France. The "*Pax Clementina*" had indeed produced an interval of outward calm, the more so that other questions had arisen to push this discussion into the background. But the chief partisans of the error were unchanged, and in 1701 the publication of the *Case of Conscience*, as to whether absolution could be given to a cleric who held to the respectful silence as to the question of Dogmatic Fact, stirred the storm anew. Forty Doctors of the Sorbonne answered affirmatively; however, Clement XI. condemned this decision, and in 1705 by the bull, "*Vineam Domini*," declared that the respectful silence was not sufficient for obedience. This was received with submission almost everywhere but at Port Royal, where restrictions were made that made the obedience a mere external one. Thereupon the Abbey was dissolved and the religious scattered (1709). Even the buildings were destroyed by order of the Government.

The Abbé Quesnel, whose "*Moral Reflections on Scripture*," being full of ability but permeated with Jansenistic doctrine, formed one of the chief means of keeping alive the spirit of the party, next met with

condemnation. One hundred and one propositions extracted from the work were censured by Clement XI. in his bull, "*Unigenitus*" (1713). Cardinal Noailles, who had hastily approved of the work, did not at once accept this bull, but after lengthy discussions it was accepted all through France, Noailles himself yielding. The minority, who appealed from the bull to a General Council, were for that reason called Appellants. But, outside the ranks both of the heretical Jansenists and of the obstinate Appellants, there continued to flourish Catholic writers whose opinions partook in a minor degree of the rigorism taught in an extreme degree by the Jansenists. It was only through the influence of St Alphonsus and of the milder teaching of later theologians that this tendency was gradually eliminated.

CHAPTER III.

NEW ADJUSTMENT OF THE BALANCE OF POWER.

(1715-1740).

By the time that Louis XIV. died in 1715 all dreams of French political supremacy in Europe had vanished, though a kind of social and literary predominance remained. One disaster after another had overtaken the French arms, above all in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). Prince Eugene and Marlborough had proved too much for the greatest generals of Louis XIV. And the Grand Monarch had bowed to the force that struck him, and giving up his former licentious life, and his arrogance to the Church, had spent his last years in piety and preparation for death. When he died he left France still a great influence, though not supreme, and some of his projects already realised. A Bourbon, his grandson, Philip of Anjou, sat on the throne of Spain. His great-grandson, Louis XV., succeeded him in France, and there was another Regency of eight years under the Duke of Orleans, uncle of the king. The Regent called to his councils his former tutor, the Abbé Dubois, soon after made Cardinal Archbishop of Cambray, who thus became the chief minister of France from 1715 to 1723. Dubois, though a man of ability, was a worldly and ambitious prelate. In public affairs he held France to the alliance with England and Holland against Spain.

But with the end of the Regency and the death of Dubois, which both came to pass in 1723, a great change came over the policy of France. Louis XV., now come of age, entrusted the direction of affairs to Fleury, who had been his tutor, and who being raised to the purple guided the destinies of France for nearly twenty years (1723-1743). This meant reconciliation with Spain, and likewise with the House of Austria, and on the other side a

break with the Protestant Powers, England and Holland, who had been the former friends of France. Though the alliance of the two chief Catholic Powers seemed reasonable enough, it was not productive of unmixed good. During the whole reign of the Emperor Charles VI. the influence of France in the German empire, not only politically, but even more socially and intellectually, was great, and it was not altogether a happy one. The predominant spirit in the France of those days was allied to a taste for free thought on infidel lines, and fostered that antipapal spirit which, known in France as Gallicanism, was later on called in Germany Josephism. But the full development of these tendencies was not yet, and, meantime, France was enabled to keep up, at least in externals, that royal splendour which shone so brightly in the days of Louis XIV.

Pope Clement XI. found great scope for his indefatigable industry and his power for methodical work in the negotiations which ended the War of the Spanish Succession at the Peace of Utrecht (1713), though on the actual scene of that treaty his representatives were hardly able to gain their due consideration. Even if the following years were somewhat quieter, the tireless Pontiff laboured unto the end. The final stages of the Jansenist controversy, the long-drawn-out dispute over the Chinese Rites, the organisation of the Church in the Philippine Islands, the munificent protection given to the exiled Stuarts, James II., and then to his son, known as the Old Pretender, likewise his care for the Vatican Library, provided him with objects of paternal vigilance till his death. And he did not spare himself even in times of indisposition. Thus it came to pass that though he had an iron constitution, having taxed it to the utmost, he died worn out with his labours at the age of seventy-two.

**Last years
of Clement
XI.**

Once again a member of the noble house of Conti was raised to the supreme dignity, but it was only after a disturbed and stormy conclave. Cardinal Paolucci was the favourite candidate, and was nearing the number of votes required, when Cardinal Althan pronounced the veto against him in the name of the emperor, whose minister he was. Paolucci acquiesced with dignity, and the electors then turned their thoughts upon Conti, who was favoured

**Innocent
XIII.**
(1721-1724).

by the friends of the last Pope, and had been nuncio in Portugal, where he was well liked. The Austrian and Spanish Courts were sounded, and it became gradually evident that Conti would have the votes.

When elected, he assumed the style of Innocent XIII., in memory of the great Innocent III., and began his reign with general favour. But though only sixty-six, which is not an advanced age for a pope, he was very weak in constitution, and suffered from a painful complaint. Hence it came to pass that he gave but few audiences, though his penetration of mind enabled him to dispatch much business in a short space. Even if externally reserved, as he thought became his dignity, he was not proud, but of a peaceful and conciliatory disposition, and succeeded in remaining on good terms with the contending European sovereigns. He granted them various favours, and gave the Investiture of Sicily to the Emperor Charles VI. The only favour that could give anxiety to Innocent was the raising to the cardinalate of the worldly French statesman, Dubois, but the pressure put upon him was great, not only by France, but by the various allied powers who were united by French policy. Remorse for this seems to have attacked him on his deathbed, and not to repeat his mistake he refused four nominations to vacant posts then put before him. Innocent XIII. died in 1724 after a brief but painful illness.

The Holy See was next to be filled by a religious, for Cardinal Orsini had joined the Dominican Order in his youth, and though early raised to the episcopate and the cardinalate (1673) by his relative, Clement X., had never put off either the exterior habit or the interior spirit of a religious. From the age of thirty-seven to that of seventy-five—the long period of thirty-eight years—he had been Archbishop of Benevento, and had rebuilt the city and its churches, ruined as they had been by an earthquake, so excellently that he was called the second founder of the city. Having sat so long in the Sacred College, he had been at four conclaves before his own turn came to be elected, and then only because there was danger in long delay, and as the choice of him came at the end of a novena to end the suspense, did he accept all unwillingly. He would be called Benedict

XIV., but when it was considered how slight were Petro de Luna's claims for recognition, this was changed to Benedict XIII. The last Dominican pope of the name had been Benedict XI., but in Pius V. he had a bright particular star to imitate, whose virtues were displayed in times nearer his own.

In truth Benedict XIII. went far to rival that holy Pope in his own austerity of life, and his reverent attention to his spiritual duties. His table was supplied at the rate of sixpence a day, and he still preserved the demeanour and habits of a humble religious. He loved the poor, and gave them free access to his presence, and would even give way on the road to the importunate charioteers of other vehicles, as he said, for peace sake. But the affairs of state and the control of finance were in great measure handed over to others, and he did not succeed in choosing his officials well. Cardinal Coscia earned for himself an evil reputation for maladministration of the Papal Treasury, and though he kept his place till the Pontiff died, he was then called upon to give an account of his doings, and so bad was the record of debt and self-aggrandisement that he was sentenced to expiate his misdeeds by ten years of imprisonment in the Castle of St Angelo.

The noble Roman was followed by an equally noble Florentine—Cardinal Lorenzo Corsini, whose family, besides furnishing statesmen to the world and cardinals to the Holy See, had graced the Church with a saint in St Andrew of that name, the illustrious Bishop of Fiesole.

**Clement
XII.**
(1730-1740).

When once he had embraced the ecclesiastical state at the age of thirty-three, he had been advanced from one position to another, being made Cardinal by Clement XI., and he had filled his various offices with such dignity and grace that all were pleased when the conclave of 1730 united the votes upon him. There was only one drawback, and that a physical one. He was seventy-eight years of age, and in the following year became totally blind. Thus the Holy See had one more novel experience in being filled by a blind pontiff. Still, in spite of his great age and his infirmity, he governed the Church with remarkable vigour for ten years, dying in 1740 at the age of eighty-eight.

Vigour would be the very last epithet to apply to the reign of his contemporary, the Emperor Charles VI. (1711-1740), for though there was a breathing space

among the wars of the empire, craved for by the mass of the people, and useful to recover the national exhaustion caused by war after war, there was little of public interest that was accomplished during those years. And with Charles VI. the male line of the House of Hapsburg died out. By the Pragmatic Sanction in 1713, Charles endeavoured to secure the empire, in default of male heirs, for his daughter Maria Theresa, but at his death this arrangement only became secure after the War of the Austrian Succession, in which the claims of Charles, Duke of Bavaria, to the empire were supported by Prussia and other Powers. In sharp contrast to the weakness of the emperor's reign stood forth the parallel reign (1715-1740) of Frederic William IV. in Prussia. The absolutist scheme of personal government, efficient and all-embracing, attempted by Louis XIV. on a vast scale in France, was brought to maturity, albeit on a far smaller scale, by this resolute German in Prussia. And when he died in 1740 he left his little realm with a standing army of 100,000 men, and every department of government, organised and centralised, to his son and successor Frederic.

Meanwhile in France the decadent administration of Dubois and Fleury in turn did nothing to restore exhausted France. Time was the healer and restorer that brought back energy and resources enough for many another costly struggle. Great Britain had settled down under the Hanoverian kings, George I. (1714-1727) and George II. (1727-1760), to a period of apathetic mediocrity. Walpole, the skilful Minister of the Crown, kept the peace, and managed the Parliament. But it meant the rule of venality, cynicism, and much profligate immorality. Twice the princes of the House of Stuart endeavoured to recover their inheritance by force of arms, choosing Scotland, whence they had their origin, for starting-point. In 1715 James, the son of James II., invaded England with an army composed mainly of Scots, but he was easily defeated. In 1745 his son, Charles Edward, made a still more desperate attempt, and having gathered an army of Highlanders, succeeded in penetrating as far as Derby without being effectively opposed. But the Highland chieftains had not the union needed for success, and their men had not the staying power of

professional soldiers, so they retreated from the Midlands back to their native Highlands, and after many adventures were routed at Culloden, and mercilessly tracked out and slain. After romantic adventures "Prince Charlie" escaped to the Continent.

Many of the Catholics both in England and Scotland had been favourable to these attempts, and some had taken arms to support the Stuart princes. They were ground down under severe penal laws, and hoped for freedom to practise their religion under Stuart rulers. After the rising had been suppressed, the most notable of these were tried and executed as traitors: Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, the Earl of Derwentwater, and others. The Hanoverian line was all the more firmly established on the English throne, and the bonds of the penal laws remained firmly drawn round the unfortunate English Catholics. Yet it was more by the dull pressure of the ostracism from public life, and by the crushing fines and monetary exactions to which they were subject, that the yoke made itself felt, than by the bloody methods of former ages.

The eighteenth century was indeed a dead time for the Church in England. The remnant who remained faithful practised their religion in secrecy and concealment. They were careful not to give **England.** offence, or to rouse the bigotry of their enemies, which still survived amid the decay of positive religious belief. Those same years saw a widespread diffusion of Deism and Rationalism among the English Protestants, and the Anglican Church was reduced to a terribly low level of activity and religious belief. Tindal, Collins, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Bolingbroke, and others wrote in favour of various forms of Rationalism, and even Anglican bishops, such as Hoadley, were evidently infected with the same. The body of the clergy were vegetating in an ignoble routine of formalism and the natural pleasures of a country life. It was the breath of the movement known as Methodism, inaugurated by John Wesley and Whitfield in the year 1743, that first stirred the country to a greater interest in religious matters.

The chief leader of the English Catholics was Dr Challoner (1691-1781), Vicar Apostolic of the London District for forty years, whose long and industrious career was spent in unwearied efforts to keep alive the

smouldering embers of the Catholic Faith amid dark days, and also to provide for their wants, almost single-handed, a very library of pious and religious works which form a testimony to his practical sense and his persevering industry. His career was somewhat paralleled by that of the Scottish prelate, Dr George Hay (1729-1811), who, like him a convert from Protestantism, like him also devoted himself for a long period of years to the pastoral care of the scattered Catholics and the provision of a number of religious works for their instruction, among still darker surroundings. But neither of them survived to see the dawn of that brighter day which followed in the wake of the French Revolution. When after the Revolution of 1688 William III. granted a Toleration Act to dissenters, Catholics were expressly excluded. And when Walpole later on brought in and succeeded in passing his act for the Land Tax, it contained a provision that Catholics should pay double. The first Catholic College (Sedgley Park) was opened in the reign of George I., but every effort was made to avoid publicity, and thus remain unmolested. There were still informers who thought it not too base to gain a livelihood by giving the government information about the presence and doings of the Catholic clergy. Dr Talbot, the Vicar Apostolic who succeeded Challoner, was tried on the charge of saying Mass on the information of Payne, a notorious informer of the class mentioned above.

And what is said above about the state of England and Scotland applies with some modification to Ireland as well. There of course the number of the

Ireland. Catholics was greater, and thus some of the penal laws, which were as tyrannical, or even more so, than those in England, could be evaded. But the difference of nationality added to the bitterness of the persecution, and though it gave a special patriotism to the unconquerable devotion to the Faith of the Irish people, it also drove on the English settlers to carry out the penal laws, with the additional motive of race ascendancy and the pride of conquest. The leader of the nation in the struggle for religious and civil freedom was the orator Henry Grattan (1746-1820) who succeeded in gaining several minor relaxations in the Penal Code, and some measure of religious and legislative independence

in a series of enactments from 1771 to 1793. A National College for the training of the clergy was founded at Maynooth in 1795, and made steady progress in numbers and in completeness of equipment. It has become one of the greatest clerical colleges in the world.

The same persecuting spirit that animated the penal laws in England and Ireland was transplanted to the colonies in North America, which had been founded by Protestant settlers from England. New England, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, all discriminated against Catholics. The only one of the English-speaking colonies which gave liberty of worship to its inhabitants was Maryland, founded by the Catholic Lord Baltimore, George Calvert, in 1634. But it would be an error to suppose that there were no more flourishing Catholic settlements in America than the one exceptional colony of Maryland, where after Calvert's time the Protestant ascendancy bade fair to drag down the colony to a level with the rest. France made more rapid way with her American colonies than England had so far, and they were Catholic. Monsignor Laval, who had been Vicar Apostolic of Canada since 1659, was made first Bishop of Quebec in 1674, and his jurisdiction reached not only over Canada but over all that long line of French possessions which reached as far south as New Orleans. There was no Bishop at New Orleans till 1793, after that city had passed into the hands of the Spaniards, but there was a line of French bishops at Quebec. It was the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, which ended the long struggle for supremacy throughout North America between England and France. The latter country, beaten above all at sea, and exhausted by the expenses of the war, gave up the contest, and this meant at least a temporary check to the fortunes of the Church in those distant colonies.

CHAPTER IV.

REGALISM DOMINANT.

(1740-1774).

It was in the generation immediately before the French Revolution that the theories of absolute monarchy, which Europe in the period after the Reformation had been under new pushed to far greater lengths than in the rulers. Middle Ages, reached their highest point. Their very want of moderation hastened the democratic outbreak which, first in France, and then in all the other European countries, has swept away those theories seemingly beyond recall. And in striving to lessen the controlling force of the papacy in order to unduly exalt regal power, those princes and their ministers were really pulling down the bulwark against their own downfall. In the year 1740 the chief power in nearly every continental centre passed into new hands. And these changes symbolised a new step forward towards absolutism and dynastic power. In that year Frederic the Second, sometimes called the Great, became King of Prussia, and laid by his genius the foundations of that country's future greatness. At that moment too the death of the emperor, Charles VI., and the claim of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed him, both on the Imperial throne and on that of Hungary, though the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria, Charles, were supported by most of the neighbouring nations, led to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). And this, which was at first a coalition against Austria, ended in securing the throne for Maria Theresa and her descendants by hereditary succession, all question of election being henceforth cast to the winds.

It was in the same year that Benedict XIV. was called to begin his long reign over the Universal Church. He

was the most renowned ecclesiastical scholar of his day, and had spent long years in the business of the Roman Courts. Prospero Lambertini was a native of Bologna, and had risen step by step, being in turn Auditor of the Rota, Promoter of the Faith, Domestic Prelate, and Bishop of Ancona, until having been made Cardinal by Benedict XIII., he had been transferred to the see of his native city, Bologna, following him who became Clement XII. His learning and industry were quite remarkable. Though devoted to history and canon law almost equally, he did not disdain purely literary pursuits, finding, as he said, in the study of such men as Dante and Tasso, and the Latin classics, life and energy for his own literary works. His books remain with us in twelve or more stately tomes, a proof of his labour and erudition.

**Benedict
XIV.**
(1740-1758).

It seems likely that Benedict was the most learned of all the popes, as he certainly was the most voluminous writer among them all. Whether we turn to his colossal work on the "*Canonisation of the Saints*," or to his "*Bullarium*," or to his "*Institutions*," or to his "*Work on the Diocesan Synod*," we find books written with a spaciousness of plan and an elegance of diction which rival those of a Doctor of the Church. At the same time Benedict was far from being the solitary scholar, studying only in the seclusion of his cell: he was a bright and witty companion, who revelled in the society of the keenest intellects he could gather into his company. "He has two souls," said one of his admirers, "one for science and the other for society." Seeking his recreation among scholars and men of letters, he shone with the brightest of them all. Even the scoffing Voltaire could not but admire the polished Churchman so far removed from gloom or bigotry, and wrote under his portrait:

LAMBERTINI,

"The Pontiff this: Rome's boast, and Father of the Orb,
By him with writings led to truth, and virtues graced."

But nearer and dearer to him than any philosopher were the Catholic savants, such as Muratori, Quirini, Garampi, and others.

Yet all these things formed merely the background to a life full of pastoral activity and hard toil. As Archbishop of Bologna he visited his whole diocese,

inquired into the needs of all, and reorganised the studies in his seminary. And all this was with a cheerful alacrity that made him the idol of his people. When Clement XII. died in 1740 he was called upon to take part in a conclave of fifty-four cardinals, split up into several contending factions, sharply divided by nationality and the changes of policy which had brought them into the Sacred College. Six months of weary negotiation and useless balloting left the election apparently as far off as ever, when Lambertini said half in jest: "If you want a saint choose Gotti, if a statesman Aldobrandini, if a plain honest man take me." But he was taken up more seriously than he meant, and before long had the requisite majority. He took the name of Benedict XIV. in honour of the Pontiff who had made him Cardinal, and was crowned in St Peter's on the 22nd August, 1740.

The same qualities which had distinguished him in his earlier career now graced his path during the long reign of eighteen years during which he ruled the Church. There can be no doubt that he carried concession to the utmost limits that conscience would allow in dealing with the Powers of the world, and administered the Holy See in a liberal and broadminded spirit. If it may be thought that sometimes he went too far, it must be remembered that he could be firm if he thought the occasion called for it, and at least it stands to his credit that, like a skilful pilot, he managed to steer the barque of the Church in very stormy waters. The attacks made on her were warded off at least as long as *he* lived. He had conciliated the most exacting claims, and at the same time preserved the dignity of the Holy See. And the times were difficult indeed.

The first steps were taken with regard to Portugal. Here, by an arrangement which the Pope ratified, the king gained the right of presentation to all the sees and abbeys in the kingdom, and later on the title of Most Faithful King. These were large concessions, but Spain was treated with almost equal liberality. Permission was granted for the State to tax the income of the clergy by special taxation, and the presentation to the greater part of the benefices was put into the king's hands. Then came the turn of the King of Sardinia. He was named Vicar of the Holy See, and it was understood that this carried with it the right

of nomination to all the Church benefices in his dominions, and the right to the income of the pontifical fiefs comprised within the same frontiers. The title of King of Prussia, which the Elector of Brandenburg had assumed, was acknowledged by the Pope, though many protested against it, and even the Sultan of Turkey was spoken of in terms of friendliness and goodwill. Benedict successfully mediated between the King of Naples and the Knights of Malta in a matter of deep controversy between them; and with a view to adjust the rival claims of Austria and Venice on the Patriarchate of Aquileia, Benedict strove to make peace by suppressing the see, and dividing the jurisdiction between two dioceses. In this way, when Benedict had come to the close of his career in 1758, there remained, outwardly at least, but very few causes of quarrel with the Roman See in any part of the world.

And to look at home, Benedict was a sagacious and moderate ruler of the Papal States. The great outlay incurred for buildings and extravagant display in former reigns was cut down, usury was condemned and legislated against, agriculture and commerce were both equally encouraged, and order introduced into places where corruption and disorder had gained the upper hand. In another sphere Benedict XIV. grappled with the difficult subject of mixed marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics which were becoming more and more frequent, and the bulls of this Pontiff, with the conditions he laid down, have been the guiding stars for the Church almost to our own times. He also wished to undertake the work of the reform of the Breviary, as the changes introduced since the Council of Trent were profoundly distasteful to him. But the report presented to him by the learned Jesuit, whom he entrusted with the examination, recommended such sweeping changes that the Pontiff desisted from his enterprise. More successful with the Martyrology and the Caerimoniale, Benedict published new and revised editions of both these liturgical works.

It was quite to his taste to found four academies in Rome for the study of Roman and Christian antiquities, of Church History and of the History of Canon Law. So too was the Museum and the Catalogue of Vatican Manuscripts which Joseph Assemani was ordered to

**Ruler at
home.**

compile. It was an unfavourable season for the development of the religious life, but it was to Benedict that both St Paul of the Cross and St Alphonsus owed the approbation of their Institutes. His own subjects loved him; the Catholic world was proud of his learning and his gifts; his friends delighted in his witty conversation and his never failing jests and epigrams. Altogether it was a career that ecclesiastical history may well bring out as a singularly complete and attractive one, extending to eighty-three years. Twenty-five years of preparatory studies and twenty-eight years in the Roman Courts led up to full thirty years of pastoral pre-eminence, first as Cardinal Archbishop at Bologna, and then as Supreme Pontiff, and Benedict breathed his last, full of years and honours, still bright though devout, but still barred from the honours of the canonised saint if for no other reasons than for the stringent rules he himself had laid down.

In spite of Pope Benedict's learning, the honour of being the Doctor of the Church in his time has fallen to another.

St This other was Alphonsus Dei Liguori, whose long career and varied labours fill a great space in the Church history of the eighteenth century. He was born in Naples in 1696, of noble and pious parents, and after a long and careful education followed the profession of a barrister until the age of twenty-six. Turned from the career of worldly glory by a mischance, that made him lose a most important case, he embraced the ecclesiastical state, and after ordination laboured most zealously for souls in Naples and in the country around. Struck to the heart by the way in which the country people were bereft of instruction and other spiritual aid, in spite of the large numbers of the clergy in Naples and all the Italian cities, he founded an Institute at Scala, in 1732, to come to their assistance.

This religious Congregation, known as that of the Most Holy Redeemer, grew not only since then, but after its founder's death, so that at last it has become one of the more considerable orders in the Church, from the point of view of numbers, and ever since has been employed in preaching Home Missions to the people, and to some extent going forth on Foreign Missions as well. It was Pope Benedict who gave the papal approbation to the work in 1749. It was only when the physical strength needed for mission preaching began to fail that Alphonsus gave

himself to his long and fruitful career as a writer. The greatest of all his works is his *Moral Theology*, in which he collects, as in a kind of *Summa*, the opinions of all the moralists and casuists up to his time, and gives judgment on them with all a lawyer's acumen and precision. He aimed at guiding men's conscience along the middle path between too great laxity and too great rigour, both of which had had, and must always have, their periods of predominance with a sort of rhythmic beat.

After many years Alphonsus was made Bishop of St Agatha of the Goths, which diocese he ruled for thirteen years (1762-1775), then returned to prepare for death among the sons of his spiritual family. But to the last his pen was ever active, and ever employed more for practical utility than for speculative science. The syllogism and the scholastic latinity were not for him, but in his dogmatic works he managed to compress more into a short compass than almost any similar writers have done. In his ascetic works he adapts himself by turns to the needs of the clergy, the nuns, the faithful in general, the poor, and the ignorant. It is on account of the strictly practical and simple character of his writings that he is sometimes called the Most Zealous Doctor: the Doctorate came in 1871 when Pius IX. was Pope.

Another most zealous teacher of the flock of Christ rivalled the labours of St Alphonsus in the missionary field, and instituted a Congregation which was all for Northern Italy that the Redemptorists were meant to be for Naples, and this was St Paul of the Cross, who by his own preaching and the labours of his sons first evangelised Tuscany from the centre of Monte Argentaro, and then more distant parts of Italy, until his Institute, known as the Passionists, has found world-wide spheres of labour in the old world and in the new. St Paul of the Cross was more than eighty when he died (1775).

**St Paul of
the Cross.**
(1694-1775).

And there was a third equally great missionary in Benedict XIV.'s time in the Franciscan Order in the person of St Leonard of Port Maurice (1676-1751), whose fiery and eloquent sermons electrified countless multitudes in the Italian Provinces during his career of forty-four years as a preacher. These "Sermons," still preserved, form perhaps more lasting

**St Leonard
of Port
Maurice.**
(1676-1751).

record of his labours in the pulpit than anything we have from St Alphonsus or St Paul of the Cross. Worn out at last with his exertions and austerities St Leonard came to die at Rome, for so had Pope Benedict commanded him, and his tomb and relics in the little church of S. Bonaventura is still one of the places of pious pilgrimage in the city.

But alongside of these holy men and their companions there was quite a notable band of Catholic divines and historians, especially in Italy, who, though to some extent infected with the regalist notions then ruling men's minds, yet maintained the Catholic Faith intact, and displayed a prodigious amount of erudition both in secular and religious matters. Perhaps the most celebrated of these was the learned Muratori (1672-1750), who with his voluminous works on history, politics, law, literature, philosophy, and religion has few competitors in the universality of his scholarship, and the variety of his erudition. His capacious mind was at home in every field of research, but he is best known as the Father of Italian History. What Muratori did for history was attempted with marked success by the Jesuit Tiraboschi for the belles-lettres in his "History of Italian Literature" (1783). Tournely (1729) was a dogmatic theologian of merit, free from the Jansenism and Gallicanism of the period, while the Dominican Billuart (1757) drew out the theology of St Thomas with a precision of syllogistic form which goes far beyond the *Summa*. Still, the battle for Catholic science was mainly fought by the Italian scholars. Orsi and Mamachi, both Dominicans, dealt with history and antiquities; and they were well matched by the Jesuits Zaccaria and Roncaglia. Cardinal Gotti, already mentioned as a candidate for the papacy, was another Thomist theologian of eminence, while Azevedo, the editor of Benedict XIV.'s works, and Joseph Assemani, the learned Oriental scholar, lent lustre to the reign.

A curious parallel outside the Church to the work of revival of religious spirit accomplished by the labours of missionaries like St Alphonsus, St Paul of the Cross and St Leonard, was going on in England in the rise of Methodism. The founder of this movement was the celebrated John Wesley (1703-1791),

whose stupendous labours rival, at least outwardly, the work of the greatest of these Catholic missionaries. Wesley did not commence his career with any intention of founding a new sect, but rather with that of stirring up a reform within the bounds of the Anglican body, beginning especially with a stricter and more methodical manner of living, and a deeper spiritual life than he could discover in any of those around him. Hence the name Methodist was applied to him and his followers. As time went on, however, he struck out more boldly, and though retaining the prayers of the Anglican Prayer Book, developed an organisation which was practically independent, and even rivalled that of the established Church of England. His success quite corresponded with his unrivalled activity. In the course of his missionary journeys of a period of fifty years he is said to have preached forty thousand sermons, and travelled 250,000 miles. He passed repeatedly over the whole of England, changed Wales into a Methodist country, travelled in Ireland, and even extended his labours to the American Colonies. Eventually the religious sects founded by him and his brother Charles, and by his friend and later rival, George Whitefield, became in their various ramifications one of the most widely spread of Protestant bodies. The Wesleyans, by their strong central government, still retain vigour of administration amid other obvious signs of decay.

Cardinal Rezzonico, a noble Venetian, had spent a blameless and edifying life in the service of the Holy See, and in the government of the See of Padua. His charity to the poor, on whom he spent all he had, distinguished him above all, and made him a widely known favourite, but when the votes of the cardinals chose him to follow Benedict XIV. in Peter's chair, he may well have trembled and wept, for the storm of hostility had been delayed, but not scattered, and all the enmity of Free Thinkers, Regalists, and Jansenists was to fall on his devoted head. And the flood burst on him at once. With acute cunning the point of attack had been chosen: it was the learned and powerful Society of Jesus. The ministers of the Bourbon Courts were the leaders of the onset, but the inspiration came from below. It was the clear-sighted penetration of the Encyclopædists which showed the manner of the

Clement
XIII.
(1758-1769).

assault. These anti-Catholic scholars knew too well what the Jesuits had been for the last two centuries to the Church of God, to doubt that their destruction would be the heaviest blow they could deal it. "When we have destroyed the Jesuits," said Voltaire, "we shall have short work with the infamous thing": that is, the Church. So, they undertook to persuade the Royal Courts, in which their influence was great, whatever they might think of Regalism, that the Jesuits were their enemies, and then the statesmen could rise to the attack, and leave them behind the scenes. And so it happened. In Portugal it was Pombal, in Spain D'Aranda, in Naples Tanucci, in France Choiseul, and all these men had the ear of their Royal masters.

Portugal was the first to begin. And here the duplicity of Pombal fanned against them a veritable persecution.

Portuguese Jesuits. It started with the affairs of the Jesuit Missions or Reductions in Paraguay. The Royal officials, who had always been jealous of the power of the missionaries in those regions, had stirred up a rebellion by ordering the settled Indians of the Reductions out into the wilds, and the Jesuits were blamed for this. They were also blamed for taking a part against the king in a disgraceful Court trial at Lisbon. On suspicion in both these cases, and without proof, the superiors were imprisoned in Portugal, and all the rest of the members were expelled, being sent by ship to Civita Vecchia, as a present to the Pope, as Pombal had the effrontery to phrase it. Clement had their necessities provided for, and extended to them a fatherly welcome.

In France the attack was begun in the Parliament, where the financial difficulties which the Jesuits had been involved in by the imprudent enterprises of Father Lavallette were made the reason for a Commission of Inquiry. But the result was

Other countries.

a foregone conclusion. Louis XV. seems to have done his best to save the society from suppression in France, but their enemies were too strong, and at last the king yielded, and signed the decree called for by the Parliament in November, 1764. In Spain the storm broke soon after, but in another way. The Fathers thought they had a friend in the king, but under the influence of D'Aranda he suddenly signed an order for their expulsion (April, 1767), and they were straightway shipped off to Civita

Vecchia. Pope Clement, who had already intervened in their favour by the bull "*Apostolicum*" (1765), which was full of praise and approval, could not in prudence allow this fresh influx, so the Spanish Jesuits were sent to join their brethren from South America in the Island of Corsica. The final blow was the presentation of identical notes by the Ambassadors of Spain, France, and Naples demanding the total suppression of the society (January, 1769). Although Clement did not yield, it is said that the shock of this terminated his life. He was already in bad health, and grew rapidly worse. On the 2nd of February Clement XIII. breathed his last.

The stress of the storm against the Church had brought Clement XIII. to his grave, but had not been able to make him yield. Hence the leagued enemies of the papal power looked to the new election to give them a pontiff who would do their will. In fact, the conclave of 1769 was the highest pitch of regal absolutism and Bourbon power as far as the Church was concerned. The Courts had their agents outside the assembly, and still more potent ones within. The College of Cardinals was pretty evenly divided between Court cardinals and Zelanti, as their opponents, zealous for the rights of the Holy See and friendly to the Jesuits, were called. An attempt was made to bind the candidates to sign a paper pledging them to conciliation with the Royal Courts, and to the suppression of the Jesuits. No less than twenty-three cardinals were threatened with the veto, and as others were old and infirm, this restricted the choice to a few. At last Solis, a Spanish Court cardinal, approached Cardinal Ganganelli, and extorted from him a promise, said to have been given in writing, though the paper cannot be found, that he would, if elected, do all he could to satisfy the Courts, and that he recognised at least his right to suppress the Jesuits. This satisfied the Court party, and as his high reputation gained him many votes from the Zelanti, Ganganelli was elected. He was a Franciscan, and had gained a high character for ability, first in the service of the order and then in that of the Universal Church—and he was an old pupil of the Jesuits. Still their enemies were too powerful and too determined to be put off, and if the Pope was to have any days of peace and friendship with the Powers, the price had to be paid.

Clement
XIV.
(1769-1774).

On one solitary occasion, when one of the foreign Ambassadors had pushed his instances too far, Clement flashed out with the noble response: "Learn that a pontiff governs souls and does not traffic with them." But the untiring conspirators were soon at their work anew, threatening and pestering the Pope, and

**Bull of
Suppression
of the
Jesuits.**

Clement was soon at the acme of his anxieties. He endeavoured to make peace by various measures of conciliation. Some of these seemed to propitiate Charles III. of Spain. To win Pombal, his brother Carvalho was raised to the cardinalate. The publication of censures on Holy Thursday, which was a grievance to some of the Bourbon princes, was also discontinued.

But the Jesuits were after all the prey marked down by their pursuers. Clement now proceeded to take proceedings against the Society in his own dominions, probably with a view to prove his own sincerity, and prepare the world for the suppression. But this was not enough. The Spanish Ambassador went so far as to threaten the Pontiff with a schism unless the Jesuits were totally suppressed. At last, under the pressure of this persecution, Clement XIV. issued, on the 21st of July, 1773, the celebrated Brief of Suppression, known by its first words: *Dominus ac Redemptor*. The reason given by the Pontiff was the removal of trouble and restoration of peace to the Church. The Courts seemed to wish to show their contentment: Avignon and Benevento, which had been seized, were handed back to the Holy See. But even now the Pontiff had to meet with vexation and insult at the hands of more than one European sovereign, imbued as they all were with the principles of the new Free Thinkers. The last months of his life were spent in the midst of distress, like a man who was weighed down with sorrows. On the 22nd of September, 1774, having received the last Sacraments, he expired, after an illness of a fortnight. There are elaborate monuments by Canova over the remains of both Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., the former in St Peter's, the latter in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

BOOK X.

THE CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY.

(1774-1914).

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(1774-1800).

THE drama of the Protestant Reformation had not yet been played through to the last act. Its effects had indeed been already many and far reaching, but it was to go further still. And as the eighteenth century drew on to its last decades, the state of Europe, both in religion and politics, was such that only a moderate impulse was needed to carry on society to a storm of passionate effort. France especially had been led on to a state of seething unrest, which was to issue in a gigantic outburst. Under the influence of Jansenistic severity the yoke of Catholicism had been made in many quarters unduly heavy; while, partly in reaction from this, and partly as the direct outcome of Protestantism, the so-called "philosophers" sometimes insinuated doubts on religion, and sometimes openly taught disbelief in Christianity. By the year 1774 the encroachments of the royal power on the liberties of the Church had reached their highest point in nearly all the countries of Europe. The Jesuits had been suppressed; nearly all power of free action or development had been hindered in the case of other religious bodies; and the royal prerogatives had been magnified beyond all bounds. The Bourbon Courts had vied with one another in wringing first from Benedict XIV., and then from

**Causes of
the
Revolution.**

Clement XIV., every concession that conscience could allow. But a great Nemesis was already hanging over them. The years which had brought to perfection the theories of regal power and absolutism had brought to perfection the so-called philosophical enlightenment as well, and it was to spare the throne as little as the altar.

Voltaire (1694-1778) was the leader of the onslaught on existing institutions in Church and State, and his attack was made more by the indirect methods of irony and sarcasm than by outspoken hostility, while Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), though less satirical and outwardly more respectful, sought to place morality on a basis independent of Christianity. Meanwhile the "*Dictionary*" of Bayle, and "*The Encyclopædia*," written by Diderot, D'Alembert and others, which was completed in 1772, lost no opportunity for an attack on Scripture, or tradition, or the history of the Church. A still more openly infidel attack on religion was contained in the "*Kingdom of Nature*," published by D'Holbach in 1770. At first the Royal Courts were disposed to favour the rationalist theories of such men as we have named. It was absolute monarchy in the hands of princes and ministers, who professed to govern according to the principles of philosophic enlightenment. But this was not to last, for Rationalism had little sympathy at heart with the pretensions of the Regalists.

There were regions where the political doctrines of some of the eighteenth-century philosophers had more effect than their religious theories. The assertion of the political equality of all men, of their social freedom, of their essential brotherhood, even when they might be given over to autocratic governments, made men question those doctrines of the Divine Right of kings to rule, which had never been more uncompromisingly asserted than now. It was in this way that the theories of such Free Thinkers as Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), and even the views of Montesquieu in his book on the "*Spirit of the Laws*," were not without their effect on the American Republicans, when they revolted against the absolute monarchical action of the British Crown, and signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The men whose names were put to that paper were not infidels or philosophers, but Christians, some of them even Puritans, or in the case of Carroll at

least, Catholic, but politically they were led by the democratic views then rising into ascendancy, and there can be no doubt that the sight of the successful struggle in America, carried on before the eyes of the whole world, became thenceforward an object lesson to the democratic party in France. It may thus be counted among the causes of that bloodier Revolution which broke out in that country only six years after the United States had achieved success (1783).

By the month of May, 1774, there was a new king at Paris, for Louis XV. died of smallpox after a reign of half a century, leaving a fearful heritage of Louis XVI. trouble and discontent to his successor. (1774). Louis XVI., with his simple, domestic virtues, and his beautiful consort, Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, seemed at first to be a harmless and happy sovereign. But the state of France was unsound from many points of view, and not many more years were needed to bring a great catastrophe upon French royalty. Among the clergy there was a sharp line of division between the bishops and other dignitaries known as *le haut clergé*, who were nearly all drawn from the ranks of the nobility by virtue of the royal presentation to sees and other benefices, and the very numerous *curés* and *vicaires* of the French Church in general, who were from the body of the people. And then to turn to the nobility, it has to be confessed, with only too great truth, that the solid and graceful virtues which had made the old French nobility such a model of courtesy and Christian life, were no longer the possession of the greater part, though bright examples were still to be found among them. Speaking in general, they had kept their castles and their privileges, but not their virtues, for many of their number had become foremost in that life of profligate luxury which disgraced the Court of Louis XV. Meanwhile, for the masses of the people, the times had been bad indeed. The financial state of the country, exhausted by unsuccessful wars, was well-nigh desperate. The contest which France waged, chiefly against England, for her colonial empire, led to a vast drain of men and money, and the Peace of Paris in 1763 only arrested this at the price of yielding the supremacy, at least outside of Europe, to the British flag. Drawn into the war between the American colonies and

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Great Britain, when the Treaty of Versailles made peace (1783), a financial crisis followed in France, which brought the State almost to bankruptcy, and the poor almost to starvation. And the Court seemed to look on coldly, pursuing its round of gaiety and extravagance, and leaving the people to their misery.

Thus all contributed in France to give the object lesson in successful insurrection furnished by the American

American Independence.
(1776).

Revolution very special force. The power of taxation, involving the levying of customs duties, had been claimed by Great Britain, although the colonies had no representation in the British Parliament. The ill-judged attempt to enforce this was resisted by arms, and after some time of desultory and half-acknowledged hostility, the American colonies met together, and framed the celebrated Declaration of Independence (4th July, 1776), which cast off the British sovereignty, and solemnly affirmed that the North American States "are and ought to be free and independent." Foremost amongst those who signed stood George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, but Catholics were not without their part in this act, Charles Carroll, a native of Annapolis, in Maryland, being one of the signatories. A fierce and vindictive war of some seven years' duration finally showed that it was impossible for Great Britain to regain her dominion over the North American States, whose freedom was admitted at the Peace of Versailles (1783), and who now stood forth as examples of sovereign states, free, democratic, and kingless. But when these states proceeded to draw up a Constitution for their future government, it is but fair to acknowledge that though they did so with an eye to the French philosophers and democrats, with whom Franklin was their intermediary, they showed a respect for religion which was absent from the elaborate systems introduced into France. Moreover, the English system of law was retained as the basis of their legal system. To provide for the needs of the Catholics in the Union, the Holy See erected the See of Baltimore, in Maryland, and Dr John Carroll was consecrated at Lulworth Castle as its first bishop in 1791.

The Pontiff, who in this way began what has become one of the greatest hierarchies in the Catholic Church, was Pius VI., already since 1775 reigning in St Peter's

chair. At the death of Clement XIV., in 1774, the Bourbon Courts had exerted their influence to secure a successor who would continue that Pontiff's policy, and on that account had opposed the election of John Angelo Braschi, who had been made a cardinal by Clement XIV., but had the reputation of being a friend of the Jesuits. The conclave lasted more than four months, and then, when Cardinal Pallavicini, who had been in favour with the French and Spanish Courts, declared that under no circumstances would he accept the papacy, a majority was gradually formed for Cardinal Braschi. He was eventually elected on the 15th of February, 1775. The new Pope did indeed show himself a friend to the Jesuits, but he prudently refrained from stirring up strife by a sudden reversal of his predecessor's policy. However, he allowed the society to retain their schools in Prussia, under the protection of Frederic the Great, and a Vicar-General was appointed for them in the Russian Empire, when the Empress, Catharine the Second, refused to recognise the Bull of Suppression. Father Ricci, the general who had been imprisoned during the last reign, died in the Castle of St Angelo before the case against him was tried, but Pius liberated his fellow-captives. The few years of comparative quiet enjoyed by Pius VI. at the commencement of his long pontificate, were devoted by him to the beneficent and somewhat ambitious project of draining the Pontine marshes, which in their swampy and undrained condition made the Roman Campagna a hotbed of fever and malaria. The work was taken up under the guidance of experienced engineers, but long before it was anything like complete, the financial resources which the Pope devoted to it were exhausted. Miscalculations were made, and the enterprise did not attain the success which Pius had hoped would immortalise his name. Yet even what was done was considerable, and far surpassed any previous effort, at least in Christian times.

The first chapter of misfortunes which broke in upon the Pope's engineering labours in the marshes, and upon his buildings in Rome, such as the new sacristy at St Peter's and the new Museum, came from Vienna, now become a centre of antipapal intrigue. At the death of Maria Theresa in 1780, the empire passed to her son, Joseph II. (1780-1790),

Pius VI.

(1775-1799).

Josephism.
(1780).

and the new emperor virtually put himself at the head of the Regalist party, already strong and aggressive, and bent upon undermining the supreme authority of the Holy See. It was Gallicanism revived under another sky. Pius VI. thought that he would be able to arrange his difficulties with the emperor, who had begun to make serious encroachments, by means of a personal interview, and for this reason he set out for Vienna early in 1782. His journey through Italy and Austria became a veritable triumph, for everywhere he was met with an enthusiastic welcome on the part of the Catholic populations. By the emperor he was received with much outward respect, but obtained nothing that could be called a modification of policy, save the promise that these changes should contain nothing against the Faith, or derogatory to the Holy See. Pius remained a month in Vienna, and while there conferred the Cardinal's hat on Archbishop Firmian, and on the illustrious Hungarian Primate, Battyani, receiving in return valuable gifts and the offer of the patent of nobility for his nephew. This last favour, however, the Pontiff declined with great disinterestedness. Kaunitz, the veteran Chancellor of the empire, met the Pope with a want of reverence which was almost insulting, the course of ecclesiastical legislation was not interrupted, and Pius had to begin his return journey without having won that victory for the Church which he had hoped for. The Punctation of Ems (1786) agreed on by Joseph II., in concert with his brother Maximilian, the Archbishop Elector of Cologne, and most of the other metropolitans of the empire, formulated the separatist tendencies which governed the Austrian Church at that time. The exemption of religious was to be practically abolished, as well as the office of papal nuncio, while the bishops alone were to grant dispensations, even those hitherto reserved to the Pope, and the customary oath of obedience to the Pope hitherto taken by the bishops was to be taken no longer. Meanwhile, another of the emperor's brothers, then Grand Duke of Tuscany, and later on the Emperor Leopold II. (1790-1797) summoned a synod of the bishops of his states at Pistoja (1786), and there, under the influence of Ricci, bishop of that see, a series of decrees was drawn up, at variance in many points with the rights of the Holy See, and with Catholic

practice. The decrees of Pistoja were even more noxious than those of Ems, from the Roman point of view, as being more nearly heretical and coming nearer home. So that when Pius published his bull known as the "*Auctorem Fidei*," it was the Synod of Pistoja which he directly condemned, though he meant to strike at all that disloyal spirit which, in the empire as in Italy, was drawing the Church to the verge of a schism.

**Auctorem
Fidei.**
(1794.)

But before this pronouncement had appeared, the great storm had already broken upon France. In order to meet the growing difficulties of the king and the Government, both financially and otherwise, it was decided to summon the Three Estates of the Realm. They met in Paris (5th May, 1789) consisting of about three hundred clergy, two hundred nobles, and five hundred and seventy of the commons. Their functions had been long disused under the absolute monarchs who had ruled France, and now, under the influence of the ideas of the time, they met determined to use their opportunity. There is no doubt that some of the nobles and many of the lower clergy were at first disposed to share the democratic opinions of the commons or *Tiers Etat*, as it was called. But disunion arose out of discussion as to the manner of voting, until, at last, the *Tiers Etat* declared itself the sole depository of legislative power, and on the 17th of June proclaimed itself to be the National Assembly. King Louis XVI. hereupon dismissed the reforming minister Necker, and drew the Royal army round Paris for his own defence. The answer to this was an insurrection, and the storming of the Bastille prison by a crowd of some thousand insurgents (14th July, 1789).

**The
National
Assembly.**
(1789.)

The king now yielded, recalled Necker, adopted the tricolour as an emblem, and recognised the "Constituent National Assembly." A few days later, the assembly voted enthusiastically for all class privileges to be abolished, and for the equality of all Frenchmen. Thence they proceeded to deal with the endowments of the clergy, and after exception had been taken to the first moderate proposals, tithes were abolished, and the property of the clergy declared to belong to the nation. King Louis between his fears and his conscience temporised for some time, but at last yielded in principle. The next thing

was the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," known as the "Principles of 1789," as a preamble to the new Constitution. These celebrated decrees were as follows:

- (1) All men are born and remain free and equal.
- (2) All sovereignty resides in the people.
- (3) Law is the expression of the general will.
- (4) No arbitrary imprisonment or excessive punishments are lawful.
- (5) Men are free to think as they please, and publish their opinions.
- (6) Equality of contribution to the public purse and national force is just.
- (7) Responsibility of the Government to the people is affirmed.

When the Royal family were thought to be planning flight (6th October, 1789), they were brought by the mob from Versailles to Paris, and the assembly went on to confiscate the Church property, engaging, however, to provide for the clergy by salary, and for the public worship. Early in the next year (1790), proceeding to the further reorganisation of the clergy, it passed after much discussion the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" on the 12th of July, 1790, which provided that the dioceses should henceforth agree with the Civil Departments, fifty-seven sees superfluous to this arrangement being suppressed, while both bishoprics and parochial benefices were made elective, and a scale of salaries was put forth for all ranks of the clergy. The king, though most unwillingly, promulgated the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (24th August, 1790), while the Pope, following the condemnation of it by the French Episcopate, expressed his disapproval. Thereupon Mirabeau got the assembly to decree, under severe penalties, the taking of an oath by the clergy within two months, to accept the new Constitution. Nearly all the bishops, and about half the clergy, refused to take the oath; and thus a sharp line of division was drawn between those who took the oath, called *assermentés*, and the others, called *non-assermentés*; in fact the gage of battle was thrown down between the Republicans and the orthodox clergy of France. (13th April, 1791).

The Pope at last issued a solemn condemnation of the Constitution, to which the assembly replied by the annexation of Avignon and Comté Venaissin,

and diplomatic relations between France and the Holy See were broken off. After the recall of the nuncio the papal authority was represented in France by the Abbé Salamon, who has left us a graphic account of his adventures during the terrible days of terror which were to follow. The king again attempted flight, but was brought back to Paris, and himself took the oath to the Constitution on the 13th September, 1791. On the 30th the Constituent Assembly having completed its work and made in all about two thousand five hundred laws, dissolved itself, and made way for the Legislative Assembly, in which no member of the previous assembly was to be allowed to sit.

The Legislative Assembly met amid thoroughly roused disorder and fiercely opposing parties. It took up the question of the non-juring clergy, forbidding them the right to exercise their sacerdotal functions, and threatening them with imprisonment. King Louis vetoed this, and replaced his ministers by new ones, with the well-known Dumouriez at their head. The Pope now excommunicated all priests who had taken the oath, if they did not retract, while on the other side the assembly retaliated by decreeing expulsion against all those who had not taken it. Meanwhile, the king became involved in a struggle with his new ministers, and having dismissed Roland, one of them, the populace stormed the Tuileries and took the king and Royal family as prisoners to the Temple. The various European nations now intervened in the struggle. War with Austria began, and soon Prussia was also beginning to invade France. The Revolutionary party became desperate. Every effort was made to make the non-juring clergy take the oath, but in vain, and the Decree of Expatriation was proceeded with. Provoked by these things, the Vendéans and many of the inhabitants of neighbouring districts flew to arms, and thus the Civil War of La Vendée began. Meanwhile, the Prussian army was in Champagne, and the Parisian populace was inflamed to madness. In the prisons of the capital some fifteen hundred priests, soldiers, and women were massacred in the month of September, and the Legislative Assembly ended its career by legalising divorce, and making the registration of births, marriages, and deaths a civil matter.

**Legislative
Assembly.**
(1791-1792).

The National Convention which had been arranged for by the assembly, met on 21st September, 1792, and at the first session, Grégoire, a Constitutional bishop, proclaimed the Republic; there were fifteen bishops and twenty-eight priests around him. The French leader Dumouriez had defeated the Prussians at Valmy, but had been himself beaten at Neerwinden, and had then gone over to the enemy. All helped to madden the Republicans. They proceeded to the trial of Louis XVI., and he was condemned and executed (2nd January, 1793). And on the 2nd April following, the Convention set up the terrible Committee of Public Safety, under Marat and others, with Robespierre and Danton to execute all whom it judged its enemies. The Revolutionary Tribunal, established at Paris with its arbitrary executions, began what has been ever after known as the Reign of Terror. Vast numbers were slain, not only in Paris, but in the provinces also, by the notorious agents of the Convention. The Law of Suspects permitted the detention of anyone under suspicion without trial, and in this way no fewer than thirty thousand unfortunate people were imprisoned. Queen Marie Antoinette was sent to the scaffold on the 16th October, 1793, and other illustrious persons fell one by one to the rage of the Republicans. The so-called constitutional clergy were no longer in favour, as the greater part of the leaders were frankly non-believers. The constitutional bishop of Paris resigned, and many of the clergy followed his example. The marriage of priests was approved, the churches were closed, the week of seven days was replaced by the decade of ten, and the treasures of the churches were seized. The Convention had embarked on the work of the dechristianisation of France. But a new fanciful religion was inaugurated by the extreme party, the worship of the Fatherland, and the Feast of Reason was celebrated with strange rites in Notre-Dame (10th November, 1793); still, there were men among the leaders who now saw that the extreme party (called the Mountain) had gone too far. And Robespierre put himself at the head of these men. Many of the extremists were sent to the scaffold by Robespierre's orders; though indeed he is also responsible for the execution of more moderate Republicans like Danton and Desmoulins. From April to June Robespierre was

supreme. Many bloody executions continued to take place, but Robespierre got the Convention to affirm the existence of a Supreme Being, and the Immortality of the soul. On the 8th of June the Festival of the Supreme Being was celebrated throughout the land with much external pomp. Meanwhile, the armies of the Republic defeated the allies at Fleurus, and Toulon was recaptured by the young officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. The Vendéan insurrection was checked, and the Republic seemed able to hold its own against Europe in arms. Nevertheless, for Robespierre the day of power was over. His enemies closed in around him, and brought about the *coup d'état* of 27th July, 1794, in which the notorious leader was seized, and then promptly sent to the guillotine. This meant the beginning of a reaction. The execution of many of the laws against the clergy was suspended, and though fitful outbursts of persecution took place, the worst of the storm was over. The Convention itself had well-nigh come to the end of its tether. Amid vast plans never realised, and innumerable crimes only too real, it has left some permanent institutions never since abolished. Such are the Institute of France, the Decimal System, and the Ledger of the Public Debt.

The Constitution passed by the Convention had already decreed that the executive should consist of five directors, and that the law-making power should reside in the Council of 500 and the Council of the Ancients. These provisions came into force on 27th October, 1795.

**The
Directory.**
(1795-1799).

The directors were Carnot, Barras, Letourneux, Rewbell, and La Reveillière-Lépeaux. These men were opposed to Christianity, and a dull period of persecution of the non-juring clergy and of cold indifference toward the constitutional clergy followed. The observance of the decade, and the non-observance of Sunday were enforced. The *émigré* clergy remained ostracised, and hundreds of priests were deported from France to Cayenne. A philosophical attempt at Rationalist religion called Theophilanthropism was encouraged by certain leading public men, but banned by the Directory. It was a kind of spiritualist, ethical Church without God, incapable of winning the adherence of the masses. Meanwhile, the armies of the Republic continued their victorious progress abroad. Napoleon

Bonaparte, at the head of the army of Italy, drove out the Austrians from the North of Italy, and forced upon them the Treaties of Campo Formio and Tolentino (1797), by which the Austrians gave up Italy, with the exception of Venice, and the Pope was forced to give up the Legations and Marches, and to pay thirty million francs. And though Napoleon did not go to Rome, Revolutionary agents tried to stir up a revolution there. One of these, General Duphot, was killed in the course of a riot, and on receipt of the news of this, the French General Berthier seized Rome, and annexed it to the French Republic. Pius VI. refused his consent to the usurpation, whereupon he was seized by the French, and carried as a prisoner through the various cities of Italy to Valence. Here he remained in captivity, and died of the pains and grief brought on by his ill treatment (29th August, 1799), six weeks after his arrival at Valence. Permission for the usual funeral rites being asked, it was harshly refused by the Directory, and the body of the Pontiff being embalmed was left in a leaden coffin in the nearest chapel. But great changes were at hand. Napoleon Bonaparte, at the time when Pius died, was absent with his army on the celebrated expedition to Egypt, which he had persuaded the Directory to entrust to him. Now, after an absence of a year and a half, he landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October, 1799, and reached Paris seven days later. He had passed through Valence on his way, and it was in response to the requests made to him there by Mgr Spina, that he signed a decree on the 30th of December for a public funeral for the deceased Pontiff, though at this there were no religious ceremonies. The heart of the Pontiff was interred separately, and has never been removed from Valence; but later on his body was taken to Rome, and reinterred there. One of the most striking objects in St Peter's Basilica is the beautiful marble monument of Pius VI., in the Confession of the Saint, representing him kneeling as in prayer before the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles.

CHAPTER II.

THE NAPOLEONIC ERA.

(1800-1815).

THE permission given for the burial of Pius VI., on the last day of the year, 1799, had in it more of contemptuous toleration than of respect on the part of **Pius VII.** Napoleon, and the conclave which was then (1800-1823). sitting owed nothing to him. He had been absent from the field of strife in Europe on his Egyptian expedition, and while he was away the swift blows dealt at the French by the Russian general Suwarrow had driven these invaders to the frontier. In this way a conclave became possible, and at Venice, till then a part of the Austrian dominions, it met on the 1st of December, 1799. The monastery and Church of San Giorgio, still a picturesque object to the visitor's gaze, as they rise from the little island across the Lagoon, afforded a meeting-place for thirty-seven cardinals who gathered there. The German emperor gave a support which was half protection, half interference, so that what with the veto and what with the play of contending parties, the conclave proved a lengthy one. Among the electors were such eminent men as Henry Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York, Gerdil the theologian, Caprara, and the French Cardinal Maury, who was supposed to watch over the Bourbon interests. In lower positions were the future cardinals, Consalvi, Litta, Pacca, and Erskine. It was Consalvi who first fixed the attention of the conclave on the Benedictine Chiaramonti; and, in fact, when Maury had been vetoed, and others excluded, Chiaramonti secured the needful majority (14th March, 1800). He had enjoyed the favour of Pius VI., in whose honour he assumed the style of Pius VII. At San Giorgio he was crowned with but

little pomp, and though pressed by the empire to go to Vienna, and by the French to proceed to France, he listened to neither. Landing at Pesaro he passed to his capital, which he reached on the 1st of July, being welcomed with acclamation by the Romans.

Those same months which had brought Pius VII. to Rome as Pope had wrought a great transformation in European affairs. Napoleon, having returned from Egypt, had secured his position in France before the end of 1799 as First Consul of the French Republic, with Cambacérès and Lebrun as his colleagues. He directed all the resources of his matchless genius to make order out of chaos, both at home and abroad; and it did not escape his keen sight that the public recognition of religion was essential to security in the civil order. So the French envoys at Rome were instructed to negotiate for a Concordat. In consequence of their suggestions, Mgr Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, was sent by the Pope to Paris, yet could not succeed in obtaining anything that he considered a feasible basis to treat upon. Alongside of Spina's action informal overtures were carried on at Rome by the French envoy Cacault, and this became the first opening for further discussion. At length Consalvi, now Cardinal Secretary of State, received plenary powers from the Pontiff to proceed to Paris and treat with the First Consul and his ministers. Napoleon wished to settle matters with lightning rapidity, and according to his own ideas, but he was foiled in this by the skill and firmness of Consalvi. It is true that Consalvi returned to Rome before the publication of the Concordat, and that the cardinal legate Caprara, sent to take part in the great event of its solemn promulgation, was both in firmness and ability inferior to Consalvi. Every effort was made to work upon his fears and extort from him unworthy concessions. Still, the Concordat of 1802 was a notable restoration of religion. Its promulgation was marked by public ceremonies at Notre-Dame, in which Caprara took part. And though the decorum of the occasion was marred by the irreligious behaviour of the Republican functionaries whom the will of the First Consul forced to be present, the function was not lacking in external splendour.

The chief provisions of this great attempt to secure

a working agreement between the Church and the new order of things in French politics were as follows:

The
Concordat.
(1802).

- (1) The Catholic Apostolic Roman religion shall be freely practised in France.
- (2) A new circumscription of the dioceses shall be made by the Holy See in accordance with the civil division of France into departments.
- (3) The incumbents of the new sees shall be nominated by the First Consul, and canonically instituted by the Pope.
- (4) Those appointed to sees and benefices shall swear fidelity to the Republic, which is to be publicly prayed for in the words: *Domine salvam fac Rempublicam*.
- (5) The bishops are to make a new circumscription of the parishes, and have the right to appoint to them.
- (6) The cathedrals and churches are to be at the disposal of the bishops.
- (7) Holders of alienated ecclesiastical property are not to be disturbed, but, in lieu of the revenues from it, the State is to pay a suitable honorarium to the clergy.

More serious than the minor concessions wrung from Caprara was the action of Napoleon in passing through the French Legislature certain so-called Organic Articles of the Concordat, which thus became the law of the State, though they were not really part of the Concordat signed by the representatives of the Holy See. The principal provisions thus engrafted on the agreement come to were that all papal bulls were to be subject to the permission of the Government for their publication, that the principles of the Declaration of 1682 were to be retained, that there should be a State Catechism, and to these were added a number of less vital points. But in spite of the tyrannical spirit shown by the First Consul in striving to force these Articles on the Church, it cannot be denied that in the general religious revival, which began with the Consulate of Napoleon, the influence of the First Consul himself played a great part. He had been witness of the follies of the Directory, and saw the religious void that was still in the hearts of the multitude. His keen genius compre-

hended that nothing but the restoration of the Catholic religion would give stability to the new France, at whose head he had put himself. As he advanced along the path which led to his own autocratic rule, he led France with marvellous skill in the main upward to institutions, which were to combine all that he considered best both in the old and in the new. As time went on, the other consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, fell more and more into the background, and the Court of Napoleon became more and more regal.

The Article of the Concordat which provided for a new circumscription of the French dioceses, implied perhaps the most sweeping exercise of the powers of the Holy See over the episcopate which history records. The old dioceses were one hundred and thirty-five in number, whereas the number now to be established was less than eighty. It therefore meant the retirement, voluntary or enforced, of a considerable proportion of the French bishops. To them the action of the Pope came as a thunderclap, and was the greatest trial to their faith and loyalty that could be. Some of them could be, and were, appointed to the new sees, or to the old ones with new boundaries. Some of them submitted to the requirements of the Pope, though in some cases all unwillingly and with strong protests. But there remained others who held out, declaring that in yielding to the wishes of Napoleon in this matter Pius VII. had exceeded his administrative powers, and that they still lawfully retained their sees. As about fifty sees were vacant, the total number of bishops, dispersed in England and other places, where they had found a refuge, was eighty-one. Of these forty-five nobly submitted to the will of the Pope, and about thirty-six held out in opposition and in virtual schism. It was the opposition of these bishops and the clergy who sided with them that led to the so-called *Petite Eglise*, a schism which only gradually died out after the Restoration. To support the Concordat Pius VII., by his bull "*Qui Christi Domini*" (29th November, 1801), deprived all those who had not voluntarily resigned, and at the same time the fifty-nine Constitutional bishops were compelled to resign. The sixty new sees were then filled, in the manner prescribed in the Concordat, though not without trouble on account of several Constitutional bishops, who had not renounced

the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, having been nominated by the First Consul. Pius VII. protested against this, and after much discussion some sort of a retraction was gained from the recalcitrant. After the Restoration the sixty sees were increased to eighty-three, but it is noteworthy that the Pontiff refused a Concordat on similar lines for Italy, in spite of Napoleon's desire.

Meanwhile, the First Consul was establishing his power, and preparing to become the absolute ruler of France. Having made peace with England (1802) by the Treaty of Amiens, and influenced the Senate to give a favourable vote for the step, Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French by a *Senatus*

**Napoleon
and the First
Empire.**
(1804-1814).

Consultum on the 8th of May, 1804. The new potentate wished to give the sanction of religion to his new dignity by a solemn coronation service in Notre-Dame. He accordingly sent an urgent invitation to the Pontiff to come to Paris and crown him. Naturally, this project aroused vehement opposition among the cardinals, and among all who remained attached to the Bourbon line and considered Bonaparte as a usurper. But the autocrat had reckoned with this opposition beforehand. He had replaced Caccia as envoy at Rome by Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, who was his uncle, and who, in deference to his wishes, had been raised to the cardinalate some time before, together with Boisgelin, Cambacérès the younger and Bernier. And the arguments of Fesch backed up the emperor's request so well that Pius resolved to comply. Disregarding the protests made by the opposing cardinals, the Pontiff set out for Paris on the 2nd of November, declaring that he felt it would be for the good of religion, and protesting that he had the glory of God and the good of souls solely at heart.

Pius VII. passed through France amid scenes of triumphant enthusiasm, and was met by Napoleon at Fontainebleau, though with but scant ceremony. His welcome compared badly with the receptions his predecessors had met with from the Holy Roman emperors of old. After Napoleon's civil marriage with Josephine Beauharnais had been ratified by a religious ceremony, according to the requirements of the Council of Trent, on the eve of the Coronation, the Pontiff

**Coronation
of Napoleon.**
(1804).

presided at a gorgeous religious function for the Imperial Coronation in Notre-Dame on the 2nd of December. But at the last moment, after the crown had been blessed, Napoleon took it and placed it on his own head, and then proceeded himself to crown his consort Josephine. Thus did he defeat the real object for which Pius had journeyed to Paris, and symbolised a character for his empire far different from the empire of the Middle Ages. He was doubtless already jealous of the veneration shown to the Pope, and during the rest of his stay in Paris took many occasions of showing petty annoyance and overbearing dislike. They had many interviews during those months, at which Pius gained more freedom and power for the Church in France, but the emperor would only consent to his return to Italy when he himself crossed the Alps to receive the Iron Crown at Milan. After a triumphal progress through France and Italy, surpassing if possible that which he met with on his outward journey, Pius reached Rome again on the 16th of May, 1805.

It was not long before additional grounds of dissension came to fan the flame of discontent, both with the person of the Pontiff and with the proved superiority of his spiritual power to his own, which was burning in the heart of the emperor. **Jerome Bonaparte's marriage.** Jerome Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, had married in America a Miss Patterson, who was a Protestant, and the emperor, who looked on this as an ill-assorted marriage, wished to have it dissolved, and therefore applied to the Holy See for a divorce. The Pope entrusted the examination of the case to the best theologians, but they were found in favour of the validity of the marriage. What then could the Pontiff do but declare the impossibility of severing this lawful bond? This he did in a letter full of cordiality and protestation, that he was most desirous of gratifying the emperor in all that was possible, but at the same time firmly asserting the indissolubility of the marriage, and his consequent want of power to do anything in the matter. Napoleon was angry, but Pius was immovable, and the only result was another breach in friendly relations between the two.

The Peace of Amiens made between France and England in 1802 was not to be of long duration, and the increasing predominance of Napoleon seemed to all

the European Powers a common danger. This made it easy to form a coalition which was engineered by the English minister Pitt, and adhered to by Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Napoleon turned first against England, making elaborate preparations for invading that country.

Napoleon
at his
zenith.

And he held to that plan for several years with remarkable tenacity. But in 1805 he turned upon Germany with rapid blows, and, soon after, Nelson's victory at Trafalgar put an end to all prospect of a successful naval expedition against England. On the other hand, by a skilful attack on the combined forces of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz (1805), he was able to dictate terms of peace at Pressburg which humbled his enemies in the dust. With the forced abdication of Francis I. (1806) the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans was replaced by an Austrian Empire, and there was a German emperor no longer. Then, turning upon the Prussians, Napoleon was able to catch them unprepared, and thoroughly to defeat them at Jena (1807) and Auerstadt. The Russians proved more formidable adversaries on the bloody fields of Eylau and Friedland (1807). But here also he was at last successful, and at Wagram (1809) the Austrian army, once more in arms against him, was completely beaten, and the Peace of Schönbrunn made Napoleon, for the time at least, master of Central Europe. It is true that the same year saw the beginning of the Peninsular War (1809-1814) waged by the English under Wellington to free Spain and Portugal from Napoleonic rule, personified in Joseph Bonaparte, who had been made by his brother King of Spain. But it was only slowly that this told on Napoleon's general position, and we may well consider that at this moment the mighty conqueror was at the zenith of his power.

It was at this period that Napoleon entered definitely on that struggle with the papacy which in reality only ended with his fall. Probably by this time his ambition had grown beyond all bounds, and had become a disease. He was no longer the youthful genius of the Revolution, who had pursued the "career open to talent" until it placed him on the French throne. At any rate he determined to force Pius VII. to co-operate in the so-called Continental System, which meant the exclusion of

Pius VII.
led into
captivity.

England from all European ports and their trade. And when the Father of the Faithful of all nations would not agree to this, he decided to incorporate the Papal States by force in the French Empire. He did not go to Rome in person, in fact he never set foot in the capital of the Christian world, but he entrusted the execution of his design to Generals Miollis and Radet. Radet was instructed to get possession of the person of the Pontiff. The account of this daring action, as it is narrated in the words of the Pope's faithful secretary, Pacca, afterwards cardinal, is one of the most interesting and minutely told chapters of Church history which we have. It is impossible, of course, to reproduce it here. It must suffice for a sketch like this to state in short that on the receipt of information that he was to be made prisoner, Pius VII. was able, by means of his trusty attendants, to publish in Rome a sentence of excommunication on those who violated his domains. But, on the 6th July, 1809, he was taken prisoner, and hurried under an escort of French soldiers into a travelling carriage, and then carried rapidly from Rome. Scarcely any breathing space was given at the halts necessary on the journey, and at last Pius VII. found himself, like his predecessor, in practical captivity at Savona, deprived of nearly all that belonged to him, as well as of the services of most of his Court. He was subjected to much petty persecution, but held firm, and refused to institute the bishops nominated by the emperor until he should be placed in a position of freedom, or to sign a renunciation of his temporal power. The vacancies in French sees made a practical difficulty in France, and so Napoleon called a National Council to his help, which was presided over by his uncle, Pius VII. at Cardinal Fesch. This council, however, Fontaine-bleau. after deliberating, declared its incompetence to act in the matter of giving canonical institution without the Pope. Thereupon it was dissolved by Napoleon, and orders were given for the Pontiff to be brought from Savona to Fontainebleau. This was done in 1812, and then every effort was made by the emperor and his agents to break down the constancy of Pius VII. Preliminary Articles of a Concordat, known as the Concordat of Fontainebleau, were prepared, and laid before the Pope for his signature. Browbeaten by Napoleon, and deprived of the advice of his counsellors, Pius in a

moment of weakness agreed to sign these. But no sooner had he done so than he was seized with remorse, and calling to his aid Cardinals Di Pietro, Consalvi, and Pacca, he by their advice revoked the consent he had given, and declared the paper null and void.

While Napoleon was thus tyrannically persecuting the gentle Pontiff, who all the time was fascinated by his genius, and only resisted him at the urgent call of conscience, he was himself preparing the events which led to his downfall. Mad-

The fall of Napoleon.

dened by his ambition, he resolved on the colossal enterprise of the invasion and conquest of Russia, wishing to dictate terms of peace to the Czar at Moscow, the old capital. Alexander had been a party to the Peace of Schönbrunn after the defeat of Wagram, but it was most distasteful to him, as depriving him of most of Poland. Hence when Napoleon tried to secure his support for the Continental System of a general blockade against England, he became openly hostile, and negotiation failing, Napoleon determined to punish and humble him. A grand army of over six hundred thousand men was assembled and the invasion of Russia commenced (24th June, 1812). The Russian armies, under Barclay and Bagration, were several times defeated, and, after the battles of Smolensk and Borodino, Napoleon entered Moscow victorious on the 14th of September. On the very next day the city was set on fire, and in the course of the five days following, a great part of it was destroyed. The Czar refused to treat for peace, and at length the French emperor was obliged to order a retreat, which proved disastrous to his army. Harassed by the Russians, and still more afflicted by the snow and frost as the season advanced, only a very small portion of the vast host which had begun the campaign was still in the ranks when the Russian frontier was crossed. Napoleon, indomitable and too proud to acknowledge his failure, hastened on to Paris to try and raise a new army. The Czar, however, was determined to press home his success, and the Russian army proceeded to march into Germany. The Prussians were the first to join them at the beginning of 1813; then, after fruitless attempts at negotiation between Napoleon and Metternich, the Austrians followed suit. In fact, the enemies of the French were closing round on all points. Wellington, meanwhile, was gradually driving

the Napoleonic armies before him out of Spain. The genius of the great emperor was never shown more wonderfully than in the campaigns in Germany in 1813, which, however, terminated in disaster for Napoleon at the terrible battle of Leipsic in October, 1813. The allies, after this, began to invade France from all sides, and though Napoleon still fought with desperation, his resources were no longer equal to the task. The allied forces entered Paris on the 30th of March, 1814. This was followed by the abdication of Napoleon. At the suggestion of the Czar Alexander, the Island of Elba was assigned to the fallen ruler as a nominally sovereign domain with the shadowy title of emperor. But these narrow limits could hardly be expected to content the genius:

“ Whose game was empire, whose stakes were thrones,
Whose table earth, whose dice were human bones.”

Hence, some ten months later Napoleon escaped from Elba, and landed in France (1st March, 1815). His march to Paris was almost a procession of triumph. He found himself once more on the road to be master of France, while the restored Bourbons once more had to flee. But the European coalition against him was too mighty to be thus disposed of, and he had to take the field in an attempt to disperse his enemies. He advanced into Belgium, but met final disaster on the field of Waterloo (18th June, 1815). He fled from the battlefield, and endeavoured to escape to America. However, the watch kept was too vigilant to allow of this, and hence, on the 15th of July, he surrendered to the English warship *Bellerophon*. He was then banished to the Island of St Helena, in the South Atlantic. There he remained a virtual captive, and of course a disappointed and broken man until, on the 5th of May, 1821, the painful disease of cancer brought him to the end of his life. There are many who think that Napoleon, with his many-sided gifts, is the greatest genius that the world has seen. Though externally a Christian and a Catholic, his pride led him to become a brutal persecutor of the Holy See; hence it is hard for the children of that See not to recognise in his misfortunes and failure a just retribution for the tyranny which, in its far-reaching ambition, flung itself against the mild but all-embracing charity of the successor of St Peter.

CHAPTER III.

THE RESTORATION.

(1815-1846).

THE united effort to put back the disturbed elements of European society each into its own place, as far as feasible, was made at the Congress of Vienna. That celebrated gathering was attended by the chief European sovereigns in person, or at least by their most distinguished representatives. In some respects the leading figure among the assembled diplomatists was the Czar, Alexander I. No one certainly approached the great questions with higher aims or a more open mind. The Holy Alliance was his idea: Christianity was to be the unifying force which was to bind the sovereigns of Europe together, and inspire them to work for the regeneration of their people. No doubt many of the veteran statesmen around him could hardly sympathise with the Czar's enthusiasm. They had trod the paths of diplomacy for many years, and sometimes had come to their ends by means that Christianity had little to do with. But they were practical men—men of the world—and they must have thought Alexander a speculative dreamer; and in part they were right. There was Metternich, the unwearied champion of the Austrian Empire, and of that old-world aristocracy for which he still made every point that he could; there was Count Hardenberg, the plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia, to see that his master's kingdom did not lose anything it had gained; with Alexander stood Nesselrode, to represent the interests of the Russian Empire; while Talleyrand spoke for France, having served Napoleon, and now serving the restored Louis XVIII. The British interests were confided to the shrewd diplomacy of Castlereagh, and the straightforwardness and experience of the great

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warrior Wellington. The lesser Powers, too, had their envoys and Ambassadors, and for the Holy See came the veteran statesman Cardinal Hercules Consalvi, the ever-faithful minister of Pius VII., to safeguard, wherever possible, the interests of the Church amid the selfish intriguing of rival politicians, and the dreaming of quixotic idealists like the Russian Czar. Alexander had dabbled with the theories of the Revolution, and of the liberty of every human soul, but he had millions of serfs in his own dominions, and when he died they were serfs still.

The return of the *status quo* before the French Revolution could, of course, be only a partial one, but though

Its provisions. the congress failed to realise all the anticipations formed of it, its provisions gave

Europe a period of tranquillity, from 1815 to 1848, which, though not unbroken by local outbreaks, is sometimes designated the Thirty Years' Peace. France returned to its former limits, Belgium and Holland becoming the kingdom of the Netherlands; while Prussia received half of Saxony and the Rhineland, and Russia the greater part of Poland. The former reigning houses were restored in most of the minor states of Italy and Germany. The Holy Roman Empire of Germany was not revived, but the Austrian dominions were consolidated, and Austria was placed at the head of the German Confederation, which embraced all the former states of the empire. England received Malta, the Cape Colony, and Mauritius, while Hanover was made a separate kingdom. The Papal States were almost all recovered by the skill of Consalvi, but Avignon remained with France, and a small strip of land in the north with Austria. But the general restoration of the ecclesiastical Powers, and of the sees as they were before the Revolution, Consalvi was powerless to effect. All that could be done was to negotiate Concordats with the states of Europe, one by one.

The remaining years of Pius VII. were years of consolation and modest triumph. Though the Papal States

Pius VII. restored. were given back to him, with a wise moderation some of the regulations made by

Napoleon were allowed to persist without further disturbance. And great progress was made in building up anew what had been destroyed. The Jesuits were restored, as well as the Propaganda, and the National

Colleges at Rome. Concordats were concluded with Bavaria (1817), Sardinia (1817), Prussia (1821), the Rhine Provinces (1823), and similar arrangements attempted elsewhere. Many of the sovereigns visited Rome; the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, the king of Naples, the king of Spain, all came in their turn, and—triumph of Christian forgiveness—Madame Letitia Bonaparte, the mother of his old persecutor, was welcomed by Pius to Rome, and lived there with her family, supported by the Father of Christendom. Before the death of Napoleon in 1821, the Pontiff had time to plead with the British Government that he should be more mildly treated, and to send a priest to attend his dying bed. In 1823 the aged Pontiff had a fall in his apartments, which apparently hastened his end, and soon after he breathed his last in the arms of his faithful minister Consalvi, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The effect of the defeat of Napoleon was to place on the French throne Louis XVIII., the brother of Louis XVI., and though he had to flee for the “ Hundred Days ” of Napoleon’s escape from Elba, after Waterloo the Bourbon princes were able to count with more security on a stable return to their former position in France. Perhaps they thought themselves more secure than they really were. For the three years, from 1815 to 1818, there was an army of occupation furnished by the allied Powers under Wellington’s command, and thus all was kept peaceful by foreign force. But the French Royalist party was far from accepting the view that the king was a constitutional monarch: they had not learnt new principles through the Revolution, but still stood for the legitimist theory, the white flag of St Louis and the Divine Right of Kings. An attempt to negotiate a Concordat with the Holy See in 1816 was defeated by the Parliament, and all that could be done was to make a temporary arrangement for somewhat increasing the sees established by Napoleon’s Concordat, without restoring the old ones. Later on, the Chambers passed a vote granting a sum of money for the support of the Church, and after some time another, acknowledging the right of the Church to own real property. But, alongside of these political measures, there was great work being done in France in the direction of an intellectual

**The
Restoration
in France.**

and moral restoration of principles by a notable band of talented and zealous Catholics. Although he was somewhat of a free lance, it would be unjust not to count Chateaubriand as the standard-bearer of this revival, as his "*Genius of Christianity*" appeared as early as 1802, and then somewhat in the same spirit came the romantic Christian sentiment of Lamartine's poems. These were followed by the more strictly constructive work of De Bonald, the traditionalist, of Lamennais, whose subsequent errors had not yet developed, of Bishop Frayssinous, who later on accepted the office of Minister of Public Worship, and above all of Joseph De Maistre, whose striking work "*On the Pope*," crushing with uncompromising logic the hesitating attitude of Gallicans and Regalists, exhibits the Roman Pontiff as the one great champion of Christianity against all her enemies.

Louis XVIII. died in 1824, and was succeeded by his brother, the Count of Artois, who became Charles X., but the action of his Government, which was bent on restoring to the full the pristine power of the crown and the full influence of the Catholic Church in France, met with bitter and increasing antagonism. It came both from the Republicans and from those Catholics who had embraced on many points the Liberal principles of freedom from state control and the constitutional supremacy of the people. Pressing upon the ministers one concession in the Liberal direction after another, it seemed at one time as though without any further revolution Constitutional Liberalism would win, and the French monarchy become a limited one in the full acceptance of that term. At last in 1828 Charles X. roundly declared that he would make no further concessions, but would uphold the interests of the throne and of religion. This united all the shades of opposition against the crown, and successive ministers appointed by the king found themselves confronted by a hostile majority. Thereupon the king dissolved Parliament, and proceeded to govern by his own power, suspended the liberty of the press, and reduced the number of deputies in the House. It was these events that provoked the Revolution which broke out in the summer of 1830, and is known as the "Revolution of July." After some fighting in the streets of Paris, and the defection of some of the Royal troops, a crowd proceeded to the Tuileries, deposed the king, and

chose in his stead Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, the king's cousin, who was pledged to reign as a constitutional sovereign.

Louis Philippe was all the more committed to the theories of limited monarchy and the sovereignty of the people that he was by no means the legitimate successor to the throne on hereditary principles, and that his father, Philip Egalité, had been frankly on the side of the Revolution in the days of the Assembly and the Terror. He was nicknamed the *bourgeois* king, but by moderation, and bending to the storm when it was necessary to conciliate Liberal sentiment, he managed to keep his seat on the throne for eighteen years. His policy was to be that of the *Juste Milieu*, and it was by the support of the middle classes that he tried to establish his power. Notwithstanding, that advancing current of democracy which had brought him to the throne threatened to sweep him away with it. And then, under the influence of such ministers as Guizot, he broke with democracy and the Liberals, and infringed on various privileges which to the men of the Revolution seemed their inalienable right. Liberty of the press, freedom of speech, and the supremacy of Parliament were all limited by royal decrees.

**Louis
Philippe.**
(1830-1848).

Although the Spanish Peninsula no longer held the primacy it once enjoyed in European power, its fortunes must ever be of extreme moment in the affairs of the Universal Church. After the expulsion of Joseph Bonaparte, Ferdinand VII. became king (1812-1833). But the ideas of the Revolution had taken too deep root to be so easily banished from all share in Spanish politics. Spain had long been the land of undisturbed Catholic unity; the Moors had been subdued and the Jews had been banished. Still, henceforth there were two parties: the Absolutists, who supported the continuance of the old system, and the Constitution-
Spain.
alists, who favoured a limited monarchy and freedom of public worship. In the dispute over the succession at the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833), which turned on the binding force of the Salic Law, which would exclude Isabella, Ferdinand's daughter, in favour of Don Carlos, his brother, the Absolutists sided with the latter. The Constitutional party held with the former. Foreign intervention secured the victory for

Isabella and the Constitutionalists or Liberals. For a while, when the extreme Liberals under Espartero were in power (1841), the papal nunciature was closed, and all relations with the Holy See came to an end. Under the ministry of the more moderate Narvaez, the affairs of the Church were gradually put on a better footing, until in 1851 a new Concordat was drawn up and signed.

But, however much the Revolutionary tendency had been checked at home, it had already worked itself out to its full consequences in the American colonies both of Spain and Portugal. The lessons learnt from North America and from France had been assimilated in them with remarkable thoroughness. Outbreaks against the authority of the Spanish crown took place in Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela as early as 1809, while revolution broke out in Mexico and in Chili in the following years. The moving spirit in the liberation of the South American colonies from the control of Spain was Simon Bolivar (1783-1830), who, though born in Venezuela, had studied and travelled both in Europe and in the United States. His energy and ability formed the animating impulse in the War of Independence, so that he has been sometimes styled the Washington of South America. Chili became independent in 1818, Mexico in 1821, while in 1826 Peru and a neighbouring Republic, named Bolivia in honour of its liberator Bolivar, were founded. Republics were also established in Central America and in Columbia, so that at the time of Bolivar's death in 1830, Spain only retained Cuba and Porto Rico.

When the invading armies of Napoleon swept over Portugal, the Royal house of Braganza fled to Brazil, and Portugal was governed from there even until the year 1820. At that time, when John VI. returned to Europe, he left his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as Regent. But in 1822 the Brazilian influence was exerted for independence, the Portuguese authority was cast off, and Dom Pedro became emperor of Brazil. His reign was a stormy one, and it was only under his son and successor, Pedro II., that Brazil enjoyed a period of peace and internal development. This lasted until the expulsion of Pedro II., and the establishment of a Republic in 1889. At home in Portugal the contest between Absolutists and Constitution-

alists went on somewhat on the same lines as in Spain. For a while the Chartists or Constitutionalists instituted an era of persecution for the Church; but this wore itself out, and a period of quietness if not of healthy life supervened.

The suppression of the Jesuits, and the temporary overthrow of ecclesiastical organisations which followed on the French Revolution, gave a grievous setback to the missions in heathen lands. But no sooner was peace restored in Europe, and the Holy See able to resume its normal activities, than every effort was made both to recover the ground which had been lost, and to push on wherever possible, even beyond all former outposts. The Congregation of Propaganda was once more at work in 1814, and the Jesuits, being revived in the same year, set to their old works of evangelising zeal, so that brighter times seemed to be in store for the Foreign Missions.

Restoration of the Foreign Missions.

The two first institutions to give a new impetus to the work both took their origin in France. The one was the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, now reorganised in the Rue Du Bac at Paris; the other was the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, established at Lyons in 1822. This latter was able, with its far-reaching *sous*, to provide temporal means, on a scale unheard of in the past, for the support of Catholic missions in all parts of the world. But the works for missions to the infidel were by no means confined to France. As the years of the nineteenth century advanced, similar missionary colleges to the one in Paris were founded in Italy at Milan and Verona, in Austria at Steyl, in Belgium at Scheut, in Ireland at All Hallow's, Dublin, in England at Mill Hill; and alongside of these, which were for the secular clergy, there sprang up new Religious Orders, aiming more specially at Foreign Missions in their rules, such as the Congregations of the Sacred Heart, of the Precious Blood, of the Holy Ghost, of Mary Immaculate, destined to rival the missionary labours of the older institutes.

China, which from its extent and its teeming millions must always be the Foreign Mission *par excellence*, was gradually divided between the religious organisations mentioned above, and others like them, so that the uninterrupted and patient labours of the

China.

nineteenth century have resulted in a number of conversions in that country, which, though small in comparison with the vast numbers still to be evangelised, is far in advance of anything that had been done in past ages; and what has been said of China applies with still greater force to Indo-China, comprising the various provinces of Tonquin and Cochin China. There the Catholics form a greater proportion of the whole population, and their organisation seems planted even deeper in the land.

The period before the Revolution had been a very trying one for the life of the various Religious Orders

**The
Religious
Orders.**

both of men and women. The greatest and most powerful of them—the Jesuits—had at length, after much unpopularity, leading to positive persecution, been suppressed; and the other institutes which managed to continue in existence had a continual struggle to keep their place in the Church: they showed marks of the very unfriendly soil in which they lived. But with the new period all this was changed. Numerous quite fresh essays were made to found orders with rules and a scope congenial to the renewed vigour and the fresh channels of activity which opened out with the Restoration. We have already referred to those which were founded primarily with a view to Foreign Missions, but there were others not so specially given up to this important work, such as the Society of Mary, the Pious Society of Missions, and the Fathers of Charity, founded by the celebrated Rosmini (1797-1855), and all these took Foreign Missions as only one out of many good works.

When the cardinals met, it seemed at first as though Cardinal Severoli would gain the necessary majority, though another, Castiglioni, was desired by the representatives of the Catholic Powers; but, at the last moment, Albani put forth a formal veto on the part of Austria. As quick as thought, Severoli and his friends transferred their votes to Cardinal Hannibal Della Genga, and he was thus elected without there being any opportunity of further protest. Born in 1760, he had spent his years from 1793, when he was consecrated titular archbishop, in the diplomatic service of the Holy See, chiefly as nuncio in Germany, but for the last few years of Pius VII. lived as Cardinal Vicar in Rome. He was already over sixty, and seemingly so frail

in health, that he appeared if not a dead man, as he called himself, at least a dying one; and in fact before 1823 was out, he was at death's door. The saintly Passionist, Mgr Strambi, offered his life for him, and predicted his recovery, which indeed took place.

Leo XII. was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Restoration, but withal a lover of efficiency and of moral purity; nevertheless, in his regulations to promote these objects, he had the misfortune to fall foul of popular sentiment. The free-and-easy-living Roman populace disliked his strict administration: they disliked his closing of the "*osterie*" or inns; they disliked his aversion to ill-clad or naked statuary or paintings; they could not appreciate his efforts for scientific and artistic culture. On the other hand, the foreign visitors to Rome took it ill that they were, out of respect for the House of God, restrained from talking therein in the unrestrained sight-seer's way. And while the Pope had energy enough to eject inefficient or unworthy officials from his service, he had the boldness to appoint bishops for the new South American Republics, in spite of the opposition of Spain, whose rule these States had just thrown off. In 1829 the Pope again became severely ill, and after a period of painful disease, most patiently borne, died on the 10th February.

Francis Xavier Castiglioni had been the choice of the Catholic Governments when Pius VII. died, and had only just been supplanted by the prompt action of Severoli after the veto. Della Genga, as he passed to take possession of the papal chair, had turned to him with exquisite politeness, saying, "You will be Pius VIII."; and so it came to pass. But he had less than two years of reign before him, whereas Leo had had nearly six. The two churchmen were about on a level in age and length of career; both died in their seventieth year or thereabouts. A pupil of Devoti, the well-known Canonist, a great deal of the work on Canon Law which is attributed to the master really by right stands to the credit of the pupil. During his short reign of twenty months, pursued all the time by illness, and sometimes by reason of its attacks incapacitated for the public functions of his office, Pius VIII. saw the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in the British Isles (1829), and

Pius VIII.
(1829-1830).

the Revolution of July (1830) in France, which placed a Constitutional king on the French throne instead of the legitimist Charles X. His knowledge of Canon Law was given an opportunity of shining in the letter he addressed to the four German metropolitans, forbidding the clergy to assist at mixed marriages, unless they had obtained a written promise for the Catholic bringing-up of the offspring of such marriages.

It was only with much misgiving and after delay that the change in the French monarchy was acknowledged by the Pope. He seemed to see in it the oncoming of revolution. And in fact he died amid the clamour of an outbreak of Republican revolution in the Papal States, already loud enough to disturb his last hours. It should be recorded to his credit that so far from sharing to the least extent in the weakness of nepotism, he went to the extreme of requiring his relatives to resign whatever papal appointments they already held at the time of his accession. Amiable and gentle, his quiet, studious tastes led him to find his occupation in scriptural researches, and in the cultivation of the science of medals.

The Spanish Netherlands had been overrun by the French Republican army, and in 1794 had been annexed to the French dominions. For the next twenty years, till 1814, these lands shared the fortunes of France, though all unwillingly. Napoleon had imposed his yoke of conscription upon them, as also his system of law in the Code Napoleon, and a new circumscription of dioceses. All the sees were suppressed with the exception of five: Mechlin, Liège, Namur, Tournay and Ghent. Nevertheless, though the conqueror nominated his own candidates to these, several of the bishops, such as De Broglie and Hirn, were foremost in opposing his tyranny over the Church. Out of the United Provinces of Holland he had formed a kingdom for his brother Louis, and this arrangement lasted till 1814. The Congress of Vienna formed a kingdom out of the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands, and the Prince of Orange became king of both as William I. But this plan was doomed to failure. The Dutch attempted to dominate the southern provinces in spite of the fact that the latter were more populous than the rest. After a period of unrest, and

**Belgium
becomes a
kingdom.
(1830).**

ill-judged attempts at pacification, a revolution broke out at Brussels in 1830. Very soon the whole of the South had thrown off the Dutch supremacy and proclaimed its independence. A meeting of the Powers in 1831 at London confirmed this, and guaranteed the neutrality of the newly formed country by treaty. Leopold, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, accepted the offer of the crown. The attempts of the Dutch to regain by force of arms the ground they had lost were checked by France and England. Since then Belgium has had a vigorous national life, holding together in spite of the two rival languages: French and Flemish; and it has been in the main a Catholic life. A most successful university grew up at Louvain. Four cardinals in succession, Sterckx, Dechamps, Goossens, and Mercier, metropolitans at Mechlin, have presided over the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The conclave met a fortnight after the death of Leo XII., while all Europe was disquieted by revolutions already accomplished, or to be matured. During

**Gregory
XVI.**
(1831-1846).

the seven weeks that the election lasted there was much play of political feeling among the electors and the governments who seemed interested. The choice of Cardinal Giustiniani, who was near election, was baulked by the veto of the Spanish crown, though it was exercised in ignorance. The real influence in naming bishops in the South American Republics, which was the step that hurt the Spanish crown the most, was Cardinal Cappellari; and it was on him that the requisite majority was now united. Dom Mauro Cappellari, who became Gregory XVI., had been, with his friend and fellow religious Zurla, the ornament of the Camaldolese Order for nearly forty years, till he was chosen Cardinal in 1825 by Leo XII. Zurla had been preferred before him, being made Cardinal by Pius VII. in 1823. Now it was Cappellari, and not Zurla, who mounted the papal throne, but Zurla was chosen by his friend to be Cardinal Vicar.

The smouldering revolution broke out at once, and legates and papal garrisons were alike sent flying by the triumphant Republicans. Within a fortnight the greater part of the Papal States was in revolt, and the Pontiff seemed powerless to suppress it. Consequently he decided to call upon Austria for assistance. Thereupon a strong Austrian force was sent into the Legations, and for the

time the leaders of the revolt all fled. Pressure was, however, brought to bear on the Pope by a meeting of the representatives of the Great Powers, to grant popular institutions more in accord with the spirit of the age to the papal dominions, and an elaborate plan of reform was drawn up. But this was so far from satisfying the Liberals that as soon as the Austrian army was withdrawn, the revolt broke out again. The same thing happened again, Austria was summoned, and Marshal Radetsky quelled the rising. But as a counterpoise to the Austrian advance, France seized Ancona, and did not liberate it until the Austrians retired. Nevertheless, there were no further revolutionary attempts just then, and the *status quo* was undisturbed for thirteen years.

The skilful Barnabite diplomatist, Lambruschini, who had left the nunciature at Paris when the Revolution of

Lambruschini.

(1776-1854).

July broke out, was now summoned by the Pope to his side, made Cardinal, and appointed Secretary of State. Gregory and Lambruschini understood each other perfectly, and co-operated in a consistent line of policy, which was persevered in for the rest of the reign. They both felt that the limit of conciliation had been reached in dealing either with arrogant absolutists, or with violent revolutionaries, and that a firm stand in the traditional rights of the Holy See was incumbent on them. Neither Gregory nor Lambruschini escaped odium, for a share of the burden of the Pope's policy rested on the Secretary. And neither has received his fair share of praise from historians dominated by their political views. But Lambruschini was one of the ablest diplomatists that have served the Holy See, and Gregory one of the most learned popes who have sat in Peter's chair.

Gregory XVI., who was also a great friend to learning in others, was instrumental in making Rome the centre

Scholastic Revival.

of a movement which is sometimes called the Scholastic Revival, while its leaders have been known as Neo-Scholastics. The championship of religion in general, and the Church in particular, had fallen since the Revolution to men who belonged to the romantic school in all things outside the Christian Faith, and it was using methods that were full of this free, liberal, literary spirit that they spoke and wrote. Mediaeval scholastic form and the strict logic of

those ancient days were distasteful to them, and therefore cast aside; they appealed rather to the sentiments, to natural religious sense, and the claims of traditional civilisation and morality. But there now grew up an able line of writers, who went back to something more fully scientific in the sense of the deductive logic of Aristotle and St Thomas, and revived the work of the old schoolmen, while trying to adapt it to modern conditions. These were the Neo-Scholastics, and both theology and philosophy were comprised in the field of their labours. The restored Jesuits, to whom the Pope had entrusted the Roman College, took a prominent part in this revival. Perrone lectured in dogma, and Gury in morals, while Liberatore inaugurated an equally important movement in philosophy. All these were Jesuit Fathers. Mgr Palma brought out a "*Course of Church History*," which was the inspiration of more extended works than his own. Patrizi devoted himself to exegetics, and others co-operated in other departments. The Sacred College itself shone with the lustre of men of remarkable attainments in diverse spheres, for while Mezzofanti cultivated an almost unrivalled linguistic scale of attainment, Mai won laurels in the field of archæological research, and Lambruschini and Odescalchi both appeared as authors.

The pressure of the Penal Laws, which had weighed upon the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland for so long, had been relaxed, as has been mentioned above, by the passing of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and several subsequent enactments. Nevertheless, Catholics were far from being put upon a footing of equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and one of their most notable disabilities was that which made it unlawful for them to sit in Parliament. However, the spirit of Liberalism in politics, now gradually getting the upper hand of the Conservative party, which had enjoyed a long tenure of power since the days of the reaction against the French Revolution, was opposed to all such restrictions, so that the ground was prepared for political freedom for Catholics as well as others. Still, the direct impulse did not come from the English Liberals, but from Ireland. While in England the Catholics had been reduced to an insignificant minority,

Emancipation in the British Isles.

Ireland was still in the main a Catholic country. So, when O'Connell (1775-1847), a gentleman of Kerry, started his agitation for the emancipation of Catholics from political disabilities, he found himself supported by a solid mass of his countrymen, who numbered in those days some six or seven million souls. In 1823 the Catholic Association was formed to work for the liberation of Catholics from the disabilities of the Penal Laws, and in the course of the next few years became an organisation almost co-extensive with Ireland.

Daniel O'Connell stood for Parliament at the Clare election of 1828, and was triumphantly returned, though ineligible to take his seat on account of the anti-Catholic oath required by the members. This oath he refused at the time of the election to take, and the excitement in Ireland was intense. The whole nation at his back was determined on achieving their religious freedom, and for some time Ireland was on the brink of Civil War. In 1829 the Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister, finding that he could no longer count on the force necessary to resist the liberation of the Catholics, introduced the Catholic Emancipation Act, which became law, and thus opened Parliament and nearly every department of public life to the Catholic laity.

O'Connell's next struggle was a long agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union of 1801. But he was opposed to rebellion or the use of violence, and hence could not agree with the methods of more energetic and forceful leaders. When a great meeting at Clontarf in 1845 was forbidden by the Government, he acquiesced, and henceforward ceased to lead the popular party. He was already falling into bad health, and his former robust constitution was shattered. Ordered to a warm climate to recuperate, he died at Genoa in 1847, and well earned from the grateful remembrance of his Irish and English co-religionists the noble title of the **Liberator**.

CHAPTER IV.

PIUS IX. AND THE REVOLUTION.

(1846-1878).

THE state of unrest which prevailed at the death of Gregory XVI. was so widespread that the coming conclave was regarded with unusual anxiety. The Sacred College was sharply divided into two parties conscientiously opposed to one another. There was the Conservative view, inclined to persevere in the policy of the last Pope. This party supported the candidature of Lambruschini, who at one time had a majority of the votes; and there was the opposite view, which was that the time had arrived for trying to come to terms with the advancing democracy. It was thought that this latter had prevailed when Cardinal John Mary Mastai Ferretti emerged from the conclave as Pius IX. An Austrian cardinal had travelled post-haste armed with the veto against him, but was too late.

Pius IX.
(1846-1878).

The new Pontiff was fairly young, being fifty-four years of age, and had passed his youth in the practice of good works, until sent as Apostolic Delegate to South America, and on his return named Bishop of Imola. He began his reign by making advances to the Liberal leaders, who hailed his accession as that of a young and enlightened Pontiff, who would cast off all dependence on kings and princes, and put himself at the head of modern progress. A plan was drawn up for an Italian Federation, uniting all the Italian States under the presidency of the Pope, to the exclusion of all foreign rulers, thus making a united Italy, which would allow for local divergencies. Pius IX. likewise made great concessions in the government of the Papal States, introducing a larger number of laymen into the public service. A distinguished lay-

man, the Count De Rossi, was made Prime Minister. But though these things showed the willingness of the Pontiff to come to terms, they were distasteful on the one hand to the Austrian Conservatives, and on the other were too promising to the Church to find favour with those revolutionary leaders who thought that an Italian Confederation with a Liberal Pope at its head was the very last thing to further their Secularist ideas. Revolution broke out at Rome, a Republic was proclaimed, and Pius IX. fled to Gaeta.

Meanwhile revolution was in the air in almost every country of Europe. In France Louis Philippe, who had professed himself a Constitutional monarch, and was really the representative of middle-class monarchism, had lost ground by his opposition to the democratic reforms

**Second
Republic.**
(1848).

proposed for the elections, and on the 22nd February, 1848, a revolution broke out, and the king fled. A still more violent outbreak of revolution was suppressed by the moderate Republicans in June, 1848, and a form of government, known as the Second Republic, held on for four years (1848-1852), till Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great emperor and President of the Republic for those years, was proclaimed emperor.

In Austria also revolution broke out soon after the French outbreak. The Emperor Ferdinand had to flee from Vienna as well as his minister Metternich.

Austria.

And the Hungarians complicated the matter by an attempt at the same time to throw off the Austrian rule. King Charles Albert of Sardinia marched against Lombardy, and gained nearly the whole of that province, while rebellion was also rife at Prague and Venice. It seemed as if the last hour of the empire had come; however, unexpected events at last told in favour of the imperial crown. Marshal Radetsky defeated the Italians at Novara (1849), and proceeded to reconquer the Italian Provinces, while dissensions broke out between the Magyars and Slavs in Hungary. The Slavs finally sided with the empire, and the Russians sent an army to aid in putting down the Hungarian revolt. Meanwhile Prince Windischgratz had restored the power of the emperor at Vienna.

Ferdinand now abdicated and Francis Joseph II. being chosen emperor at the age of eighteen, the House

of Hapsburg received a new lease of life. Order was gradually restored both in Church and State. The Austrian power was strengthened in Lombardy and Venetia, and the Austrian Government was prepared to intervene to overthrow the Roman Republic, and put back the Pope as sovereign over his own dominions; but the French were beforehand with them. General Oudinot was ordered by the President of the Republic to take possession of Rome (1850). There was some resistance, but before long the French army was master of the city, and Pius IX. was able to return from Gaeta, whither he had fled when the Republic was proclaimed. Henceforth Pius IX. resumed his sovereignty, not only at Rome but also in the Legations, where the Austrian troops overcame all Republican disturbance. In 1855 a Concordat was concluded between the Holy See and the Austrian Empire, through the intermediary negotiations of Cardinal Rauscher, which, though still showing traces of the State interference with the Church, inaugurated by Joseph II., yet in the main safeguarded the interests of Catholicity. It long formed the basis on which the Church worked in what was still regarded before her representatives as the Holy Roman Empire and the Premier Christian State. Austria had to abandon Lombardy after the war of 1859, and Venetia after that of 1866, and there then remained very few Italian-speaking districts under the Austrian sceptre, though these were always spoken of by the enthusiasts of Italian unity of the present day as a portion of that *Italia Irredenta* to which their longing dreams aspired.

The action of Pius IX. upon the Church in Great Britain and Ireland led to some important developments in these countries. From his exile at Gaeta the Pontiff had in 1850 erected a new Hierarchy in England, replacing the Vicar's Apostolic by an Archbishop and twelve diocesan bishops. Nicholas Wiseman (1802-1865), a churchman of exemplary zeal and wide range of learning, was made the first Archbishop of Westminster and Cardinal. The step was greeted at first by an outburst of anti-Catholic bigotry, but the storm subsided, and incalculable advantages have been gradually reaped by the Church in England. In Ireland the old Hierarchy has persevered through the ages of persecution, but the

England
and
Ireland.

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appointment of Paul Cullen (1803-1878) to the See of Dublin was the sign and the means of much development in that country in Roman customs and discipline. Cullen became the first Irish Cardinal of modern times in 1867.

In Italy after the triumphant return of the Pontiff from Gaeta there was external tranquillity for some years, but it was only brought about by the presence of a French army in Rome, and of Austrian troops both in the Legations and in Florence. Pius IX., after his experience of the revolution, had no faith in Liberal professions, and thenceforward with Cardinal Antonelli (1806-1876) as his Secretary of State, consistently pursued a Conservative policy. Meanwhile, below the surface there were seething elements of discontent both in the Papal States and also in the various Italian cities, ever engaged in fomenting dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, and dreaming of a united Italy either as a Federal Republic, or as a kingdom under the House of Savoy. It was the co-operation of a foreign ruler, Napoleon III., which brought these schemes to a head. It is therefore needful to turn back to France, and see by what steps it became in his power to do so.

Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, saw his opportunity of triumphing over the French Republican Leaders in 1852, and by that sudden stroke known as the *Coup d'Etat*, seized them nearly all, and put himself at the head of the Government. He proclaimed himself Emperor of the French, and this arbitrary assumption of power was ratified, at least externally, by the Plebiscite (2nd December), which called on the whole nation to vote for or against his rule. It was given out that an overwhelming majority of some eight millions voted for him as emperor, and henceforth he was firmly established on the throne. It was no longer possible for those who admitted the principle of popular choice to look on him as a usurper; and with whatever hesitation and unwillingness, one after another all the sovereigns of Europe acknowledged him and had to treat him as an equal. Neither can it be denied that he gave France, and incidentally the French Church, eighteen years of prosperous tranquillity. At the same time, successful warfare abroad raised the prestige of the empire, and gave

Napoleon III.
(1852-1870).

Louis Napoleon practically the first place among contemporary sovereigns.

In alliance with England, he interfered in favour of the Turks in 1854 against the advance of Russia, and the long Crimean War (1854-1856) was ended by the Treaty of Paris, which held back Russia to her former limits, and stipulated for her forgoing all armaments in the Black Sea; but with the tortuous and cunning diplomacy peculiar to him, Napoleon abstained from imposing hard terms on the beaten Russians, and later on was able to claim them as friends. Equally changeable and two-faced was his policy in Italy. It was by his orders that French troops held Rome for the Pope for twenty years, yet there is little doubt that this was more a device to keep the Austrians away than prompted by any devotion to the independence of the Holy See. In 1859 he concluded an arrangement with Cavour, the minister of the king of Piedmont, for the joint expulsion of the Austrians from Italy on condition that France was to receive Nice and Savoy. Charles Albert, in attempting to drive out the Austrians unaided, had been defeated by Radetsky, and soon after abdicated. But the plan went forward under his son Victor Emmanuel. War was declared on Austria by France and Italy, and the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino; but immediately after this Napoleon made peace with the Austrians at Villafranca without consultation with the Piedmontese, leaving them Venice, but obliging them to cede Lombardy and the Duchies to Piedmont. The Piedmontese considered themselves betrayed by him. On the other hand, Napoleon had gained Savoy and Nice for France, and moreover had conciliated the Austrians by these easy terms of peace.

With the connivance of the Piedmontese Government, armed bands of Republicans had invaded the Papal States, and the pontifical troops had suffered grievous defeats at Castelfidardo and Ancona. The Italians marched in under pretext of keeping order, and finally annexed to the new kingdom of Italy the Legations, the Marches, and Umbria, leaving to the Pope merely the Roman Province. To secure that to him for the time a French garrison remained in the capital, and was only withdrawn for a short time in 1866. Garibaldi and his Republicans at once made another raid in 1867, which was beaten off at

Mentana, and then the French troops returned again to the city.

War broke out between Austria and Prussia in 1866, the Prussian motive being the desire to exclude Austria from Germany, and to become the leading power in the Fatherland. In this design Bismarck, the Prussian statesman, was eminently successful. The war was ended in about six weeks with the complete triumph of the Prussian arms. Taking advantage of this war, Italy also made war upon Austria for the recovery of Venetia, and though beaten both on land at Custozza and on sea at Lissa, it was found that the treaty of peace included a provision for the cession of Venetia by the Austrians. Prussia was content with ousting Austria from the German Confederation, and demanded no sacrifices of territory beyond this; while the Austrian Kaiser, to strengthen himself by some sort of compensation, was crowned King of Hungary at Pesth in 1867, and for some years Hungarian influence was dominant in the policy of the empire.

Meanwhile, Napoleon III. seemed to enjoy a position of undimmed splendour, and at the Paris Exhibition of 1867 entertained the European sovereigns who were invited to his capital, amid scenes of great gaiety and gorgeous display. But in reality his throne was undermined by the hostility of the French Republicans; and after having succeeded in keeping them down for many years by a mixture of cunning and force, at last there came a time when he had to come to terms perforce with the Liberal leaders. And this was the beginning of his downfall, politically speaking. In foreign affairs the power of Prussia was steadily growing under the ambitious and determined statesmanship of Bismarck, and with military men like Moltke and Von Roon to keep the army at a high pitch of excellence, Denmark first in 1862, and then Austria in 1866, had easily been defeated, and it gradually appeared inevitable that there must be a struggle for the first place in Europe between France and Prussia. The occasion was furnished by an incident that followed on the Spanish Revolution of 1868. In that year Queen Isabella had been driven out of Spain by the Republicans, and a provisional government had been set up with Marshal

**Fall of
Napoleon
the Third.**

Prim at its head. Yet the Spanish Republic met with but small acceptance, and Prim was assassinated (28th December, 1870).

It was now determined to revive the monarchy in Spain, and the crown was offered to a German prince of the reigning Prussian house of Hohenzollern. This aroused Napoleon III., as being another step towards German predominance, and though the candidature was afterwards withdrawn, it was done in such an ungracious and even provoking way that war became inevitable. The French emperor took the field in person at the head of the French army, but it was soon seen that the minor German states were siding with Prussia, and that the French army was quite outmatched both in numbers and generalship. After several crushing defeats, Napoleon III. surrendered at Sedan (1st September, 1870), and a Third Republic was set up in France, which though anti-Catholic in tone, and abounding in changes of ministry and policy, has never since been overthrown. After a desperate struggle peace was made with Prussia in 1871, after the Siege of Paris, when at Versailles the German Empire was revived in favour of King William of Prussia. As for Louis Napoleon, after his abdication he fled to England in broken health, and after a residence of about two years at Camden Place, Chiselhurst, died there.

The interior life of Pius IX. was based on a piety which was deep and fervent and moreover attractive to others. Hence it was quite in harmony with this that his spiritual activities quite dominated anything that he attempted in a lower sphere. Thoroughly conscious of the high prerogatives that belonged to his office, he used his power to promote the inner life of the Church. The eminent example of this characteristic was above all his definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin as an Article of Faith. In preparation for the step, opinions were invited from the episcopate in every country, and from religious orders and colleges and other seats of ecclesiastical learning. These, when collected, formed a body of testimony as to the belief and devotion of the Church Catholic which was quite unrivalled in extent and authenticity. At last, having gathered in Rome several hundred bishops from every quarter of the

**The
Immaculate
Conception,
(1854).**

globe, on the occasion of the dedication of the restored basilica of St Paul outside the walls, Pius IX., on the 8th of December, 1854, published a bull declaring that the Blessed Virgin had in the first instant of her conception been preserved by the merits of Our Saviour from every stain of Original Sin, and that this doctrine was part of the Faith to be believed by all Catholics. This might be considered an implicit assertion of Papal Infallibility uncompromisingly affirmed. Fifteen years after, the Vatican Council put its seal upon it, as far as seal was wanted, by the Dogmatic Definition of Papal Infallibility. It was the full-voiced choral response to the proclamation made by Pius IX. in 1854.

There can be no doubt but that the central event of Pius IX.'s reign was the holding of the Vatican Council, which opened on the 8th of December, 1869, and continued its sessions till the September of the following year. It had been prepared for long in advance, eminent theologians from the various countries of Europe having been called to Rome to join their counsel to that of the resident men of mark in getting ready the matter for discussion in the council. It had been originally intended to open the council in 1867 on the occasion of the centenary of SS. Peter and Paul, but the troubles of the time, and the withdrawal of the French troops in 1866, had made this seem impossible, and it was only with the return of the French army (30th October, 1867) that the work of preparation was taken up again. At last in 1868 the Bull of Convocation fixed the 8th of December, 1869, for the date of opening, and it was on that day, after a most thoroughgoing work of preparing drafts, collecting opinions, and arranging methods of procedure had been accomplished by five special committees, each of which had charge of a definite portion of the matter to be discussed, that the first public session took place. Pius IX. presided and there were present six hundred and ninety-eight Fathers. Cardinal Reisach was chosen as President of the council under the Pope, but he died within a month, and Cardinal De Angelis was named to replace him. There were public sessions at which the Pope presided, general congregations of all the Fathers under the Cardinal President, and private sessions of sub-com-

**The
Vatican
Council.**
(1869-1870).

mittees, or deputations as they were called, appointed to prepare special matters for the council. The former were held in the morning, while the afternoons were left for these special committees to work in. In all between 8th December, 1869, and 1st September, 1870, there were held four public sessions and eighty-nine general congregations, and altogether, at one time or another, seven hundred and seventy-four Fathers took some part in the deliberations of the council.

The first subject dealt with was the definition of the Catholic doctrine on Faith against the errors of the Rationalists and other unbelievers. A draft Constitution of this was sent by the tenth general congregation to the deputation on Faith for revision, and the council turned to other matters; the congregations, from the eleventh to the twenty-ninth, being occupied with drafts of disciplinary decrees on episcopal sees and appointments, and on a smaller catechism. But the progress made was slow, and meantime opposition and difference of opinion made themselves acutely felt both within the council and without. It was not that the Dogmatic Constitution on Faith provoked such controversy, but it was well known that it was the intention and wish of the Pope and of many Fathers to propose a Definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, and the storm gathered around that point. The Decree on the Catholic Doctrine of Faith against the Rationalists came back from the revisers, mainly as the work of Father Kleutgen, S.J., on the 1st of March, and was fully discussed from the thirtieth to the forty-seventh congregations. More than three hundred amendments were discussed, and there was a violent speech from Bishop Strossmayer of Serajevo, who at last was forced to leave the Tribune, but in the fourth public session the scheme was finally approved unanimously by the six hundred and sixty-seven Fathers present, and promulgated by the Pope.

Now came the turn of the debates on Papal Infallibility. And as to the definition of this, there were contending views amongst the Fathers. Very few of the bishops seem not to have believed in it in some form, but there was a considerable minority who were opposed to the expediency of any precise definition of it being promulgated by the council.

And at the time exaggerated fears and wild ideas were current as to the extent of what it was proposed to define, while some of the champions of a definition went far to stir up strife by ill-considered language and wild assertions as to the extent of Papal Infallibility, which were not supported by any sound theology. On the other hand, all those elements which were opposed to papal power, both in the council and outside of it, instinctively cried out with alarm, and beforehand opposed it on secular grounds, paying even less attention than their most extreme opponents to theology and the best traditions of the Church. An agitation also gradually sprang up among the European Governments, always ready to oppose anything which seemed likely to add to the ecclesiastical power. Prince Hohenlohe, instigated by Dr Döllinger, Professor of History at Munich, seems to have been the first to move. From Bavaria the wave of opinion in favour of intervention to prevent the definition passed on to Austria and France, in both of which countries the Foreign Ministers, Beust and Daru, lodged protests at Rome. Arnim, the Prussian envoy, at Rome also wished to intervene, but Bismarck was not to be moved from a passive attitude. So also in England, Gladstone's desire to act in the same sense was overruled by his own cabinet, and especially by the strong opposite view of Lord Clarendon.

Meanwhile, a war of pamphlets and papers was going on among the men of letters and the theologians. Here Döllinger (Janus) was foremost, but was opposed by his pupil Hergenroether (Anti-Janus), afterwards Cardinal. In France the Oratorian Gratry, and Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, wrote strongly against the definition, and were opposed by Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin. A somewhat similar controversy raged in England between Lord Acton and Mr Simpson in the *Home and Foreign Review*, and Dr Ward and others in the *Dublin Review*. Inside the council the chief opponents of the definition were Strossmayer, Hefélé, Bishop of Rottenburg, Archbishops Rauscher and Swartzenberg in Austria, Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and Dupanloup from France. The chief speakers on the other side were: Dechamps, Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, the French Bishops Pie and Freppel, Archbishop Cullen of Dublin, the Italians Gastaldi and Vallerga, Bishop Martin of Paderborn, and

Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore. As to numbers, there was of course a large majority in favour of the definition. About one-fifth of the council were against the definition, and in this number were comprised most of the German and Austrian prelates, nearly half of the North Americans, and a third of the French. The minority also contained two English and two Irish bishops and only seven Italians. Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and South America were unanimous for the definition. A petition asking for the definition, first made by Dechamps, was followed by others, which aggregated about five hundred names, while opposing petitions got at least one hundred and thirty-six signatures. The subject continued the matter of debate until the eighty-fifth congregation, when a general vote was taken of the whole draft of the proposed constitution. Out of six hundred and one Fathers, four hundred and fifty-one voted placet, sixty-two a conditional placet, and eighty-eight non-placet. The threatened outbreak of war between France and Germany became the occasion of many prelates of both views returning to their homes, and besides these, just before the last session, a considerable number of the opposition Fathers asked permission from the officials of the council to leave Rome. Hence it came to pass that when the final vote was taken in the fourth general session on the 18th of July, under the presidency of the Pope, five hundred and thirty-three Fathers voted placet and only two non-placet. The definition was then promulgated by the Pontiff, as it happened, in the midst of a storm of thunder and lightning, from which both parties hastened to draw their own ill-warranted auguries. On the following day war was declared between France and Germany, and the chances of continuance of the council grew less. Still, though many of the Fathers had received permission to leave Rome for reasons of health until the autumn, several other general congregations took place, the last of which, the eighty-ninth, was on the 1st of September. A week later the occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese troops was decreed, and on the 20th of September, after a merely formal resistance on the part of the papal troops, they took possession of the city. Pius IX. waited for another month, and then on the 20th of October prorogued the council indefinitely.

The Italian Government professed a wish to safeguard

the independence of the Holy See, even while taking forcible possession of its territory; but **Reception of the Decrees.** instead of an international engagement, confined itself to a merely national piece of legislation, known as the Law of Guarantees, the provisions of which were that the person of the Pontiff should be inviolable, his privileges should be those of a sovereign, certain palaces, especially the Vatican Palace and Basilica, were made extra-territorial, and a yearly sum of three and a quarter million lire was to be paid over to him by the Government. The decrees of the council on Papal Infallibility were drawn up with a moderation which went far to disarm the fears of the timid as soon as they were rightly understood. The two bishops who had voted non-placet at once submitted, and so did most of those well-known Catholics who had opposed the definition on the ground of its not being expedient. Such were Newman, Montalembert, Darboy, Kenrick, and Acton. But in Germany Dr Döllinger held out in his opposition, even though this now involved a formal break with the Church. Further, he encouraged some of his disciples, Herzog, Friederich, and others, who formed an organisation which they called the Old Catholic Church. But this schism, or rather heresy, never attained any large proportions. Politically, a good deal of capital was made out of the decrees. The German Government found in them a pretext for the inauguration of the Kulturkampf. The Austrian Government made it an excuse for an attempted abrogation of the Concordat.

Pius IX. survived for nearly eight years after the sad events of 1870. The Law of Guarantees were never accepted by him, and from that time forth he never left the Vatican Palace and gardens. With each fresh proof of the hostility of the Italian Government, not only to his temporal power but to Catholicism in Italy, came an unwearied protest from the Holy See; and his multiplied misfortunes, so patiently borne, roused the highest feelings of the Catholic world to enthusiasm. To compensate for the poverty entailed by the seizure of his revenues, Peter's Pence came in abundant alms from all parts of the world.

And while Italy had thus violently put an end to the

Pope's temporal dominion, as understood by the term States of the Church, the new German Empire had embarked in a contest with the spiritual power of the Church, which may have seemed to its statesmen worthy of the mediaeval empire, but which was even more surely bound to failure, as having to deal more with the spiritual side of things. And similar outbursts of anti-Catholic feeling took place in nearly every country of Europe. In Switzerland there was much clumsy interference with Church rights on the part of the Federal Government, while the Ferry Laws showed that the third French Republic was not to be built on religious freedom and toleration, but on doctrinaire Republicanism. In England, the land of liberty, no public action was taken, but Mr Gladstone, offended at the opposition of the Irish bishops to his University Bill, and consequent loss of office, wrote two pamphlets professing to show that no Catholic who held Papal Infallibility could be a true citizen of the country in which he lived. It was an easy matter for leading Catholic writers to refute his sophisms, and to vindicate the truth. Some of the ablest answers were those of Doctors Newman and Neville; while Cardinal Manning, Bishop Ullathorne, and others also replied.

As time went on, and the theologians had time to work upon it, the real extent and meaning of Papal Infallibility stood forth in a clearer light than had been possible amid the smoke of battle. One of the clearest expositions of the dogma was the book "*On True and False Infallibility*" from the pen of Dr Fessler, Bishop of St Polten, who had been Secretary of the Vatican Council. This work, being praised in Rome, was translated into various languages, and went far to calm the fears of those who read into the decrees all the various amplifications of extremists. Cecconi, Archbishop of Florence, for the same purpose undertook his authentic *History of the Vatican Council*. As Pius IX. looked back on the great work, marks of his favour were shown to those who had been the champions of the papal cause at the Vatican. Franzelin, Pie, Manning, and Dechamps were made Cardinals, while McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, became the first Churchman to receive the Cardinal's hat in the United States of America.

Ever zealous for the spiritual development of the life

of piety within the Church, and ever alive to the supernatural aids which she could claim, the Pontiff in 1871 declared St Joseph to be the Protector of the Universal Church, and in the same year named St Alphonsus Doctor of the Church. Devotion to the Sacred Heart was recommended by him, in an encyclical of the 16th of June, 1875, as a remedy against the evils of the time. Meanwhile, many of those who had been his enemies were one by one paying the debt of nature, and Pius still lived on. Napoleon III. did not survive his abdication longer than until 1873, and early in 1878 Victor Emmanuel breathed his last in that palace on the Quirinal which he had taken from his illustrious victim. But at last death came to Pius himself. On the 7th of February, 1878, at the age of eighty-six, deserving by his many trials that motto, "Crux de Cruce," which had long before been associated with his career, he breathed his last. He had lived seven years longer as Bishop of Rome than any of his predecessors, and the warning, "Thou shalt not see the years of Peter," could now only be justified by counting from Pentecost. But after all, such a length of pontificate must ever be rare indeed. The remains of Pius IX. rest in a beautiful crypt behind the high altar of the ancient church of San Lorenzo, outside the walls, touching the Campo Santo, where the Roman people for the most part find their last abode. The pastor is there at the head of that Roman flock, which he had shepherded longer than any other had done.

CHAPTER V.

TWO GREAT POPES.

(1878-1914).

LONG before the conclave met after the death of Pius IX., the celebrated prophecies, so called, of St Malachy had been scanned in advance. Great was the impression when the new Pope emerged and it was found that the star on his armorial bearings suggested the "Lumen in Coelo" of the old document. The conclave was not a lengthy one, only three scrutinies being necessary before Cardinal Joachim Pecci became Pope with the necessary majority. He was already sixty-eight years of age, though his career as an ecclesiastical dignitary had begun in his youth. After a full course of studies with the Jesuits at Viterbo and Rome, where he obtained his doctorate as early as 1832, being then twenty-two, he embarked on the diplomatic career under the protection of Cardinal Sala, though still only in minor orders. He was not ordained priest before the end of 1837. Next year he was delegate at Benevento, where his energetic and skilful action brought order out of chaos, and three years later was able in a like charge to do as much at Perugia. Being named nuncio at Brussels, he was consecrated bishop on the 19th of February, 1843, and sent to Belgium. Here he was very successful in his action, winning the favour both of the Court and of the Catholic party, but Perugia was calling out for him as its new bishop, and in 1846 he took possession of that see. He held this without interruption for the long space of thirty-two years. Pius IX. appreciated his talents and made him Cardinal in 1853, but he scarcely came to Rome till the end of Pius IX.'s reign. Whether through difference of view from the policy of Antonelli, or merely because of his sincere

preference for a retired and studious life, Perugia was his choice, and he held to it. It is not likely that the conclave held a prince of the Church with higher aims, with wider grasp of the problems of Church and world, with more experience of affairs than Cardinal Pecci.

The far-reaching intellectual view of the new Pontiff was reflected in the men whom he called to be his counsellors in the Sacred College. Such a galaxy of genius has seldom been added to that august body at one stroke as when in 1879 Pope Leo made cardinals of Newman, Hergenroether, Zigliara, and his own brother, Pecci. It was not so long either before he found other congenial spirits to fill up the ranks, in the elegant Italian scholar Alfonso Capacelatro, and in that incarnation of French piety and energy, Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers. In Hergenroether and in his brother Pecci he had his coadjutors in the great work of opening the Vatican archives for historical research, and was able to add to that band later on the German scholars Pastor and Denifle, though he in vain invited the co-operation of Janssen. The Dominican Zigliara was his chief agent in the restoration of the Thomistic philosophy which he had so near to his heart. The same cause was championed later by his favourite pupil Satolli, and the Spanish Cardinal Gonzales. In Newman he paid tribute to the patristic scholar, and free English genius, who abandoned all for conscience, not hitherto winning the confidence within the fold he had forfeited among those without. These men and others like them gave a mighty impetus to the progress of Catholic studies under the Pope's superintendence. An indefatigable worker himself, he demanded the full tale of industry from those who worked with him, and any sign of what seemed to him to be slackness or want of zeal was sure to be visited with his indignation. He opened his heart, his purse, his mind to his servants, but he looked for loyal work.

Pope Leo came in upon a situation at Rome which was still as painful as could be. The eight years since the Italian occupation had begun had brought neither improvement nor hope of such. He found a new king, Humbert, just seated at the Quirinal, and none too safe on his throne amid Liberals and Republicans, yet there was no drawing back from the first aggression. The Vatican was still the only narrow

**His
cardinals.**

**The Roman
question.**

limit that was respected as exempt, and on the other side the Law of Guarantees and its annual grant were never accepted. There were scenes of disorder and violence at the funeral of Pius IX., ill suppressed by the local authorities; and the steady line of protest against the usurpation, taken repeatedly by Pius IX., was steadily maintained by Leo. His accession was only announced to the King of Sardinia at Turin, not to the King of Italy at Rome, and Catholics were forbidden to take any part in the elections for the Parliament which sat in Rome. Repeated and dignified protests were made to the Catholic world against the continuance of the occupation, and as time went on, and this attitude on both sides seemed more and more fixed, the hopes of a reconciliation seemed to become more and more distant. Still, the inconvenience was repeatedly felt in the diplomatic world, above all when non-Catholic sovereigns visited Rome, or when Catholic ones were precluded from doing so. Later on, rumour has it that King Humbert was on the eve of concluding an agreement which could be accepted by Pope and king, but there were many enemies of the Papacy who held that any treaty which recognised the Pontiff as more than a private individual was to be hindered by all means, fair or foul, and on the 29th July, 1900, King Humbert fell under the weapon of an assassin, and could do no more.

King Humbert was not the only European monarch whom Leo XIII. had seen fall under the assassin's weapon. Already Alexander II. of Russia had been killed by a bomb in the streets of St Petersburg in 1881. Nor was the outbreak of attempts against the rulers of Europe confined to hereditary princes. While Leo was Pope, two Presidents of the United States, Garfield and McKinley, and likewise the French President, Carnot, were all victims to Revolutionary fanatics. It seemed as if the peace of rulers was broken for ever, and Pope Leo made use of the fear which was occasioned by these and similar events to recall to men by his encyclicals that the origin of human law and society was with God, and that if God and His Church were rejected the dykes were thrown open to a flood of public crime, and the landmarks of right and justice, which had been fixed when European institutions grew up, would surely be swept away.

True to the device, "Lumen in Coelo," Pope Leo made use of his exalted position to let in the light of Catholic revelations and of sound philosophy upon the problems which were agitating the world, and by his encyclicals spoke in trumpet tones that penetrated to the ends of the earth, the message from Him Whose vicar he was. Other popes have written more voluminously, but no volume, however learned or wise, published in the usual way, could possibly command the audience, or produce the instantaneous effect of a circular letter "to all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and other prelates of the whole Christian world." Thus we possess a body of instruction and exhortation in these encyclicals which is quite unique. The Pontiff began with carrying the attention of the leaders of thought back to the sound fundamental philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas in the letter "*Aeterni Patris*," which stimulated and encouraged as nothing else could the revival of Thomistic studies (1880).

But this document was only the commencement of a series of encyclical letters which hold already quite a place of their own in the Church's Treasury, filled as they are with a clear and well-balanced statement of the Catholic attitude towards many of the most vital questions of the day. It was thus that Leo expounded the Christian doctrine of marriage in 1880 in his "*Arcanum divinae Sapientiae*." The following year (1881) and the year 1885 were signalled by the two encyclicals on the origin and nature of political power called respectively: "*Diuturnum*" and "*Immortale Dei*." The errors of Freemasonry were branded in the "*Humanum Genus*" in 1884, and those of Socialism were pointed out in the "*Quod Apostolici Muneris*" of 1878. True and false liberty were luminously contrasted in the "*Libertas*" of 1888, but perhaps the most important document we have from his pen on the social question is the "*Rerum Novarum*" of 18th May, 1891, which set forth the Catholic principles bearing on the relations between capital and labour, and held them up as a beacon light to guide Catholic public men and writers in dealing with these matters. One weighty letter deals with the importance of history, declaring that the Church has nothing to fear from the truth, and inviting Catholic

scholars to co-operate in unveiling it; another deals with the Catholic study of the Holy Scriptures in a spirit that gained the admiration even of non-Catholic scholars. This is the “ *Providentissimus*,” published in 1893. Finally a long series of encyclicals on the Rosary, following one another year after year with remarkable constancy, bear witness both to the love of the Pontiff to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to his reliance on the supernatural help of prayer in the difficulties which surrounded him and the Church.

The German Catholics were still in 1878 under the iron heel of the Kulturkampf; but in this region the skilful diplomacy of Leo was to have one of its chief victories. The splendid organisation of the German Catholics themselves had doubtless prepared the victory, but the Pontiff saw and seized his opportunity.

The end of
the
Kultur-
kampf.

The five years of persecution (1873-1878) had very far from broken the spirit of the German Catholics, and though depriving them of the ordinary care of their pastors, had spurred them on to find extraordinary means of instruction and public action, one of which was the rapid development and marked ability of the Catholic Press; the other was the organisation, always improving and maturing, of the Centre Party in the Parliament. On the other hand, the advent of a new Pope, pledged to all possible pacification consistent with principle, paved the way for the reopening of negotiations. It is said that Leo chose Cardinal Jacobini as his Secretary of State very largely as being the suitable intermediary for dealing with the German Chancellor, Prince Bismarck. The German Government were unwilling to execute an openly retrograde movement, and obstinate to gain every concession they could wring. On the other side, the Centre Party, conscious of its power, had to be reckoned with both by Rome and by Bismarck. The latter wished to control it through the Holy See, so that it might become a steadily consistent Government party, or else be dissolved. And the Centre leaders held that the Roman diplomatists were thinking too exclusively of the general advantage of the Church through peace with the empire, whereas they knew that there were local Catholic interests which they alone could fully grasp and deal with. They declined either to be dissolved or to

be made subservient to the Government, and they were masters of the situation.

Meanwhile, the Pope was advancing step by step towards success. At last, whether forced by the need of coming to terms with the Centre, or won by the conciliatory attitude of the Holy See, the Iron Chancellor relaxed his hold, and without any formal retraction of the anti-Catholic legislation, its operation was practically annulled, and one after the other the Catholics of the Fatherland got back nearly all the liberties which had been torn from them. Bismarck received from the Pope the highest distinction in his power to bestow—that of Knight of Christ.

An English Catholic cannot but recall with deep gratitude the lively interest in his native land ever shown

Papal action by Leo XIII., and the efforts that he made
in England. to gather England once more into the unity

of the Kingdom of Christ. His elevation of Newman to the cardinalate was only the first of a series of acts which testified to his fatherly solicitude. It was these things, as well as his commanding talent, and the evident breadth of his outlook over all Christendom, which attracted the attention of the High Church party, especially of that more advanced section of it which was represented by Lord Halifax. He and others like minded with himself, being supported by some prominent members of the French clergy, who, whatever their shortcomings in detailed knowledge of England, were at any rate full of zeal and sympathy, determined to approach the Pope. They laid before him the widespread desire for reunion, which they assured him was felt among the Anglican clergy, and prayed for a reconsideration of some of the difficulties which kept them apart from the centre of unity. In choosing their ground for discussion, they very mistakenly lighted on the highly technical question of the validity of Anglican Orders, and asked for a new

Anglican examination of the question. This being a
Orders. question of Dogmatic Fact, was one in

which the enthusiastic sympathies of the Pontiff could not help much, but a new inquiry was granted. A Commission was appointed, which consisted of the most illustrious experts who could be found, several of them either then or since cardinals: Merry del Val, Gasparri, Gasquet, Vivès, with such theologians as

Canons Moyes and Scannell, and Fathers David Fleming the Franciscan, and De Augustinis the Jesuit. But while waiting for the decision of the Commission, Leo XIII. tried to satisfy the longings of his apostolic heart by the publication of his letter “*Ad Anglos*,” a fervent exhortation to reunion, addressed “to the English people who seek the Kingdom of God in the unity of Faith,” which he followed up by an encyclical “*De Unitate Ecclesiae*,” which took in the several cases of all Christian bodies throughout the world separated from the Roman See.

Meantime, the Commission had been laboriously conducting its inquiry, and the decisions arrived at were laid before the Holy Office, and then before the Holy Father himself. They were uncompromisingly adverse to the claims of the Anglican clergy. Though the Pope himself was full of hope and sympathies, these sentiments were not shared by Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, nor by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Benson. The decision was probably a great disappointment to the Pontiff himself, and produced much irritation among the clergy of the Church of England; but explanations were given as to the sense of validity and invalidity, and it appeared on further consideration that much of this vexation was based on misunderstanding. Anyhow, the decree (13th September, 1896) “*Apostolicæ Curæ*,” has this merit, that it has closed one misleading path that seemed to point to reunion, and has made it clear for all time that the road to Catholic unity lies in another direction.

The relations of the French Republic with the Church have been almost uninterruptedly hostile since Gambetta proclaimed his anti-clerical campaign in September, 1878. “Clericalism: there is the enemy” was a thoroughgoing and seductive war-cry for the French Republicans, and most of them have ever since tried to come down to that level. Some pretext had been afforded by the disinclination of the French Catholics to accept the Republic as a stable form of government. Still firmly attached to one or other of the monarchical parties, Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists alike could not conceive of a Republic which should rule France so well as the bygone dynasties had done, and the Republic actually before them was not an encouraging object lesson. Hence charges of

disloyalty and treason were flung at them by the Republicans, and there was a hopeless deadlock. When Leo XIII. complained of the irreligious character of the French Government's action, the retort was the disaffected and anti-national character of the Catholic parties.

Something had to be done. Leo XIII. traced out a new policy for the Catholics in France after much consultation and advice from Lavigerie, and he made him his mouthpiece in sketching it out before the world. This policy is known as the "*Ralliement*," and consists in the loyal support of the Republic as the deliberate choice of the French people, with respect and obedience for the representatives of public authority for the time being, combined with steady resistance to all encroachments on the spiritual power. The speech of Lavigerie, in which he indicated this as the line to be followed if (1890.)

French Catholics were to win their battle, provoked a storm of opposition from the leaders of the monarchist parties; but it was backed up by a letter from Cardinal Rampolla in the Pope's name, identifying the Holy See with this policy, and urging the Catholic leaders to sink their preferences and unite in following it. Eventually, the majority of the bishops and other public leaders proclaimed their adhesion to this policy.

But it was far from being popular either with the Legitimists or the extreme Republicans. It did not fit in with a campaign against the Church, and the preparation of a Socialist State. Still, for the time moderate counsels prevailed. The ministry of Casimir Périer was pledged to suppress both anti-Republican agitation on the one side, and irreligious fanaticism on the other. President Faure wrote a letter to the Pontiff (1895.)

acknowledging his efforts for an understanding, and lamenting that all Catholics had not listened to the Pope's words. There was a still more friendly feeling during the Méline ministry (1896-1898), but the divisions in the Catholic camp prevailed, many Royalists still abstaining from political action, and in 1898 the extreme Republicans came into power with the Waldeck-Rousseau Administration (1899). Legislation was passed against the religious orders, and a quarrel raised with the Holy See over the exact phraseology of

the bull of appointment sent to the French bishops—the word “ *nobis* ” was objected to in the phrase “ *nobis nominavit.* ” Leo waived the point, but soon other pretexts of quarrel were found. The Combes ministry (1902-1905) set themselves the task of breaking completely with the Holy See, and of disestablishing the Church. One dispute followed another, and amid a blight of apathy, and almost extinction both of religious and also patriotic spirit, as evidenced by the trend of foreign affairs, the radical ministry of Combes was allowed to work its will.

After the Law of Religious Associations of 1901, banishing the orders of religious, came the laicisation of the hospitals, and then the complete secularisation of education, then a refusal to accept the Pope's confirmation of certain episcopal nominations, unless he confirmed all the list sent up, then an insulting visit of the French President to the King of Italy in Rome, and lastly, by the Law of Separation of Church and State (11th December, 1905), the disestablishment of the Church in France, and confiscation both of the buildings allotted to public worship and of all colleges, seminaries, palaces, presbyteries, etc., which belonged to the Church, was accomplished.

The same year that witnessed the election of Leo XIII. also saw the fall of the Catholic ministry of Malou in Belgium, which had managed, by trimming its sails and avoiding aggressive measures, to maintain itself in office for eight years (1870-1878). But the Liberals came back to power nowise

The Low Countries.

mollified by the timid regime of their opponents during the preceding period. The contest raged round the schools, which in 1879 were completely secularised by the law which has retained the nickname of the Law of Misfortune. The minority in Parliament were now powerless, and the king was severely neutral. However, the Catholic spirit of the Belgians rose to the occasion. The episcopate, under the leadership of Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin (1868-1883), put themselves at the head of a determined Catholic movement. Large sums of money were raised, and Free Schools built for religious education in almost every parish in the country, the State Schools being severely let alone by the majority of the Catholic families.

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Meanwhile, the voting power of the Catholics was carefully organised, and the principles for which they were contending perseveringly put before the electorate. The result was that the election of 1884 brought back the Catholics to power with a large majority. The Catholic ministry formed then has never since been overthrown. Under the Leadership successively of Woeste, Beernaert and Baron De Broqueville, it has held office now for over thirty years, and has carried forward the country on a remarkable course of development, drawn on lines of originality and far-seeing moderation. Trade has been developed, education fostered, the railways carried to the front rank of convenience and public utility, and in general, Belgium has been raised to a position which places it far ahead of most of its neighbours, in proportion to its size, in sound modern progress. These achievements of a frankly Catholic regime have been bitterly assailed by the Socialist and Liberal opponents. Violent methods have been tried, but so far without success, to provoke an irreligious reaction.

The interesting province of Utrecht, which had been erected by Pius IX. in 1853, continued to flourish, and though in Holland the Catholics being in a minority were not able to catholicise the institutions as much as in Belgium, by dint of energy and constancy of purpose they gained a not inconsiderable position in Dutch society, politics and national life.

As Leo XIII. grew older, many whom his keen glance had selected as able helpers in the beginning of his pontificate, passed away long before their Father and lord. Thus two Secretaries of State were gone, Franchi and Jacobini, and in other departments it was the same. But for all his late years there stood ever at his side one especially notable figure in the person of Cardinal Rampolla (1843-1914). He was made Secretary of State in 1887, and for the rest of the reign he retained that high office. A man of rare devotedness and great simplicity of aim, he served the Pope with unwearied assiduity. The line of policy which he recommended did not, it is true, commend itself to all the European Powers. Austria was so dissatisfied that her chosen representative, Cardinal Puzyna of Cracow, vetoed the name of Rampolla in the next conclave. But the Secretary had looked for approval to a still higher

tribunal, and though a lonely man among men, was content to go on working steadily for Leo and the Church, and then, when no longer needed, to turn aside to a life of prayer and study, and to the adornment of the Church of his martyred patron Cecilia. The death summons came quite suddenly when he was at the age of seventy.

Even if here and there Catholic nations seemed more and more inclined to break the bonds which united them diplomatically to the Holy See, there was compensation for this in the greater opportunity given for the spread of the Church in lands far beyond the bounds of the Old

**Extension
of the
hierarchy.**

World. And, wherever there seemed prospect of increase, the papal policy was to step forward and meet it by creating a hierarchy of bishops to watch over and guide it. The Scottish hierarchy, re-established in 1878, had really been planned and drawn out before Pius IX. died; but to this reign belong still greater extensions of the hierarchy in almost every quarter of the world. India and Japan both received regular diocesan bishops instead of the former Vicars Apostolic, while in North Africa the ancient See of Carthage was revived in favour of Cardinal Lavigerie, founder of that society of Algerian missionaries known as the White Fathers. Moreover, a great increase in the number of bishoprics was made in America, both North and South, and in Australia. It is computed that in all, the pontificate of Leo XIII. saw the creation of no fewer than two hundred and forty-eight episcopal or metropolitan sees, and of some forty-eight vicariates or prefectures apostolic. This would seem to be unparalleled progress in this direction, and though of course it did not always mean an increase in the number of faithful in the same proportion, it *did* mean better provision for their government in spiritual things, and it gave the framework and the impulse for future growth. It was by such work as this that the organisation of the Catholic Church was adapted to the growing needs of lands unknown to the Middle Ages, and the most distant portions of the flock of Christ were linked up to the ever-abiding centre of unity.

Leo XIII. was by training and disposition a thorough diplomatist, and one of the corner stones of his policy in church government was the extension of the functions of

Apostolic Delegate to represent the Holy See in the various countries of the world, especially when diplomatic relations could not be directly instituted with the civil rulers. The most notable case was the appointment of such a Delegate to the United States of America, whither the Pope's favourite disciple, Satolli, was sent in 1893, to be succeeded in turn by Archbishops Martinelli and Falconio. But other very important delegations were also set up, for example in Canada and in India. Some attempts were made to do likewise in Great Britain, but in face of the opposition, if not of the English bishops at any rate of the Irish bishops and their flocks, the proposal seems to have been proved inopportune. However, on special occasions envoys were sent both to England and Ireland, notably when Ruffo-Scilla and Belmonte, both later on cardinals, were sent to represent the Pope at the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of the reign of Queen Victoria in 1887 and 1897. Mgr Persico was on another occasion sent as Delegate to Ireland, when the mode in which the political action of the Nationalist party in that country, especially with regard to the Plan of Campaign, was found fault with. Persico incurred a good deal of odium by his manner of acting at that time, and his supposed views; but eventually his advice, which was not what was attributed to him, was disregarded, and a Decree of the Holy Office was published, condemning as immoral certain practices in connection with the so-called Plan of Campaign. Though he was not able to guide the policy of the Holy See in the matter, Persico received the honours of the cardinalate, and died in Rome. Delegates were also sent to represent the Holy See at the Eucharistic Congresses held, now in one, now in another centre of life.

As years wore on there was a greater and greater willingness to recognise in the aged Pontiff the personality of one of the greatest men of his time. This acknowledgment was not confined to Catholics, but the highest and noblest of Protestant rulers vied with one another in showing him marks of honour. He can scarcely have had greater human consolation than the visits of the Emperor William of Germany in 1888, 1893, and 1903, and that of Edward the Seventh, King of England, in 1903. But by this time it was evident that the extraordinary vitality of the

**Visits to
Leo XIII.**

Pontiff was beginning to give way. His appearance was that of a bloodless marble statue, vivified by the flashing eyes that seemed to notice everyone, even in a large gathering, as he passed along the ranks. He had won his long life perhaps as much by the abstemiousness which he both practised in his diet and lauded in his classical verses, as in any other way; but at last the flame of life must die down. He was in his ninety-fourth year, when at the end of June, 1903, the news spread that he was really ill. He had gone out into the Vatican garden to take exercise, and had caught a chill from which he never recovered. He took to his bed, and prepared for death. With Rampolla he transacted whatever affairs of State he could. He whiled away sleepless hours with a copy of Horace he had seized all unknown to the physicians; he composed a Latin sonnet on his own approaching death; but above all he made ready by receiving the Holy Sacraments, and by prayer, to render the account to his Master. On the 20th of July, 1903, he passed away, surrounded by the household of the Vatican, and followed by the admiration of his flock and of strangers alike.

With the death of Leo XIII. in 1903, we reach a point almost beyond the bounds of history, strictly so-called. A new century has begun, and we are thus in the midst of what is more or less contemporary with the present day. Yet, since a new Pontificate has been completed after the above pages were written, it seems best to carry on the narrative down to the end of it. This is the more reasonable because the year in which Pius X. died seems likely to be a more momentous date in history than the year of his election. On the other hand, it may be freely admitted that these years are too recent to form part of a real historical record, or to judge confidently of their perspective.

The conclave was not a lengthy or very difficult one. It must have been a dramatic moment when Cardinal Puzyna rose, and in the name of the Austrian Emperor vetoed the candidature of Cardinal Rampolla. Though a protest was made by Rampolla himself, and was supported by others, his candidature was from prudential motives withdrawn, and before long the needful majority was secured for Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice. After accepting all unwillingly, and in the midst of tears, the nomination of

Pius X.

(1903-1914).

**The
conclave.**

the Sacred College, Cardinal Sarto declared that he would assume the style of Pius X. He had had a noble, simple and consistent career, which he was to crown by a Pontificate of a similar character. Ordained at the age of twenty-three, to three periods of nine years each as Curate, Parish Priest and Canon, he had added an episcopate of nine years at Mantua, and then a decade of years as the Patriarch and well-beloved pastor of Venice. Hence it wanted little more than the eleven years during which he reigned as Supreme Pontiff for him to have attained the age of eighty, when he died. And, in spite of some sharp contrasts, his Pontificate had much in common with the preceding one. His chosen motto, "To restore all things in Christ," was vividly suggestive of a new period, though of one based on the inheritance of distant ages. And it is noteworthy that this very text had been the keynote of at least one of the encyclicals of Leo XIII. (1903-1914.)

All these eleven years can hardly be called anything but stormy ones, and the tempest went on growing until the Pontiff's death, which came at the commencement of a European war of unexampled magnitude.

In Italy the strained relations between the Papacy and the "*de facto*" government at Rome can hardly be said to have improved. In Spain also there was trouble, for the Conservative administration having given place to a Liberal one, the latter soon proved that its liberalism was of the type known as anti-clerical. In France the growing antagonism between the radical leaders and the Holy See reached a climax with the Law of Separation of Church and State of the 11th of December, 1905. Since then the French Church has begun a period of greater poverty indeed, through the withdrawal of all financial grants, but a period also of greater freedom from State control. Portugal, meanwhile, has been through the agonies of a Revolution (1910) which has resulted in the flight of the Royal Family and the inauguration of a Republic, at least as hostile to Catholicity as the French one at its worst. If we look nearer home we shall find a new landmark there also. Cardinal Vaughan died in 1903, about the same time as Leo XIII., and one of the first cares of Pius X. was to find a successor for that chivalrous churchman in the See of Westminster. Bishop Francis Bourne

of Southwark was the Holy Father's choice, and when in 1911 the Archbishop was raised to the Cardinalate, the hierarchy in England received at the same time an important development by the creation of the two new provinces of Birmingham and Liverpool.

But, besides the conflicts which Pius X. had to engage in with now one and now another of the secular powers of the world, he had to engage in an internal struggle as well. This concerned the safe-guarding of the Faith from the assaults of an insidious heresy, which received and to some extent accepted the name of Modernism. This system of teaching, whose spirit may be said to consist in explaining away Christian dogma in such a way as to make it accord with the dominant speculations of modern thought, extends its branches in so many directions that it would be impossible to enounce its tenets in a few words. Suffice it to say that with unerring foresight the Sovereign Pontiff saw with alarm that its propagation would mean the adulteration and final destruction of that Apostolic Faith of which he knew himself to be the chief guardian on earth. Once assured of this, he struck at the error with vigour and precision, especially by the decree *Lamentabili* of the Holy Office issued on the 4th of July, 1907, and by the encyclical *Pascendi* on the 8th of the following September. These and various other pontifical pronouncements met of course with much opposition on the part of those who were infected with the errors condemned; but, as far as can be judged at the present time, it seems remarkable how quickly the action of the Pope has produced the effect he aimed at, of guarding the weak, drawing back those in danger of mistake, and unmasking the underground plans of the real enemies. Alongside of the real danger there seems for a time to have sprung up an exaggerated fear of error, which fancied it could detect Modernism even in the writings of orthodox writers, whose methods or views seemed to differ from its own. But with the withering of the real error, the prevalence of these undue fears seems also to have passed away.

But the Holy Father had more pleasant tasks in his efforts to foster and deepen a life of piety among the faithful. It seems not unlikely that as time passes on it may appear that the measures of Pius X. which have produced

**Catholic
life.**

the greatest effect on Catholic life, are his two reforms with regard to Holy Communion, the one recalling the fact that Daily Communion is the ideal for all Catholics who aim at the true service of God, and the other declaring that children are fit subjects to receive this sacrament as soon as they come to the use of reason, and should not be debarred from it any longer than that. Several decrees on Church music aimed at excluding from the divine service such music as was worldly and unfitted for religious use; and alongside of this a reform of the Roman breviary was undertaken, and in great part carried out.

The codification of the Canon Law, entrusted to a body of expert Canonists, among whom was Cardinal Gasparri, the present Secretary of State, proved a work of such magnitude that Pius X. had been called to his reward before it could be promulgated. However, declarations were published on various important points which pave the way for a more general reform of canonical procedure. By the Apostolic Constitution "*Sapienti consilio*," on the 29th of June, 1908, a new arrangement of the various Roman Congregations, Tribunals and Offices was approved, which, in its probable effect on the labours of the Roman Curia, can only be compared to the bull *Immensa* of Sixtus V. By the decree *Ne Temere* the varying laws which in various localities decided the validity or non-validity of marriages, according as the Tridentine Canon, which required the presence of priest and two witnesses, held or not, gave place to uniformity. Henceforward the presence of priest and witnesses was to be essential for validity throughout the Catholic world. As Leo XIII. in 1897 had founded a Biblical Commission to promote the study of Holy Scripture, so the opening of a Biblical Institute in Rome as a means to teach the results of this study, testified to the zeal of Pius X. for true ecclesiastical learning. Another Commission under the direction of Abbot, now Cardinal, Gasquet was to prepare the way for a new, corrected edition of the Vulgate.

Meanwhile, the exterior development of the Church's organisation was not neglected. The policy pursued by Leo XIII. of sending Apostolic Delegates to reside in those countries where there could be no nuncio to the national Government, was persevered in. Many new dioceses were created, above all in the United States of America, in

Canada, in Brazil, and in Australia. At the same time the number of Vicars Apostolic, to guard and guide the Christian flock in pagan lands, was increased. Ever watchful to foster a deeper life of faith and devotion among the people, Pius X. encouraged both by letter and by his own example the plain and straightforward preaching of the Word of God. In the same way, whenever an opportunity occurred, he was ever ready to promote the various pious practices of the Christian life: the devotion to the Sacred Heart, the pilgrimages to Lourdes, and the numerous associations and confraternities which naturally look to the Holy See for approval of their enterprises. He had the consolation of proclaiming the Beatification of the Passionist B. Gabriel Possenti, of the French heroine Joan of Arc, of B. John Eudes, of the saintly Curé of Ars J. B. Vianney, of B. Julie Billiart, of B. Magdalen Sophie Barat, and of others; as well as the canonization of St Joseph Oriol, of St Clement Hofbauer, of the humble lay-brother Gerard Majella, and of the Barnabite bishop Alexander Sauli, called the “Apostle of Corsica.”

Meanwhile, the clouds of war had gathered over Europe, and August 1914 found all the Great Powers engaged in a desperate conflict, which bid fair to break up many of the existing states, and to plunge the whole of Christendom in blood and ruin. Pius X. tried his utmost with all the means at his disposal to stay the impending storm, but in vain. There is no doubt that this failure, and his vision of the horrors to come, did much to break down the health of the peace-loving Pontiff, who had endeavoured to act as a father towards his children in all the different countries where they were to be found. He was attacked with bronchitis on the 15th of August, and though at first his condition was not considered serious, he grew rapidly worse. When heart trouble supervened his strength proved unequal to the strain, and on the morning of the 20th of August he calmly expired.

Death of
Pius X.
(1914).

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR AND AFTER.

(1914-1926.)

THE commencement of hostilities between the European powers, which had already happened more than a fortnight before Pius X. died, at once disturbed the whole course of international travel. However, every effort was made to assemble the Cardinals in conclave without delay. Fifty-seven members of the Sacred College were gathered in Rome in time to be enclosed with the customary formalities on the 31st of August. The first three days of September were occupied with the scrutinies, and on the third day the requisite majority was obtained by Cardinal James Della Chiesa. It was an-

Benedict XV. (1914-1921) announced that he would assume the title of Benedict XV. The new Pontiff had spent the greater part of his sacerdotal life in the service of the Roman Curia, having assisted the eminent diplomatist Cardinal Rampolla in the duties of his office. At length, in 1907, he had been made Archbishop of Bologna, and had only been made Cardinal a few months before his election to the Papacy. The name he chose recalled the memory of his illustrious predecessor, Benedict XIV., who, after a somewhat similar career, had been called from the see of Bologna also to the Supreme Pontificate.

The new Pope might well shrink from the burden which the election laid upon him. The moment was the beginning of one of the gravest crises through which the civilised world had ever passed. In turn Austria, Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Italy plunged into the gigantic conflict, to say nothing of the smaller powers, so that it gradually took on the character of a universal or world war. For, as the conflagration spread across the ocean, it at last involved the United States of America, and even more distant lands, so that at last there remained but a small minority of the

nations of the earth aloof from the struggle. The line of action for the Holy See to take which commended itself to Benedict XV. soon proclaimed itself. Indeed, already, as Archbishop of Bologna, he had given in outline the policy which he afterwards carried out when raised to Peter's Chair. He had not been long upon the throne before he addressed himself to the well-nigh hopeless task of trying to reconcile the contending nations. Allocution, encyclical, and diplomatic note followed each other with the sole aim of ending the strife, or failing that, of limiting it to the narrowest possible proportions. Against the violation of Belgian neutrality he uttered his protest, and when he seemed for a moment to be in a position to suggest conditions of peace, made the unconditional restoration of that country an indispensable requisite. Nevertheless, it was all in vain, and the contest went on to the bitter end. Hence, holding firmly to his policy of complete neutrality, Pope Benedict persevered in treating all the combatants as his children; and when it became evident that nothing could be done to stay the clash of arms, devoted himself to the Christian work of intervention on behalf of the wounded, the prisoners, and those reduced by the war to penury and the pangs of hunger. It may justly be claimed that in this sphere his efforts were crowned with no inconsiderable measure of success. Many an exiled prisoner and many a starving victim of the war owed freedom, or life itself, to the Pontiff's care.

Notwithstanding that both parties were at first confident of a speedy decision, the great conflict was prolonged for more than four years. It brought in its train untold misery and destruction. For it was not only a war waged by bodies of professional soldiers, but armed nations were locked in a deadly grip with each other. Hence, the losses both of lives and of property far exceeded any of which we have any reliable record in former contests. On the other hand, some compensation may be sought in the following facts emerging clearly enough from experience:—

(1) In no former campaign of which we have any trustworthy account had so much been done to procure the consolations of religion. The Catholic chaplains who accompanied the European and American armies bore persuasive witness by their courage and devotion to the virtue which the priesthood inspires, and in addition to the help given to the combatants, indirectly pleaded the cause of the Church in the eyes of the whole world;

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(2) Never before had surgery and medicine ever won such triumphs over disease and disablement as stand to the credit of the medical and nursing staffs during the whole period ;

(3) The war put an end to any idea that the spread of modern civilisation had enervated men's character so as to make them incapable of enduring hardships and performing deeds of daring equal to any of bygone ages.

The actual fighting only came to an end with the Armistice of November the 11th, 1918, and when this temporary pacification had been turned into an ostensibly more lasting settlement by the Peace of Versailles, there had been no attempt to invoke the aid of the Pope in arranging the terms. In fact, it was very long before anything that really deserved the name of peace was secured. The changes made in the

Post-War Developments.

map of Europe were so extensive, and their consequences so far-reaching, that it was practically a new continent which was invited to settle down in tranquillity and in respect for what had been arranged by the great powers. The provisions of the Treaties of Peace had been mainly in favour of national self-determination, but not purely so. Minorities ruled by alien races still numbered 30,000,000. The mighty empires of Austria, Russia, and Germany had crumbled away to a great extent under the stress of revolution. Russia had developed a Socialistic type of policy which had little in common with the other States of Europe, was intractable to friendship with them, and was savagely anti-religious. Austria, once the foremost Catholic State, had sunk to such narrow limits as to be, politically speaking, insignificant. But on its ruins, and on those of its neighbours, had arisen new nationalities with an independent existence, whose populations were largely, or even predominantly, Catholic. It is true that in some cases this was not frankly acknowledged by their new rulers, but at least in the case of Poland there could be no mistake.

Thus did it come to pass that all the Pontificate of Benedict XV. was a time of exceptional storm and stress. He had to wait four full years before his prayers and exhortations were answered, even by the cessation of actual military operations. and the years which followed were too full of disputes among the peoples, both victors and vanquished, of unrest in industry, of dire distress among the poor, to deserve the name of peace. The Holy Father took ill in January, 1922, of a severe bronchial catarrh, and four days of this were enough

to make his condition critical. He then received the Last Sacraments and devoutly prepared for death. The end came on Sunday morning, the 22nd of January, 1922. After the funeral rites had been celebrated with the usual solemnities of the Roman Court, preparations were at once made for the Conclave. The Cardinals met on the 2nd of February, and the three following days were occupied with the consultations and scrutinies of the electors. On February the 6th, Cardinal Achilles Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, received the necessary number of votes, and was proclaimed under the title of Pius XI. Born at Desio, in the diocese of Milan in 1857, the new Pontiff had been ordained priest at the age of 22, after a distinguished course of study at Milan, at the Lombard College and in the Gregorian University in Rome. After five years of teaching in the Episcopal Seminary of his native diocese, he became Doctor and then Prefect at the Ambrosian Library in Milan. He was able to carry out a great work here in reorganising the library according to the methods of modern scholarship. In the intervals of these labours, he found time to travel in England and elsewhere, to take an active part in the mountaineering of the Italian Alpine Club, and to devote himself to teaching catechism to the poor children of the city. In 1912 Pius X. called him to Rome, where he was associated with Cardinal Ehrle in the administration of the Vatican Library. He became the intimate friend of Benedict XV., who thus got to know the great gifts possessed by Mgr. Ratti outside the sphere of books and erudition. Hence, he was induced to entrust to him the onerous task of going to Poland as Apostolic Visitor in the newly-constituted State. In 1919, when things became somewhat more settled, he was made Nuncio at Warsaw, and was consecrated as Archbishop of Lepanto by Cardinal Kakowski, the Archbishop of the Polish capital. His eminent success in his mission led to honours being showered upon him by the Pope, the Government, and the University. However, the death of Cardinal Ferrari in 1921 left a vacancy to be filled at Milan, and who better fitted to fill it than the skilful Milanese who had done so well at Warsaw? Consequently, Benedict XV. named him Archbishop of Milan, and created him Cardinal. But it was not to be for long. A single year had not elapsed before the choice of the Conclave was made, and he had to exchange the government of Milan for that of the Universal Church.

**Death of
Benedict XV.,
and Accession
of Pius XI.**
(1922).

His wide experience, both as a scholar and a man of affairs, together with the achievements already his in a singularly wide sphere of action, combined with higher and more supernatural reasons to fill the hearts of Catholics with bright hopes for a fruitful Pontificate.

During the years since the war the relations between Italy and the Catholic Church have undergone a gradual but momentous transformation. Already in 1913 the Holy See had withdrawn the Decree "*non expedit*" forbidding Catholics

Mussolini to take part in the parliamentary government
and Fascism. of the country. In consequence of this a band

of thirty-two candidates was successful at the polls in the next elections. But they were not able for the moment to exercise much influence over the play of political parties. Several of these groups were averse to Italy's coming into the war, and when she did come in, were able to hamper considerably the unity of her action. The chequered success and then failure of Italian military operations led to widespread dissatisfaction, and the rapidly changing governments of the country only dealt in hesitating fashion with this trouble. Meantime, the revolutionary elements—Communists, Socialists, and others—urged on by the influence of Russian Bolshevism, were plotting for a revolution on similar lines in Italy. On the other hand, the Catholics, encouraged by their initial success, formed in 1919 the "*Partito Popolare*," to combat anti-religious action both directly and also indirectly, by adopting all that was lawful from the Socialist programme. So much did they do this, that sometimes they were found in agreement with the Socialists against the other political groups. But one after another the successive Premiers yielded point after point to the pressure of the Socialist societies, and the country was going from bad to worse. Demands for higher wages and more control by the workers were matched by equally disturbing proofs of corruption and incompetence on the part of the officials. In such a humiliating state of national affairs "*Fascismo*" took its rise. The name, derived from the *Fasces* of the Roman Lictors, symbolised the banded union of its members to oppose the anti-national violence of the revolutionaries for the sake of patriotism and civil order. The soul of the organisation was Benito Mussolini, an ex-Socialist, who had supported Italian intervention in the war on patriotic grounds, and then broke with his former associates. The Fascisti now openly declared that if government could not keep order, they would step into its

place, and keep order in its stead. Their first notable success was at Bologna in 1922. Here they succeeded in breaking up the Communistic Council, and forcing it to fly. Similar successes followed at Milan, Naples, and other places. Meantime, the Fascist ranks were growing enormously, being reinforced from Conservative, Catholic, and even Liberal groups. At last they found themselves strong enough to march on Rome in the October of the same year. This was nothing less than a bloodless revolution. The ministry resigned, and a Fascist government was installed with the approval of the king, whom the Fascisti always professed to reverence. Mussolini was Prime Minister in effect, and practically Dictator.

Since then, the Fascisti have kept the power they won, and it seems indubitable that they still have the bulk of the nation at their back. Whatever opposition there has been on the part of displaced politicians and foiled revolutionaries has been quelled by the most drastic methods. At the same time, a thorough reform of every branch of the public services has been undertaken, and in great part accomplished. The prestige of the monarchy has been enhanced, the finances have been balanced by strict economy, the redundant and corrupt officials of the old régime have been ejected. The trades unions have been reorganised and made more efficient for solely industrial aims, the self-respect and public spirit of the whole nation has been raised to a higher level. Then, if we turn to religious affairs, we find that though the Holy See has enjoined the clergy to keep aloof from merely party politics, the Dictator and his friends have repeatedly and openly expressed their belief in, and their support of, the Catholic Church. Religious instruction has been restored in the schools, crucifixes and other religious emblems replaced, in some cases not only in the schools, but in the law courts as well. The stipends of the clergy have been increased, and in place of the open blasphemy and irreligion at least tolerated in former years, religion and its ministers are treated with respect. On the other hand, no quarter has been given to Freemasons, Communists, and conspirators against the Fascist government. It must be admitted that in too many cases these achievements have been accompanied by murder and outrage. Still, in most cases these crimes have been by way of reprisals for previous deeds of violence on the part of their opponents. It was a Freemason who in one case attempted the assassination of Mussolini. So these gentry have been met with their

Italian
Revival.

own methods ; they have become afraid, and have gone into exile or hiding. Up to now the power of Mussolini shows no sign of waning. It is a portent in contemporary politics. But, even if it should end quite suddenly, the lesson it has taught Europe will not be lost. It reminds the world that democracy is only one of several lawful and feasible systems of government, and may be replaced when proved inefficient. Though Fascism, with its violent methods, is unnecessary and undesirable where there is a strong government and an efficient police, yet, failing these it shows that there is a working alternative to mob violence and Communistic anarchy.

It was not so very long before the object lesson displayed in Italy found effective imitators. In Spain the parliamentary system had fallen into a state of decadence, under incompetent and corrupt politicians, rivalling that of Italy, and deliverance came there also in a somewhat similar fashion. In October,

Primo de Rivera 1923, news came to Madrid that the Captain-
and the General of Catalonia had risen against the
Directorate. government of the day, at the same time
 proclaiming that the moment had arrived

to liberate the country from the corruption of the professional politicians. The party in power were at first inclined to resist, but when it became evident that the army, after some cautious hesitation was prepared to side with the new Director, as Primo de Rivera was called, and that the King himself was coming to terms with him, the ministry resigned. Primo de Rivera now formed a military Directorate under his own leadership, the members of which assumed control of the various departments of the public administration with the full approval of the Crown. Protests made by the leaders of the Cortes were disregarded, and treated as the last efforts of a decaying parliamentary system. The Directorate then went on to positive energetic action. Spain was declared to be in a state of war. Political demonstrations were forbidden. The Press was subjected to a rigorous censorship. Many of the municipalities were dissolved and replaced by new local authorities. The financial situation was examined, and the strictest economy enforced in public expenditure. Laws were published to regulate wages and the hours of work. Steps were taken to terminate as early as possible the costly and unsatisfactory war in Morocco. Politicians who ventured on hostile criticism were exiled or silenced. Before long the King, with the Director, who was now raised to the dignity of Marquis de Estella, went upon a visit to the Italian Court

at Rome. There they had interviews with the King and with Mussolini on the one hand, and with the Pope and Cardinal Gasparri on the other. They openly expressed their approval and admiration for Italian Fascism, and are believed to have arranged a basis of international co-operation between Spain and Italy in foreign affairs. With regard to the Holy See, the King of Spain professed to the Pope that his country had been, and was still, ready to be the champion of Catholicism, and only regretted that her claims were not acknowledged by adequate representation in the College of Cardinals. Pius XI. could but reply by a cordial and at the same time cautious and broad-minded pronouncement. Asserting her claim to be reckoned a first-class power, Spain a little later demanded a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations, and when this was not conceded, retired from the sessions. The net result of the recent change of government seems so far to be that the Directorate has gained for Spain more prestige abroad and more tranquillity at home than she has enjoyed for many years.

After noting the unsuccessful attempt to establish a Dictatorship in Greece, with which attempt, naturally enough, the Church had but small concern, it behoves us next to give our attention to the situation in Poland. Here also in the newly-constituted republic the parliamentary proceedings developed defects in working somewhat similar to those in Spain and Italy. A result has been brought about not so unlike that in these two countries, though religion seems in Poland to have scarcely entered into the question. Neither was there any need that it should do so. For Poland was no sooner on its feet than it became evident that the new state would be predominantly Catholic in character. Hence the Holy See was able to negotiate a Concordat, signed on the 2nd of June, 1925, on terms quite favourable to the rights of the Church. What was practically a new Hierarchy was set up, consisting of five metropolitan and fifteen suffragan Sees. Poland.

Rumour has it that a Concordat with the German State is in progress of arrangement, but meanwhile Bavaria, using its right of local autonomy, has concluded a Concordat of its own (24th June, 1925). An arrangement has also been come to with Latvia, and an Archiepiscopal See established at Riga. In Lithuania a new ecclesiastical province has been set up. There remain some difficulties with Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia. The two former seem to have

scarcely recognised as yet to how large an extent their newly-acquired populations are Catholic. In general, however, it may be said that the break-up of Austria has not been without its compensations, and that the rights of Catholics are in a fair way to be recognised in the new states of Eastern Europe.

There has been since 1914 a great increase in the number of countries diplomatically represented at the Vatican by envoys and ambassadors. On the other hand, Nuncios to Catholic governments and Apostolic Delegates to various countries are more numerous than before. Not only the far-flung Dominions of Great Britain, but such distant regions as China, Japan, and Persia have now each their Delegate from Rome, to represent the Papal authority, and to keep them in touch with the centre of Catholicity.

In France there has been no frank reversal of the spirit which dictated the separation of Church and State. But a truce to positive anti-clerical persecution was called, at least for the period of the war, by the so-called "*Union Sacrée*," pledging all Frenchmen to sink their domestic partisanship and unite against the common foe. The mischievous tendencies of those who in the "*Action Catholique*" would commit the faithful to identification with royalist partisanship, have been countered by the Pope's intervention condemning the policy, and forbidding the publications devoted to it. In Holland, though the political influence of Catholics seems to have suffered a temporary set-back, there has been solid progress in the more strictly religious sphere. In Belgium the long-established superiority of the Catholic parties is menaced, but cannot be said to have been destroyed. In England the remaining disabilities from legal equality for the members of the Church were removed by Act of Parliament in 1926, and the Sovereign Pontiff acknowledged the tolerant spirit in which this had been done by some gracious and grateful words. In Palestine there is still room for better security for Catholic rights in face of the aggressive attitude of Jews, Mohammedans, and non-Catholic sects.

In Mexico the Church has to face a regular anti-religious persecution comparable with the heathen ones of bygone ages. It is as though the Freemasons, Communists, and other anti-Catholic societies were striving to regain by violence in this quarter of the globe what they have lost in other places. There has been imprisonment, and even in some places murder and bodily injury inflicted on

those who held firm, under the old Roman pretext of the supremacy of the Civil Law. The Holy See, supported by the protests of the American Hierarchy and of private individuals, has solemnly condemned the cruelty, injustice, and even illegality of the Mexican Government. Indirectly, the storm may serve the purpose of stirring up the faith and courage of the body of the people, but so far there has been no diminution in the atrocity of the tempest, to which bishops, priests, religious, and the simple faithful are subjected. May there be better days in store !

The Foreign Missions became alarmingly depleted of their staff during the war. Many were called home to serve in the armies of their native land ; others were banished from possessions belonging to countries with which their own was in conflict. But great efforts were made as soon as possible to fill the gaps thus created, and perhaps there were never more priests engaged in missions to the heathen than at the present time. Moreover, the Holy See has clearly declared its policy of striving to provide all missions which are capable of it with a native clergy ; quite recently six Chinese bishops were consecrated in Rome itself, and the growth of the flock in China has for some years averaged about 100,000 a year. New Vicariates have been established in the most distant regions, while in Catholic countries new provinces and new dioceses are always being called into existence. On the part of a minority of the Russian Orthodox Church there appears some evidence of a wish for reunion with Rome. But that Church is passing through a fearful ordeal at the hands of the dominant Bolsheviks, and it is too soon to forecast the future. In the West there are widespread longings for reunion amongst the various denominations, now separated from the only possible centre of unity.

Foreign
Missions.

During the Jubilee of 1925, when 1,250,000 pilgrims visited Rome, a prominent feature in the celebrations was the Missionary Exhibition at the Vatican, undertaken in order to give these pilgrims an object-lesson in what is being done, and a silent exhortation as to what they should do, to promote the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen. The head offices of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, on which these missions depend so much for their financial support, have been transferred to Rome, in order to give a less local administration to what is now universal in its scope. The Holy Father set the crown on

Jubilee
of 1925.

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the Jubilee observances by inaugurating for the end of the year the new Festival of the Kingship of Christ. In 1926 the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago, to which an Apostolic Delegate was sent from Rome, became a demonstration of Catholic faith and devotion on a scale surpassing anything that had been attained on former occasions. Summing up, we may safely assert that the events of the last few years show forth to the expectant nations in a more unmistakable light the Catholic Church as the sole Pharos which can guide them amid the rocks and sandbanks into a harbour of peace.

CHAPTER VII.

CATHOLIC LIFE IN MODERN TIMES.

THE warning, hinted at above, with regard to treating contemporary events as history in the proper sense of that word, is needed likewise with respect to any summary of modern Catholic life. In a former chapter of this work there is a brief account of life in the Church in the Middle Ages, but this later attempt must needs be still more incomplete. However, it is but right to yield to the opinion of those better qualified to judge, and venture some slight sketch of the period's characteristics. The Church is no longer the arbiter of nations, nor is she the almost sole depositary of learning and civilisation, as she admittedly was in mediaeval Europe. In fact, to repeat what has already been said, perhaps not too strongly, Europe has been secularised. Yet, there has been development within her borders too, and this on a very large and important scale, even if the growth has been more intensive than extensive. Very likely it is the elevating and consoling side of this growth which makes many of her children thankful that they live in these our days rather than in any past age, however romantic or fascinating.

If we turn first to the numerical question, we shall find that there never was a period when the reckoning of the **Statistics.** number of Catholics reached a total anything near the present one. The most recent statistics available give the total in the whole world as approximately 330,000,000 ; and this means a gain of 50 per cent during the last sixty years. In 1853 the best figures gave 200,000,000 or thereabouts, and the whole population of Christendom in the Middle Ages could hardly have approached even this lower number. It is true that many are counted who are Catholics in little

more than name; but this is unavoidable in mere statistics, and applies with still greater force both to those counted as Protestants and to those who are estimated for in what we call the Ages of Faith.

There has been, during the three reigns of Pius IX., Lec XIII., and Pius X., a quite remarkable increase in the number of episcopal sees. At the present moment there are more than 1200 residential sees, of which some 240 are metropolitan, while about 500 other bishops hold office either as vicars apostolics or as auxiliaries to bishops with residential sees. On the other hand, the number of priests has not grown in anything like the same degree; in fact, in some countries has been a positive diminution. But this, calmly considered, is not all loss. We can hardly regret the days when Italy contained more than 100,000 priests, and when State regulations were attempted in Naples to check the ordination of priests in a proportion greater than 10 to 1000 people. Since those times much has been done by far-sighted legislation to make the supply more even and regular. Although there is still a startling discrepancy between the number of clergy available in such a Catholic land as Spain or Italy, and in such remote corners of the New World as Guatemala or the West Indies, speaking in general, there never was a period when the laity were better provided with hard-working and well-educated pastors in proportion to their needs.

The religious life, in the sense in which the Canons define it, has adapted itself likewise to the necessities of the age. Contemplative orders can hardly be looked for as the product of a time of such restless activity as ours. Still, those founded in bygone periods continue for the most part to exist as a glory of the Church, even if with lessened numbers, or diminished relative importance. But the new forms of religious life, founded in this period, belong to what is called the mixed type, combining rules for the cultivation of interior piety among their members, with missionary labours either at home or abroad. The Jesuits, being restored by Pius VII. in 1814, began a new career of usefulness both in the work of Catholic education and in the work of Foreign Missions. The various branches of the Franciscans, with the exception of the Capuchins and Conventuals, were unified into a sole organisation by Leo XIII.

in 1897. The Dominicans received a new impulse of vigour and fervour, especially by the restoration of the French Province under Père Lacordaire. The Passionists and Redemptorists, having survived the troubles of the Revolution, were able to develop the work of Home Missions for which they were founded. Meanwhile, still more recent institutes came into being, which gave the Foreign Missions a more prominent place in their programme than they had had in the older congregations. Such were, besides the Missions Etrangères, and the other societies of secular priests mentioned above, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, founded by De Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, in 1816, the Marists, founded by the Abbé Colin, also in 1816, the Fathers of Charity, founded by the celebrated philosopher, Rosmini (1797-1855) in 1835, the Pious Society of Missions, called Pallottini after their founder Pallotti, and the Salesians, whom the saintly Don Bosco established at Turin in 1859.

But alongside of these institutes of men and others like them, there have sprung into existence a large number of congregations of women devoted to every description of zealous and charitable work to which Christian women can devote themselves, even with the opportunities which the progress of female education in our days has opened to them. In fact, some of these institutes are on a scale which almost seems to dwarf the new congregations of men. Their number and variety is almost bewildering, so that all that is here possible is to indicate a few of the more prominent or more widely extended. The Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul may be considered the prototypes of all this extraordinary development, and they themselves have attained a world-wide extension far beyond anything that was reached in the period before the Revolution. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart (1800) owe their origin to the B. Sophie Barât at Paris. The Sisters of Notre-Dame were founded by B. Julie Billiart at Amiens in 1803, but have their centre and general house at Namur. The Faithful Companions of Jesus were founded at Amiens in 1820 by the Viscountess de Bonnault. The Sisters of Mercy had their origin in Dublin in 1827, with Mother Catharine McAuley as foundress. All these and many other new institutes have devoted themselves chiefly to Catholic education. On the

other hand, the Little Sisters of the Poor, founded at Saint Servan in Brittany in 1840, dedicate themselves to the care of the aged poor, while the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, united into one congregation by Venerable M. Pelletier at Angers in 1835, bestow their care upon the fallen of their own sex, and the poor who are in danger of falling. But this is only to name, almost at random, but a few out of the almost countless congregations which have risen up at the call of zeal and fraternal charity in modern times. So great has been their influence, so beneficent their labours, whether in the schoolroom, the orphanage, the hospital, or even the foreign missionary field, that it is no exaggeration to call these flourishing bands of pious women one of the purest and most characteristic glories of the contemporary Church.

The nearest counterpart to the guilds of mediaeval Christianity is to be found in the modern confraternity. Associations of the laity have sprung up in great abundance, and with every variety of aim and organisation. They range from the

Confraternities.

Third Order, or Religious Order for the laity, with its closely fitting system of rules to mould the whole life of the individual, down to simple unions for the spread of one or more pious practices. The attempt to revive the Third Order of St Francis on something of the scale it attained when the Mendicant Friars first revolutionised Europe, has met with some, though limited success. Other prominent organisations are: the Holy Family begun at Liege by Henry Belletable, an engineer officer, in 1844, the Society of St Vincent de Paul founded in Paris in 1833 by Frederic Ozanam, and the various confraternities, such as the Apostleship of Prayer, the Sacred Heart Confraternity, and the Children of Mary, with less elaborate rules, and consequently with greater adaptability to variety of circumstances.

The severe and penitential side of the Christian life hardly seems to appeal to the modern Catholic with the force it did either to his ancestors in harder times, or to the Primitive Christians. Hence, there is a decay in the practice of fasting and abstinence, a shrinking from corporal austerities, and an avoidance of labour or inconvenience in keeping the Commandments of the Church, which points to some kind of weakness. Perhaps there is a lessening

Modern piety.

of physical strength, perhaps there is more acceptance of easy mediocrity, perhaps there is a less vivid faith in another life. Yet, alongside of all this we have to recognise a widespread diffusion of popular forms of devotion, an elaborate cultivation of external piety, and a vivid consciousness of Catholic unity which may fairly be held to exceed anything recorded of the most favoured ages of the past.

One of the most inspiring developments of the life of the Church in modern times is the great increase of external marks of reverence and love for the Holy Eucharist. The dogma is handed down unchangeable and unchanged, but a vivid realisation of the consequences of this doctrine has led to a thousand practices of love and devotion, which seem to have been lacking in older and less developed periods. The abiding presence of the Most Holy Sacrament in our churches has become the centre of prayer and adoration within them in a sense hitherto unknown. The Christian of the Middle Ages, who came into God's House, made his reverence to the Rood or Crucifix displayed before his eyes; the modern Catholic looks for the Sanctuary Lamp, and then bows down in lowliest worship before the veiled majesty of the Tabernacle. The researches of the most careful scholars fail to discover instances before the Protestant Reformation of any well-established practice of formal visits to the Blessed Sacrament. In the Mass, the sacrifice of the New Law, all epochs of Christianity must ever find their highest act of Divine Worship, which could never be replaced. Yet, however lovingly we cherish the precious memorials of the Liturgy in primitive times, or however glorious we may feel the Conventual Mass to have been in the choir of some great Abbey of the Middle Ages, High Mass, as we know it, with its wondrous harmony of clergy and laity, music and ritual, unity and variety, is surely a function of still more entrancing splendour. It is true that the Liturgy in early ages seems to have involved a General Communion of the congregation as well. But then daily celebration was far from general; while, if we look further down the story of the Church, we shall come to ages when communion of the laity was rare, and penitential reverence on their part seemed to predominate over love. We have to come down to our own days to find, coupled with an

authoritative papal repetition of the general call to the Great Banquet prepared for all, a refinement of individual devotion, which makes a General Communion in our churches such a thrilling act of Faith, and throngs our altars with pious communicants.

But, remarkable as these developments have been, there are not wanting those who see in the countless and ever renewed forms which devotion to the Blessed Virgin has assumed, an even more striking characteristic of the period. The devotion itself is not new, but it has its roots firmly planted in the earliest ages. Still, there has been more than the mere handing down of a tradition, there has been growth, embellishment and a clearer view of the Madonna's place in the Church and in creation. It is this process which has led to the Definition of the Immaculate Conception as an Article of Faith by Pius IX. It is this which led the learned Pontiff, Leo XIII., to insist in repeated encyclicals on the Rosary as the weapon or instrument to be used by the whole of Christendom in its battle for the supremacy of the supernatural over the natural and the depraved. The old things were not to be given up, but to be given a wider range. The old shrines have not been discarded, but there rise up new ones such as Lourdes, or Our Lady of Victories at Paris. And the ancient pilgrimages find themselves surpassed by the crowds which flock to one or other of these sanctuaries with a faith in the supernatural which is a challenge to materialist and rationalist alike.

**Devotion to
Our Lady.**

It is in the revival of scholasticism that we shall find the most remarkable achievement of Catholic science in our days. Under the hostile influence of Renaissance humanism, and then under the rival attractions of the so-called romantic

**Scholastic
Revival.**

movement, scholasticism had had its period of decay and torpor, but this was not to last, and a new impulse has given it a fresh and vigorous life. Sometimes this system, thus renewed, is called neo-scholasticism. Its earliest exponents were to be found among that illustrious circle of *savants* who graced the Rome of Gregory XVI. At first, however, it was more a matter of individual effort than of official authorisation. Later on, a powerful impetus was given to the movement through the authority of Leo XIII. His writings on the philosophy of St

Thomas were followed up by ample encouragement given to the labours of others in the same field. It seems likely that the teaching of Cardinal Mercier and of the Louvain professors who have worked with him, if somewhat misunderstood for a while, will prove ultimately to be among the most fruitful means to proclaim the scholastic doctrine and method in a way suited to the needs of the age and to an audience far wider than existed in the days of St Thomas.

So clear had been the definition of Catholic dogma at the Council of Trent that this work has not had to be done again. If we have to look for a movement which may challenge comparison in importance with the Tridentine Decrees, we had best look in the direction of Church government. There we shall see a development of centralised organisation and unity of sway which far surpasses what was possible in more ancient days. Rome has held the reins of government with an all-reaching firmness of grasp hitherto unattainable. Even material agencies have helped to make this feasible. The invention of such means of communication as the railroad system, ocean steamships, and the electric telegraph has given a rapidity of touch between centre and circumference which did not exist, because it could not.

“The sparks of unseen fire
That speak along the magic wire”

not only form a simile in the verses of such a churchman as Cardinal Wiseman, but become veritable angels of the Vicar of Christ, bearing his messages to the most distant of his children, and bearing back to him their wishes and their prayers. This centralisation and this living force were especially apparent in the reign of the last Pontiff, Pius X. There was scarcely a corner of the habitable globe where his eye and his hand were not felt, always direct, always with a single-minded view to the good of the flock, always inspired with lofty piety. The double enterprise of the codification of the Canon Law, and the reorganisation of the congregations which form the Roman Curia, can hardly fail, as time goes on, to work out in favour of the same imperial, though spiritual, government.

Here, then, we must lay down the pen. The Kingdom

of Christ, ruled by His Vicar, is still to all seeming far from the conquest of the whole world. In fact, it is only quite recently that the number of Christians, including both Protestants and Eastern Christians who reject the papal authority, has surpassed the one third of the inhabitants of the world. And the Church is now less able than ever to count on the co-operation of the ruling powers of the earth. Yet, there are not wanting signs of hope for the spread of the whole revelation of Christ, for the practice of his salutary ordinances, and the victory of his Empire. Though political powers be indifferent, neutral or hostile, there are natural forces which can be harnessed to the car of the Church's progress : the general diffusion of education, the gradually advancing civilisation of the Natural Order, the wonderful inventions to make travel and missionary journeys easier. But more than all she has higher and more reliable support to rest on, as she proceeds in the gradual evangelisation of the world. She alone has the divine command to make disciples of all nations, and the promise of a Divine Presence to be with her to the end. Meanwhile in the midst of difficulties, disappointments and delays

“Ten thousand angels on her slumbers wait
With glorious visions of her future state.”

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

- B.C. 6 or 7—Nativity of Christ.
- A.D. 29—Foundation of the Church at Pentecost.
- „ 34—Conversion of St Paul.
- „ 39—Reception of Cornelius the First Gentile Christian.
- „ 41—Dispersion of the Apostles.
- „ 42—St Peter first comes to Rome.
- „ 50-1—*Council of Jerusalem.*
- „ 52-9—St Peter at Antioch.
- „ 67—Martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul.
- „ 64-8—First Persecution (*Nero*).
- „ 70—Siege and Fall of Jerusalem.
- „ 94-6—Second Persecution (*Domitian*).
- „ 98—Death of St John the Evangelist.
- „ 106-7—Third Persecution (*Trajan*).
- „ 107—Martyrdom of St Ignatius and St Simeon.
- „ 135—Jewish Revolt and Foundation of Elia Capitolina.
- „ 165—St Justin the Philosopher is martyred.
- „ 166—Fourth Persecution (*Marcus Aurelius*).
- „ 200—St Irenaeus at Lyons.
- „ 202—Fifth Persecution (*Septimius Severus*).
- „ 223—Death of Tertullian.
- „ 225—Martyrdom of St Cecilia.
- „ 235—Sixth Persecution (*Maximin*).
- „ 250—St Paul the First Hermit retires to Thebaid.
- „ 250—Seventh Persecution (*Decius*).
- „ 254—Death of Origen.
- „ 258—Eighth Persecution (*Valerian*).
- „ 258—Martyrdom of SS. Sixtus, Lawrence and Cyprian.
- „ 255-6—*Synods at Carthage* on Re-baptism.
- „ 270—St Gregory Thaumaturgus.
- „ 268—Ninth Persecution (*Aurelian*).
- „ 284—Diocletian Era and Fourfold Division of the Empire.
- „ 303—Tenth Persecution (*Diocletian*).
- „ 312—Victory of the Milvian Bridge.
- „ 313—Edict of Toleration of Milan.
- „ 314—*Council of Arles.*
- „ 324—Constantine sole Emperor after defeat of Licinius.
- „ 325—*Ecumenical Council of Nicaea* (I.).
- „ 330—Dedication of the New Rome at Constantinople.
- „ 337—Death of Constantine, and accession of his sons.
- „ 340—Persecution in Persia under Sapor.
- „ 343—*Council of Sardica.*
- „ 359—*Council of Rimini.*
- „ 361-3—Persecution renewed by Julian the Apostate.
- „ 364—Valentinian becomes Emperor; Valens also.
- „ 375—Edict of Gratian breaking finally with Paganism.

- A.D. 378—Battle of Adrianople and Death of Valens.
 „ 381—*Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* (II.).
 „ 383—Conversion of the Goths (*Ulphilas*).
 „ 403—*Synod of the Oak* against St John Chrysostom.
 „ 410—Alaric takes Rome.
 „ 412—*Council of Carthage* against the Pelagians.
 „ 416—*Council of Mileris* against the Pelagians.
 „ 431—*Ecumenical Council of Ephesus* (III.).
 „ 432—St Patrick and the Conversion of Ireland.
 „ 449—*Robber Council* of Ephesus.
 „ 451—*Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon* (IV.).
 „ 452—Attila invades Italy and meets St Leo.
 „ 455—Genserich the Vandal sacks Rome.
 „ 476—End of the Western Empire of Rome.
 „ 493—Theodoric establishes Gothic Kingdom in Italy.
 „ 496—Conversion of Clovis and the Franks.
 „ 501—*Council of the Palm* at Rome.
 „ 525—Foundation of Monte Cassino by St Benedict.
 „ 527—Beginning of the Era of Justinian.
 „ 529—*Council of Orange* against the Semi-Pelagians.
 „ 537—Belisarius occupies Rome for the Eastern Empire.
 „ 553—*Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* (V.).
 „ 565—Death of Justinian and of Belisarius.
 „ 568—The Lombards under Alboin invade Italy.
 „ 590—Accession of St Gregory the Great.
 „ 597—Mission of St Augustine for the Conversion of England.
 „ 604—Death of St Gregory.
 „ 610—Heraclius becomes Emperor at Byzantium.
 „ 622—The Hegira or Flight of Mohammed.
 „ 629—The Exaltation of the Holy Cross recovered from the Persians.
 „ 632—The Beginning of the Mohammedan Conquest.
 „ 637—The Moslem take Jerusalem.
 „ 639—The Moslem take Alexandria.
 „ 651—Mohammedan Conquest of Persia.
 „ 680—*Third Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* (VI.).
 „ 692—*Council in Trullo*.
 „ 711—Moorish Invasion of Spain.
 „ 726—Beginning of the Iconoclastic Persecution.
 „ 732—Battle of Tours and turn of Moslem Tide.
 „ 738—Death of St Willibrord, and Conversion of Holland.
 „ 755—Martyrdom of St Boniface, and Conversion of Germany.
 „ 754-6—Pippin's Donations founding the Temporal Power.
 „ 767—*Council of Gentilly*.
 „ 768—Accession of Charlemagne at Death of Pippin.
 „ 774—Charlemagne takes Pavia and goes to Rome.
 „ 780—Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Irene at Constantinople.
 „ 787—*Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea* (VII.).
 „ 794—*Council of Frankfort*.
 „ 800—Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor.
 „ 814—Death of Charlemagne.
 „ 816—Death of St Leo III.
 „ 833—Diet of Compiègne.
 „ 843—Treaty of Verdun dividing the Carlovingian Empire.
 „ 846—Saracen Raid on Rome; St Peter's taken.
 „ 852—The Leonine City fortified by Leo IV.
 „ 858—Beginning of the Schism of Photius.

- A.D. 858—Conversion of the Bulgarians.
 „ 869—*Fourth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* (VIII.).
 „ 887—Diet of Tribur deposes Charles the Fat.
 „ 911—Death of Louis the Child and Change of Dynasty.
 „ 936—Otho I. becomes King of Germany.
 „ 962—Otho I. is crowned Emperor.
 „ 972—Marriage of Otho II. and Theophania.
 „ 973—Otho II. succeeds his Father.
 „ 983—Otho II. is buried in St Peter's.
 „ 996—Gregory V. (First German Pope) supported by Otho III.
 „ 999—Sylvester II. (First French Pope); Normans in Italy.
 „ 1000—Death of Otho III.
 „ 1003—Death of Sylvester II. and Beginning of the Tusculan Domination at Rome.
 „ 1000—Conversion of the Russians.
 „ 1000—Conversion of the Poles.
 „ 1014—Death of Brian Boru.
 „ 1024—Death of St Henry and Rise of Franconian Emperors.
 „ 1038—Death of St Stephen and Conversion of the Magyars.
 „ 1066—Death of St Edward and Norman Conquest of England.
 „ 1049—Election of St Leo IX. as Pope, and beginning of Ecclesiastical Movement of Reform.
 „ 1053—St Leo IX. a Prisoner in the Norman Camp at Civitella.
 „ 1059—Constitution of Nicholas II. on the Papal Election.
 „ 1073—Hildebrand becomes Gregory VII.
 „ 1077—Henry IV. does Penance at Canossa.
 „ 1080—St Bruno founds the Carthusian Order.
 „ 1081—Battle of La Volta.
 „ 1085—Death of St Gregory VII at Salerno.
 „ 1095—Urban II. proclaims the First Crusade at Clermont.
 „ 1099—*Council of Bari* and Discussion with the Greeks.
 „ 1099—The Crusaders under Godfrey de Bouillon take Jerusalem.
 „ 1100—Establishment of Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
 „ 1111—Pope Paschal II. renounces the Investitures.
 „ 1112—Paschal II. in a Council at the Lateran revokes this Deed.
 „ 1122—Concordat of Worms.
 „ 1123—*First Ecumenical Council of the Lateran* (IX.).
 „ 1125—Death of the Emperor Henry V.
 „ 1139—*Second Ecumenical Council of the Lateran* (X.).
 „ 1146-8—The Second Crusade.
 „ 1154—Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV.) and the Interdict at Rome.
 „ 1167—The Lombard League.
 „ 1177—The Peace of Venice.
 „ 1179—*Third Ecumenical Council of the Lateran* (XI.).
 „ 1183—Peace of Roncaglia between the Emperor and the Lombard League.
 „ 1190—The Third Crusade and Death of Barbarossa.
 „ 1202—The Decretal *Venerabilem* on the Constitution of the Empire.
 „ 1204—*The Fourth Crusade and Siege of Constantinople*.
 „ 1215—*Fourth Ecumenical Council of the Lateran* (XII.).
 „ 1215—Magna Charta.
 „ 1227—The Fifth Crusade under Frederic II.
 „ 1230—The Treaty of San Germano.
 „ 1237—Battle of Cortenova won by Frederic II.

- A.D. 1245—*First Ecumenical Council of Lyons (XIII.).*
 „ 1248—The Sixth Crusade under St Louis.
 „ 1250—St Louis a Prisoner; Death of Frederic II.
 „ 1250—Beginning of the Great Interregnum.
 „ 1266—Battle of Benevento and Death of Manfred.
 „ 1268—Death of Clement IV. and of Conradin.
 „ 1271—Election of B. Gregory X.
 „ 1270—Seventh Crusade under Edward I.
 „ 1273—End of the Great Interregnum by Election of Rudolf of Hapsburg.
 „ 1274—*Second Ecumenical Council of Lyons (XIV.).*
 „ 1274—Death of St Thomas Aquinas and of St Bonaventure.
 „ 1276—Petrus Hispanus becomes Pope John XXI.
 „ 1282—The Sicilian Vespers.
 „ 1294—St Peter Celestine and Boniface VIII.
 „ 1300—Great Celebration of the Jubilee in Rome.
 „ 1302—The Bull *Unam Sanctam*.
 „ 1303—Attack on Boniface VIII. at Anagni, and his Death.
 „ 1305—Election of Clement V. in France.
 „ 1311—*Ecumenical Council of Vienne (XV.).*
 „ 1312—Suppression of the Templars.
 „ 1314—Death of Clement V. and of Philip the Fair.
 „ 1322—Battle of Muhldorf won by Louis of Bavaria.
 „ 1347—The Republic under Cola di Rienzi at Rome.
 „ 1347—The Plague at Avignon and elsewhere.
 „ 1346—Charles of Luxemburg named Emperor by the Pope.
 „ 1347—Death of Louis of Bavaria.
 „ 1356—The Golden Bull published by the Emperor.
 „ 1367—Urban V. leaves Avignon for Rome.
 „ 1370—Urban V. returns to Avignon and dies.
 „ 1377—Gregory XI. makes his solemn entry into Rome.
 „ 1378—Beginning of the Great Schism of the West.
 „ 1383—Jubilee; the period being changed to thirty-three years
 „ 1409—*Council of Pisa.*
 „ 1414-8—*Council of Constance.*
 „ 1417—Election of Martin V.
 „ 1431—*Council of Basle.*
 „ 1434-43—Pope Eugenius IV. in exile at Florence.
 „ 1438—*Ecumenical Council of Florence (XVI.).*
 „ 1450—Jubilee in Rome under Nicholas V.
 „ 1453—Fall of Constantinople.
 „ 1459—The Congress of Mantua for War against the Turks.
 „ 1479—Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile.
 „ 1492—Conquest of Granada and beginning of Spanish Supremacy.
 „ 1495—The Holy League against the French.
 „ 1498—Savonarola at Florence.
 „ 1503—Death of Alexander VI., and accession of Pius III. and of Julius II.
 „ 1510—Expulsion of the French from Italy.
 „ 1512-7—*Fifth Ecumenical Council of the Lateran (XVII.).*
 „ 1513—Battle of Novara.
 „ 1517—First outbreak of Martin Luther; Theses against Indulgences.
 „ 1520—Leo X. excommunicates Luther by the Bull *Exurge Domine*.
 „ 1521—Diet of Worms.
 „ 1527—The Sack of Rome; Diet of Westeraus.

- A.D. 1530—Coronation of Charles V. at Rome.
 „ 1532—Religious Peace (Interim) of Nuremberg.
 „ 1534—Excommunication of Henry VIII.; Act of Supremacy.
 „ 1534—Death of Clement VII.; Accession of Paul III.
 „ 1535—Martyrdom of More, Fisher, and the Carthusians.
 „ 1537—Programme of Reform by the Papal Commission.
 „ 1545-63—*Ecumenical Council of Trent* (XVIII.).
 „ 1548—Diet of Augsburg after the Emperor's Victory at Muhlberg.
 „ 1553-8—Catholic Restoration in England under Queen Mary.
 „ 1555—Religious Peace of Augsburg.
 „ 1556—Abdication of Charles V. in favour of Ferdinand and Philip II.
 „ 1564—Confirmation of Decrees of Trent by Pius IV.
 „ 1566—Accession of St Pius V.
 „ 1570—Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth.
 „ 1571—Victory of Lepanto.
 „ 1579—Act of Union of the Seven United Provinces of Holland.
 „ 1588—The Constitution *Immensa* organises the Roman Curia.
 „ 1588—Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
 „ 1593—Reconciliation of Henry of Navarre.
 „ 1598—Treaty of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes.
 „ 1608—Foundation of the Evangelical Union.
 „ 1609—Foundation of the Catholic League.
 „ 1618—Outbreak of the Thirty Years' War.
 „ 1632—Death of Gustavus Adolphus at the Battle of Lutzen.
 „ 1643—Accession of Louis XIV.
 „ 1648—Treaties of Westphalia.
 „ 1649—Execution of Charles I. and beginning of the Commonwealth.
 „ 1660—Treaty of the Pyrenees; Restoration in England.
 „ 1660—Louis XIV. assumes the Reins of Government in France.
 „ 1667—Pax Clementina and Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 „ 1673—Treaty of Nimeguen.
 „ 1682—Assembly of the French Clergy and the Four Articles.
 „ 1685—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
 „ 1688—Revolution in England.
 „ 1683—Relief of Vienna by Sobieski.
 „ 1702-13—The War of the Spanish Succession.
 „ 1713—Treaty of Utrecht; the Bull *Unigenitus*.
 „ 1715—Death of Louis XIV. and Regency under d'Orleans and Dubois.
 „ 1715—Attempt of the Old Pretender.
 „ 1723—Henry makes a reconciliation between France and Spain.
 „ 1740—Accession of Benedict XIV., Maria Theresa and Frederic II.
 „ 1740-8—War of the Austrian Succession.
 „ 1745—Rising in Scotland under Prince Charles Edward.
 „ 1748—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 „ 1756-63—The Seven Years' War.
 „ 1763—Treaty of Paris.
 „ 1773—Suppression of the Jesuits.
 „ 1776—American Declaration of Independence.
 „ 1783—Treaty of Versailles.
 „ 1786—*Synod of Pistoja*; *Punctation of Ems*.
 „ 1789—The National Assembly at Paris.

- A.D. 1790—Civil Constitution of the French Clergy.
 „ 1791-2—The Legislative Assembly.
 „ 1792-5—The National Convention.
 „ 1794—The Reign of Terror.
 „ 1795-9—The Directory.
 „ 1799—Death of Pius VI.
 „ 1799-1804—Consulate of Napoleon.
 „ 1800—Election of Pius VII.
 „ 1802—The Concordat in France; Peace of Amiens.
 „ 1804-14—The Napoleonic Empire.
 „ 1805—Trafalgar and Austerlitz.
 „ 1809—Pius VII. led into Captivity; Papal States seized.
 „ 1809—Battle of Wagram.
 „ 1809-14—The Peninsular War.
 „ 1812—Invasion of Russia by Napoleon and the Grand Army.
 „ 1813—Battle of Leipsic and defeat of Napoleon.
 „ 1814—Abdication of Napoleon; Congress of Vienna.
 „ 1815—Return of Napoleon from Elba and Battle of Waterloo.
 „ 1818-30—Independence of Spanish Colonies.
 „ 1830—Revolution of July in France. Outbreak in Papal States.
 „ 1830—Independence of Belgium
 „ 1829—Catholic Emancipation in the British Isles.
 „ 1831—Rebellion in the Papal States suppressed by the Austrians.
 „ 1837—Accession of Queen Victoria.
 „ 1846—Accession of Pius IX.
 „ 1848—Revolutions in Rome, Austria, France.
 „ 1850—Pius IX. returns to Rome; New Hierarchy in England.
 „ 1852—Napoleon III. becomes Emperor of the French.
 „ 1854—Proclamation of the Immaculate Conception.
 „ 1859—War between Austria and France; Peace of Villafranca.
 „ 1860—Battle of Castelfidardo and Annexation of the Marches.
 „ 1866—Six Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia.
 „ 1870—*Ecumenical Council of the Vatican* (XIX.); Franco-German War, Seizure of Rome.
 „ 1873-8—The German Kulturkampf.
 „ 1877-8—Russo-Turkish War.
 „ 1878—Accession of Leo XIII.
 „ 1881—Assassination of the Czar Alexander II.
 „ 1887—Diplomatic Relations resumed between the Papacy and Germany.
 „ 1884—Victory of the Catholic Party in Belgium.
 „ 1896—Nullity of Anglican Orders. The Decree *Apostolicae Curas*.
 „ 1900—Assassination of King Humbert.
 „ 1903—Death of Leo XIII. and Accession of Pius X.
 „ 1905—Separation of Church and State in France.
 „ 1907—The Encyclical *Pascendi* condemns Modernism.
 „ 1908—The Constitution *Sapienti Consilio* reorganises the Roman Curia.
 „ 1914—Outbreak of European War and Death of Pius X.; Accession of Benedict XV.
 „ 1916—Erection of Ecclesiastical Province of Cardiff.
 „ 1918—End of hostilities by Armistice.
 „ 1922—Death of Benedict XV. and Accession of Pius XI.
 „ 1925—Jubilee at Rome.
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Alexius II., Comnenus, 1180-1183

Andronicus Comnenus, 1183-1185

Isaac II., Angelus, 1185-1195

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Henry, 1205-1216

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Robert, 1219-1228

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